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SERIES D.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A

HISTORY OF ENGLISH SOUNDS

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD,

INCLUDING AN

INVESTIGATION OF THE GENERAL LAWS OF SOUND CHANGE, AND FULL WORD LISTS.

BY

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PREFACE.

ADDRESSED TO MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH DIALECT SOCIETY.

THE History of English Sounds, by Mr. Henry Sweet, was originally written for the London Philological Society, in further illustration of the great work on Early English Pronunciation by Mr. Alexander J. Ellis. Upon application to the Council of the Philological Society, and to the author, permission was at once obtained for making arrangements whereby additional copies of the work should be struck off for the use of members of the English Dialect Society. The importance of it to all who study English sounds, especially such sounds as are frequently well preserved in some of our provincial dialects, will soon become apparent to the careful reader. But as there may be some amongst our members who may not be aware of what has been lately achieved in the study of phonetics, a few words of introduction may not be out of place here.

I have more than once received letters from correspondents who boldly assert that, of some of our dialectal sounds, no representation is possible, and that it is useless to attempt it. Against such a sweeping denunciation of the study of phonetics it would be vain to argue. It may be sufficient merely to remark that precisely the same argument of "impossibility" was used, not so many years ago, against the introduction of the use of steam locomotives upon railways. The opinions of such as are unable to imagine how things which

they cannot do themselves may, nevertheless, be achieved by others, will not be much regarded by such as desire progress and improvement.

It may, however, be conceded that no system of symbols existed which was of sufficient scientific accuracy until the publication of Mr. Melville Bell's singular and wonderful volume entitled—"Visible Speech: the Science of Universal Alphabetics: or Self-Interpreting Physiological Letters for the Printing and Writing of all Languages in one Alphabet; elucidated by Theoretical Explanations, Tables, Diagrams, and Examples." Now in this system none of the usual alphabetical characters appear at all, nor is the alphabet founded upon any one language. It is a wholly new collection of symbols, adapted for all or most of the sounds which the human voice is capable of producing, and is founded upon the most strictly scientific principles, each symbol being so chosen as to define the disposition of the organs used in producing the sound which the symbol is intended to represent. How this wonderful result has been achieved, the reader may easily discover for himself, either by consulting that work, or another by the same author which every one interested in the study of phonetics is earnestly recommended to procure, at the cost of only *one shilling*. The title of this latter work, consisting of only sixteen pages in quarto, is:—English Visible Speech for the Million, etc.; by Alex. Melville Bell. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.; London and New York: Trübner & Co. A fair and candid examination of this pamphlet will shew the reader, better than any detailed description can do, how the study of sounds has been rendered possible. Every work on phonetics will, no doubt, always be based upon, or have reference to, Mr. Bell's system, and therefore it is the more important that, at the very least, the existence of it should be widely known.

The work of Mr. Ellis is entitled:—On Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspere and Chaucer, by Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S. The first two parts were published in 1869 by three societies in combination, viz. the Philological Society, the Early English Text Society, and the Chaucer Society; and the third part, by the same societies, in 1870. The work is not yet completed, and the fourth part, not yet published, will contain a full account of our modern English provincial dialects, shewing their distribution and connections. Mr. Ellis employs a system of symbols called *palæotype*, but, as every one of these has its exact equivalent in Mr. Bell's system, it admits of the same degree of accuracy, and has the advantage of being wholly represented by ordinary printing-types.

The next system is that invented by Mr. Ellis for the *special* representation of English dialectal sounds, and denominated *Glossic*.[1] By the kindness of the author, a copy of the tract upon Glossic is in the hands of every member of our Society. The attention of readers is directed to page 11 of that tract, where the thirty-six vowels of Mr. Bell's Visible Speech have their equivalent values in Glossic properly tabulated.

In Mr. Sweet's volume, now in the reader's hands, the corresponding table of vowel-sounds is given at page 5, and one principal object of this short Preface is to shew how Mr. Sweet's symbols and the 'Glossic' symbols agree together, and how, again, each table agrees with that of Mr. Bell.

I shall refer, then, to the three tables as given at p. 5 of Mr. Sweet's book, at p. 11 of the Glossic tract, and at p. 8 of Visible Speech for the Million. See also p. 14 of Mr. Ellis's Early English Pronunciation.

[1] The system called *Glossotype*, illustrated at p. 16 of Mr. Ellis's Early English Pronunciation, may be considered as now *cancelled*, and superseded by *Glossic*.

Mr. Ellis and Mr. Sweet agree with Mr. Bell in their use of the terms *High*, *Mid*, and *Low;* in their use of the terms *Back*, *Mixed*, and *Front;* and in their use of the terms *Wide* and *Wide-round.* The only difference is that Mr. Sweet uses the term *Narrow* instead of *Primary* (see page 4, note 1), and also uses the more exact term *Narrow-round* in place of what Mr. Ellis calls *Round* simply. As Mr. Sweet has *numbered* his sounds, it is easy to tabulate the correspondence of the systems in the following manner. I denote here Mr. Sweet's sounds by the *number* only, and include the Glossic symbol within square brackets, in the usual manner.

1. [uu'].	4. [ea].	7. [EE].	10. [U'].	13. [Γ'].	16. [I].
2. [UU].	5. [U].	8. [AI].	11. [AA].	14. [A'].	17. [E].
3. [ua].	6. [ua'].	9. [AE].	12. [AH].	15. [E'].	18. [A].

19. [oo].	22. [ui'].	25. [ui].	28. [UO].	31. [uo'].	34. [UE].
20. [OA].	23. [oa'].	26. [EO].	29. [AO].	32. [ao'].	35. [OE].
21. [AU].	24. [au'].	27. [eo'].	30. [o].	33. [o'].	36. [oe'].

Now it should be clearly understood that these two systems are both perfectly exact, because both refer to the same positions of the organs of voice; but, as soon as these sounds come to be described by illustrative examples, a few slight apparent discrepancies arise, solely from a difference of individual pronunciation, even in the case of common 'key-words.' I believe I am correct in saying that even Mr. Bell's 'key-words' do not represent to everybody the exact sounds intended, but are better understood by a North-country man than by a resident in London. Mr. Ellis describes this difficulty in the following words: "At the latter end of his treatise Mr. Melville Bell has given in to the practice of key-words, and assigned them to his symbols. Let the reader be careful not to take the value of his symbol from his own pronunciation of the key-words, or from any other person's. Let him first determine the value of the symbol from the

exact description and diagram of the speech-organs,—or if possible also from the living voice of some one thoroughly acquainted with the system—and then determine Mr. Bell's own pronunciation of the key-word from the known value of the symbol. This pronunciation in many instances differs from that which I am accustomed to give it, especially in foreign words."

In order to steer clear of such minor difficulties, Mr. Sweet has adopted a very simple system of notation, which only aims at representing the broader distinctions between vowels, using, for example, the same symbol [a] for the mid-back-wide and the low-back-wide sounds (nos. 11 and 12), without further distinction, and defining it only as the sound *a*, as most commonly heard in the word *father*. Roughly speaking, then, the symbols which Mr. Sweet employs in his vowel-table may be thus represented in Glossic.

a, as the short vowel corresponding to the first vowel in *f*ather; compare Glossic [aa], as in [faa·dhur].

æ, as *a* in m*a*n; Glossic [a], as in [man].

è, as *e* in t*e*ll; Glossic [e *or* ae], as in [tel]; provincial [tael].

é, as *ai* in b*ai*t; Glossic [ai], as in [bait].

ɵ, as *u* in b*u*t; Glossic [u], as in [but].

i, as in b*i*t; Glossic [i], as in [bit].

ò, as in n*o*t; òò, as in n*au*ght; Glossic [o] in [not]; [au] in [naut].

ó, as *oa* in b*oa*t; Glossic [oa], as in [boat].

oe, as *ö* in Germ. schön; Glossic [oe], as in Germ. [shoen].

u, as *oo* in f*oo*t; uu as *oo* in c*oo*l; Glossic [uo, oo], as in [fuot, kool].

y, as *ü* in Germ. *ü*bel; Glossic [ue], as in Germ. [uebu'l].

ai, a diphthong of a and i, as *y* in m*y*; Glossic [ei], as in [mei].

au, a diphthong of a and u, as *ou* in h*ou*se; Glossic [ou], as in [hous].

éi, a diphthong of é and i, as *a* in *tale*; Glossic [aiy], as in [taiyl].

óu, as *o* in n*o*, i.e. ó with an aftersound of u;[1] Glossic [oaw], as in [noaw].

oi, as *oy* in b*oy*; Glossic [oi], as in [boi].

It may be added, that þ is used to represent the sound of *th* in *thin*, Glossic [thin]; and ð to represent the *th* in *this*, Glossic [dhis].

According, then, to Mr. Sweet's notation, the word *father* is written faaðər; *man*, mæn; *tell*, tèl; *bait*, bét, or (more commonly) béit, in Southern English, béét in Scotch; *but*, bət; *bit*, bit; *not*, nòt; *boat*, bót, or (more commonly) bóut, in Southern English, bóót in Scotch; Germ. *schön*, shoen; *foot*, fut; Germ. *übel*, ybəl; *my*, mai; *house*, haus; *tale*, téil; *no*, nóu; *boy*, boi.

The long vowels are expressed by doubling the symbol employed for the shorter vowels. The following are examples, viz. *father*, faaðer (the short sound of which is found in the Anglo-Saxon *man*, in modern English changed to *mæn*); *earn*, *worse*, een, wees; *saw*, *faught*, sòò, fòòt; *whose*, huuz; and the like. Examples of diphthongs are seen in *eight*, éit; *lord*, *hoarse*, lòəd, hòəs; *smear*, smiər; *bear*, béər; etc.

The easiest way of becoming familiar with this very simple notation is to observe the long list of words beginning at p. 84. By comparing the *third* column, which gives the modern English *spelling*, with the *fourth*, which gives the modern English *pronunciation* according to the above system, the sounds intended can be very easily ascertained, and the reader

[1] More clearly heard when used as a negative, in response to a question, than when used as in the phrase '*no* man.' EXAMPLE: Do you like that? *Answer*—nóu.

will be prepared to understand what is meant by the *first* and *second* columns, which exhibit the pronunciations of the Old and Middle period respectively. The thanks of students are especially due to Mr. Sweet for these word-lists, with the alphabetical register of them appended. They can only have been compiled at the cost of much labour and diligence, and shew an intimate acquaintance with the spellings and pronunciations of all periods of English.

W. W. S.

HISTORY OF ENGLISH SOUNDS.

By HENRY SWEET, Esq.

INTRODUCTION.

In studying the phonetic development of a language two methods are open to us, the historical and the comparative; that is to say, we may either trace the sounds of one and the same language through its successive stages, or else compare the divergent forms in a group of languages which have a common origin.

Each method has its advantages. In the historical method the sequence of the phenomena is self-evident; when we compare two forms of the same sound in several co-existing languages, it is often doubtful which is the older. The peculiar advantage of the comparative method is that it can be applied to living languages, where nothing but careful observation of facts is required, while in the case of dead languages the phonetic material is often defective, and is always preserved in an imperfect form by means of graphic symbols, whose correct interpretation is an indispensable preliminary to further investigation. In short, we may say that the comparative method is based, or may be based, on facts, the historical on theoretical deductions.

It need hardly be said that the first requisite for phonetic investigation of any kind is a knowledge of sounds. Yet nothing is more common in philology than to see men, who have not taken the slightest trouble to make themselves acquainted with the rudiments of vocal physiology, making the boldest and most dogmatic statements about the pronunciation of dead languages—asserting, for instance, that certain sounds are unnatural, or even impossible, merely because they do not happen to occur in their own language. Such prejudices can only be got rid of by a wide and impartial training.

The second requisite is a collection of carefully recorded facts. In this respect the present state of phonology is somewhat anomalous. As far as living languages are concerned, the amount of reliable material that exists is still very small, although it is rapidly increasing, while if we turn to the dead languages we find an enormous body of careful, full, often exhaustive, observations of the varied phenomena of letter-change in the Teutonic languages—a dead mass, which requires the warm breath of living phonology to thaw it into life. Before the word-lists in such a book as Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik* can be intelligently utilized, the spoken sounds they represent must be determined. The first step is to determine generally the relations between sound and symbol. The ideal of a phonetic notation is, of course, a system in which every simple sound would have a simple sign, bearing some definite relation to the sound it represents. It need hardly be said that all the modifications of the Roman alphabet in which the Teutonic languages have been written down fall far short of this standard. The Roman alphabet was originally, like all naturally developed alphabets, a purely hieroglyphic system, representing not sounds but material objects: the connection of each symbol with its sound is therefore entirely arbitrary. When we consider that this inadequate system was forced on languages of the most diverse phonetic structure, we need not be surprised at the defects of the orthography of the old Teutonic languages, but rather admire the ingenuity with which such scanty resources were eked out.

The maximum of difficulty is reached when a language changes through several generations, while its written representation remains unchanged. In such a case as that of English during the last three centuries, we are compelled to disregard the written language altogether, and have recourse to other methods.

Foremost among these is the study of the contemporary evidence afforded by treatises on pronunciation with their descriptions of the various sounds and comparisons with foreign utterance. It is on this kind of evidence that the

well-known investigations of Mr. Ellis are based. The great value of Mr. Ellis's work consists in the impartial and cautious spirit in which he has carried it out, advancing step by step, and never allowing theories to overrule facts. Mr. Ellis's method forms a striking contrast to that pursued by some Early English students, who, starting from the assumption that whatever pronunciation is most agreeable to their own ears must be the right one, take for granted that Alfred, Chaucer, and Shakespere spoke exactly like 19th-century gentlemen, and then, instead of shaping their theories by the existing evidence, pick out those facts which they think confirm their views, and ignore all the rest. The result of Mr. Ellis's investigations is to establish with certainty, within certain limits, the pronunciation of English during the last three centuries; absolute accuracy is impossible in deductions drawn from the vague statements of men who had but an imperfect knowledge of the mechanism of the sounds they uttered.

I hope, however, to show that that minute accuracy which is unattainable by the method adopted by Mr. Ellis, can be reached through a combination of the comparative with the historical method, taking the latter in its widest sense to include both the external evidence employed by Mr. Ellis, and the internal evidence of the graphic forms. This gives us three independent kinds of evidence, which, as we shall see, corroborate each other in the strongest manner.

Before going any farther it will be necessary to say a few words on the phonetic notation I have adopted. The only analysis of vowel-sounds that is of any real use for general scientific purposes is that of Mr. Bell. His system differs from all others in two important particulars, 1) in being based not on the acoustic effects of the sounds, but on their organic formation, and 2) in being of universal applicability: while most other systems give us only a limited number of sounds arbitrarily selected from a few languages, Mr. Bell's *Visible Speech* is entirely independent of any one language—it not only tells us what sounds *do*

exist in a given language, but also what sounds *may* exist in any language whatever. It is therefore of priceless value in all theoretical investigations like the present.

The following remarks will help to elucidate Mr. Bell's table of vowels with key-words, which I have given on the opposite page.

Every vowel is, as regards position, either *back* (guttural), of which *aa* is the type, *front* (palatal), typified by *ii*, or *mixed*, that is, formed by the back and front of the tongue simultaneously, as in the English *err*. Each vowel, again, has one of three degrees of elevation—it is either *high*, *mid* or *low*. Each of these nine positions may be *rounded* (labialized). Each of the resulting eighteen vowels must, lastly, be either *narrow*[1] or *wide*. In forming narrow vowels the pharynx or cavity behind the mouth is compressed, while in wide vowels it is relaxed. The distinction will be clearly felt by any one who pronounces *not*, *naught*, several times in succession, drawling them out as much as possible: it will be found that in sounding *not* the pharynx and back of the mouth is relaxed, while in *naught* there is evident tension. The vowel in both words is the low-back-round, but in *not* it is wide, in *naught* narrow.

In treating of the formation of the sounds, I have always described them in Mr. Bell's terminology, which is admirably simple and clear. If I could have made use of his types, I could have avoided a great deal of circumlocution, which, as it is, has proved unavoidable.

For the convenience of those who are not able to appreciate minute phonetic distinctions, I have also adopted a rough practical system of notation, in which only the broadest distinctions are indicated. In this system *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *y*, are employed in their original Roman values, the distinction between open and close *e* and *o* being indicated by accents. To indicate that class of sounds of which the English vowels in *but* and *err* are types, I have adopted the turned *e* (*ə*). The English vowel in *man* is written *æ*, and *œ* is used

[1] I have ventured to substitute "narrow" for Mr. Bell's "primary," as being both shorter and more expressive.

GENERAL VOWEL SCALE.

NARROW.			WIDE.		
1 high-back.	4 high-mixed. *Sw.* upp	7 high-front. *Scotch and occ. Engl.* feel	10 high-back. *occ. Engl.* but *Engl.* eye	13 high-mixed.	16 high-front. *Engl.* bit
2 mid-back. *occ. Eng.* but	5 mid-mixed. *German unacc.* e	8 mid-front. *Dan.* steen *Scotch* take	11 mid-back. *Engl.* father	14 mid-mixed. *Engl.* father	17 mid-front. *occ. Engl.* men *Dan.* læse
3 low-back. *occ. Scotch* but	6 low-mixed. *Eng.* err	9 low-front. *Scotch and occ. Engl.* men	12 low-back. *Sw.* fara *Scotch* man	15 low-mixed *Engl.* how *occ. Scotch* err	18 low-front. *Engl.* man

NARROW-ROUND.			WIDE-ROUND.		
19 high-back. *Scotch and occ. Engl.* fool	22 high-mixed. *Sw.* hus	25 high-front. *Germ.* übel *Dan.* lys	28 high-back. *Eng.* full	31 high-mixed.	34 high-front. *Dan.* synd
20 mid-back. *Germ.* sohn	23 mid-mixed.	26 mid-front. *Dan.* föle *Germ.* schön	29 mid-back. *Engl.* boy *occ. Scotch* no	32 mid-mixed.	35 mid-front. *Dan.* en dör
21 low-back. *Engl.* fall	24 low-mixed.	27 low-front. *Dan.* störst *occ. Germ.* götter	30 low-back. *Engl.* hot	33 low-mixed.	36 low-front.

to designate the German ö. Long vowels are doubled, and diphthongs indicated by combining their elements.[1]

a	as in	*father*	Nos.	11, 12, (3)	on Bell's Scale.
æ	,,	*man*	,,	18	,,
è	,,	*tell*	,,	9, (17)	,,
é	,,	*Scotch* tale, *French* é	,,	8	,,
e	,,	but, bird, *German* gabe	,,	2, (3), 5, 6, (10), 14, 15.	
i	,,	bit, beat	,,	7, 16.	
ò	,,	not	,,	21, (29), 30 on Bell's Scale.	
ó	,,	*Scotch* note, *Germ.* sohn	,,	20	,,
œ	,,	*Germ.* schön	,,	(26), 27, 35, 36	,,
u	,,	wolf	,,	19, 28.	
y	,,	*Germ.* übel	,,	25, (26), 34	,,

ai ,, my, *Germ.* mein.
au ,, house, *Germ.* haus.
éi ,, tale.
óu ,, no.
oi ,, boy.

I have not made any use of Mr. Ellis's "palæotype," as, in spite of its typographical convenience, its extreme complexity and arbitrariness make it, as I can testify from personal experience, quite unfitted for popular exposition. The apparent easiness of palæotype as compared with the Visible Speech letters of Mr. Bell is purely delusive: it is certain that those who find Visible Speech too difficult will be quite unable really to master palæotype. It must also be borne in mind that no system of notation will enable the student to dispense with a thorough study of the sounds themselves: there is no royal road to phonetics.

General Laws of Sound Change.

They may be investigated both deductively, that is, by examining known changes in languages, and à priori, by considering the relations of sounds among themselves. I propose to combine these methods as much as possible. Although in giving examples of the various changes I have been careful to select cases which may be considered as perfectly well established, I must in many cases ask the reader to suspend his judgment till they have been fully discussed, which, of course, cannot be done till we come to the details. The general laws I am about to state may, for the present,

[1] Numbers within parentheses indicate the less distinctive vowels, which admit of being brought under different heads: 26, for instance, may be regarded either as a very open *y* or a close *œ*.

be regarded simply as convenient heads for classing the various changes under.

All the changes may be brought under three grand divisions, 1) *organic*, 2) *imitative*, and 3) *inorganic*. Organic changes are those which are the direct result of certain tendencies of the organs of speech: all the changes commonly regarded as weakenings fall under this head. Imitative changes are the result of an unsuccessful attempt at imitation. Inorganic changes, lastly, are caused by purely external causes, and have nothing to do either with organic weakening or with unsuccessful imitation.

The great defect of most attempts to explain sound-changes is that they select some one of these causes, and attempt to explain everything by it, ignoring the two others. It would, for instance, be entirely misleading to explain the change of the O.E. *bær* (pret. of *beran*) into the N.E. *bore* as an organic sound-change, the truth being that the form *bore* is the result of confusion with the participle *borne*. Such a case as this is self-evident, but I hope to show hereafter that the very remarkable and apparently inexplicable changes which our language underwent during the transition from the Old to the Middle period, can be easily explained as inorganic developments.

We may now turn to the two first classes of changes, organic and imitative. From the fact that all sounds are originally acquired by imitation of the mother and nurse we are apt to assume that all sound-change is due to imitation, but a little consideration will show that this is not the case. How, for instance, can such a change as that of a stopped to an open consonant, or of *ii*, *uu*, into *ai*, *au*, be explained by imitation? The fact that the vast majority of those who speak even the most difficult languages *do* make the finest distinctions perfectly well, proves clearly that the correct imitation of sounds is no insurmountable difficulty even to people of very ordinary capacity. The real explanation of such changes as those cited above is that the sounds were acquired properly by imitation, and then modified by the speaker himself, either from carelessness or indolence.

Further confirmation is afforded by the fact, which any one may observe for himself, that most people have double pronunciations, one being that which they learned by imitation, the other an unconscious modification. If asked to pronounce the sound distinctly, they will give the former sound, and will probably disown the other as a vulgarism, although they employ it themselves invariably in rapid conversation. When the habits are fixed, the difficulty of correct imitation largely increases. To the infant one sound is generally not more difficult than another, but to the adult a strange sound is generally an impossibility, or, at any rate, a very serious difficulty. He therefore naturally identifies it with the nearest equivalent in his own language, or else analyses it, and gives the two elements successively instead of simultaneously. We may, therefore, expect a much wider range of the imitative principle in words derived from other languages. I propose, accordingly, to class all the doubtful changes under the head of organic, treating as imitative changes only those which do not allow of any other explanation, but admitting that some of the changes considered as inorganic may under special circumstances be explained as imitative.

Organic sound-changes fall naturally into two main divisions, *simple* and *complex*. Simple changes are those which affect a single sound without any reference to its surroundings, while complex changes imply two sounds in juxtaposition, which modify one another in various ways.

It is generally assumed by philologists that all organic sound-changes may be explained by the principle of economy of exertion, and there can be no doubt that many of the changes must be explained in this way and in no other, as, for instance, the numerous cases of assimilation, where, instead of passing completely from one sound to another, the speaker chooses an intermediate one. Other changes, however, not only do not require this hypothesis of muscular economy, but even run quite counter to it, as when an open consonant is converted into a stop, a by no means uncommon phenomenon in the Teutonic languages. It is of the greatest importance that these exceptions to the general rule should not be suppressed.

I shall, therefore, while giving precedence to those changes which seem to be in harmony with the general principle of economy of force, take care to state fully the exceptions. I begin with the simple changes, arranging them in classes, according to the different vocal organs concerned in their formation.

A. Simple Changes.

I. Weakening.

1) Glottal: voice to whisper and breath. In the formation of voice the glottis is momentarily closed, in that of whisper its edges are only approximated, and in breath the glottis is quite open. It is evident, therefore, that voice *per se* demands the most and breath the least muscular exertion, and that the natural tendency would be to substitute whisper and breath for voice whenever possible. The great preservative of consonantal vocality is the principle of assimilation, to which we shall return presently. When a voice consonant is flanked by vowels, as in *aba, aga*, etc., it is much easier to let the voice run on uninterruptedly than to cut it off at the consonant and then resume it. But at the end of a word this assimilative influence is not felt, and accordingly we find that in nearly all the Teutonic languages except English, many of the final voice consonants become either voiceless or whispered.

2) Pharyngal: narrow to wide. In the formation of narrow vowels the pharynx is compressed, while in that of wide vowels it is relaxed. The natural tendency would therefore be from narrow to wide. It is, however, a curious fact that in the Teutonic languages short and long vowels follow diametrically opposed laws of change as regards these pharyngal modifications, long vowels tending to narrowing, short to widening. Full details will be given hereafter; I merely call attention to these Teutonic changes as a clear instance of inapplicability of the principle of economy of force.[1]

3) Changes of position. The most general feature of

[1] Mr. H. Nicol, however, suggests that the narrowing of long vowels may be caused by the effort required to sustain a uniform sound—hence long vowels are either narrowed or diphthongized.

changes of position is the tendency to modify the back articulations, whether vowels or consonants, by shifting forwards to the front, point or lip positions. This is clearly a case of economy of exertion, as the back formations require a movement of the whole body of the tongue, the front and point of only a portion of it. Of the two last the front, on the same principle, evidently require more exertion than the point sounds. The lip consonants (the labial vowels must be reserved), lastly, involve the minimum of exertion.

I will now give a few examples of these various changes.

a) back to front: Sanskrit *ch* (front-stop) from *k*, as in *vach*=*vak;* English *mæn, fèèər*, from the Old E. *mann, faran.*

b) back to point: E. *méit* from O.E. *gemaca.*

c) back to lip: seems doubtful, as the cases usually cited, such as Greek *pénte*=*kankan*, seem to be the result of the assimilative influence of the *w*-sound preserved in the Latin *quinque.*

d) front to point: the development of *tsh* from *k* through an intermediate front position, as in the E. *church* from *cyrice*; the change of Sanskrit *ç*, as in *çru*, which was originally the voiceless consonant corresponding to the English consonant *y*, to the present sound of *sh.*

e) front and point to lip?[1]

f) back and front to mixed (applies only to vowels). All unaccented vowels in most of the Teutonic languages have been levelled under one sound—the mid-mixed-narrow, as in the German *endə, geebən*, from the older *andi, giban.*

There are many exceptions to these general tendencies. Thus, of the two *rs*, the back and the point, the former seems to require less exertion than the latter, and hence is often substituted for it in the careless pronunciation of advanced communities, especially in large cities. Other cases, however, really seem to run counter to the principle of economy of force. Such are the change of *th* into

[1] The not unfrequent change of *th* into *f* is no doubt purely imitative (*fruu* for *pruu*).

kh (=German *ch*) in the Scotch (Lothian dialect) *khrii* for *thrii*.

The changes of height in the vowels cannot be brought under any general laws. In the Teutonic languages, at least, short and long vowels follow quite opposite courses, long vowels tending to high, short to low positions.

4) Relaxation:

a) stopped consonants to unstopped: Latin *lingua* from *dingua;* German *makhən* = E. *méik, wasər* = *wòòtər;* Modern Greek *dhédhoka* from *dédooka.*

b) unstopped to diphthongal vowel: Middle English *dai, lau,* from older *dagh, laghu;* English *hiiə* from *hiir.*

c) untrilling: a common phenomenon in most of the Teutonic languages, especially English, in which the trilled *r* is quite lost.

There are some unmistakable exceptions to these tendencies. All the Teutonic languages except English seem to find the *th* and *dh* difficult, and convert them into the corresponding stopped *t* and *d.* In Swedish the *gh* of the oldest documents has, in like manner, become *g.* There seem to be cases of vowels developing into consonants, which will be treated of hereafter. Lastly, we may notice the not unfrequent development of trilled out of untrilled consonants, as in Dutch, where *g* first became opened into *gh,* which in many Dutch dialects has become a regular guttural *r.*

5) Rounding (vowel-labialization). We must distinguish between the rounded back and the rounded front vowels, for their tendencies are directly opposed to one another: back vowels tend to rounding, front to unrounding. In the case of back vowels, rounding may be regarded as an attempt to diminish the expenditure of muscular energy, by keeping the mouth half-closed, whence the change of *aa* into *òò,* which, as we shall see, is almost universal in the Teutonic languages. But with the more easily-formed front vowels this economy of exertion is superfluous: we find, accordingly, that front vowels are seldom rounded, but that rounded front vowels are often unrounded, *y* and *œ* becoming *i* and *e*—a frequent change in the Teutonic languages.

II. Loss.

1) of vowels. The loss of unaccented final vowels is a frequent phenomenon in all languages. The dropping of final *e* is a characteristic feature of the Modern period of English.

2) of consonants. Here we may distinguish several classes of changes. A single consonant may fall off either before a vowel or a consonant, and it may be initial, medial, or final. The Teutonic languages are, as a general rule, remarkable for the extreme tenacity with which they retain their consonants, especially when final.

B. Complex Changes

III. Influence.

1) One-sided Influence. Influence of one sound on another may be either partial (modification) or complete (assimilation). We must further distinguish the influence of vowel on vowel, vowel on consonant, consonant on consonant, and consonant on vowel.

The modification of one vowel by another, commonly called *umlaut*, is a very important feature of Teutonic sound-change. The following are the most important Teutonic umlauts, which I have formulated as equations.

a...i=è: *O.E.* ènde=*Gothic* andi; *O. Icelandic* wèèri=waari.

a...u=ò: *O. Icelandic* mònnum=mannum, sòòr=saaru (*pl. of* saar).

i...a=é: *O.E.* stélan=*Gothic* stilan.

u...a=ó: *O.E.* óft=*Gothic* ufta.

u...i=y: *O.E.* fyllan=fullian, myys=muusi.

ó...i=œ: *O E.* grœœne=gróóni.

There are also umlauts of diphthongs, such as *èy* in the Old Icelandic *lèysa=lausian.*

The change of *ai* into *èi* in Old Icelandic (*vèit=vait*), and the further change of *èi* into *éi* in Modern Icelandic, are examples of what might be called diphthongic umlaut.

It is clear that in all these umlauts the new vowel is exactly intermediate between the original vowel of the root and the modifying one of the termination: if the new vowel became identical with its modifier, the result would be not an umlaut but a complete assimilation. In the Old Icelandic *skòpuðu=skapaðu* the first vowel is modified, the second assimilated by the final *u*.

Vowel influence on consonants is not very common, but the different forms of German *ch*, after back, front, and rounded vowels, as in *ach, ich, auch,* are instances of it.

Consonant influence on consonants is very strongly developed in some languages: what is called *sandhi* in Sanskrit and *mutation* in the Celtic languages falls partly under this head. The Teutonic languages, on the other hand, are remarkable for the independence of their consonants, and the freedom with which they are combined without modifying one another. Consonant influence on vowels, lastly, is perhaps the obscurest of all phonetic problems: the explanation of its varied phenomena seems to require a far greater knowledge of the synthesis of speech-sounds than is at present attained by phonologists. These influences are strongly developed both in Old and Modern English, and will be treated of in their place.

The converse of the processes just considered is *dissimilation,* by which two identical sounds are made unlike, or two similar sounds are made to diverge. The development of the Teutonic preterite *wista* out of *witta* is an example of consonantal, the diphthongization of *ii* into *éi* in Early Modern English of vowel dissimilation, while the further change of *éi* into *əi* and *ai* is a case of divergence of similar sounds. The whole phenomena of *dissimilation* is anomalous, and it is doubtful whether many of the instances ought not to be ascribed to purely external causes, as, for instance, the desire of greater clearness.

2) Mutual Influence. Mutual influence, in which *both* the sounds are modified by one another, may be either partial or complete. I do not know of any sure instance of partial convergence.

The commonest type of complete convergence is such a change as that of *au* into *ôô*, in which two distinct sounds are simplified into one sound different from and yet similar to both of them. This simplification of diphthongs is, as we shall see, a very frequent phenomenon in the history of English sounds. Of consonantal simplification we have an example in the English *wh* in *what*, which was first *khwat*, then *h-wat*, and lastly *what*, the initial *h* being incorporated into the *w*, which consequently lost its vocality.

The converse phenomenon of divergence is exemplified in the resolution of simple long vowels into diphthongs. We have seen that *ôô* is often the result of the simplification of *au*, but in Icelandic the process has been reversed—the Old Icelandic *ôô* (as in *dôôȣ* from *daaȣ*) has become *au*. In the same way the Middle English *yy* has in the present English been resolved into *iu*. Whether short vowels are ever resolved is very doubtful.

IV. Transposition.

Transposition may be of consonants, as in the familiar *æx* for *ask*, or else of vowels in different syllables, as in the Greek *meinō* for *meniō*. This latter case must be carefully distinguished from umlaut. There seem also to be cases of transposition in different words, or in whole classes of words, such as the confusion between *'air=hair* and *hair=air*, which seems to be often made in the London dialect.

The results obtained may be conveniently summed up thus:

A. Simple Changes.

I. Weakening.

1) Glottal: voice to whisper and breath.
2) Pharyngal: narrow to wide.
3) Position: a) back to front.
   b) back to point.
   c) back to lip?
   d) front to point.

e) front and point to lip ?
f) back and front to mixed (vowels only).
g) vowel-height ?

4) Relaxation: a) stop to unstopped; b) unstopped to vowel; c) untrilling.

5) Vowel-rounding: rounding of back; unrounding of front.

II. Loss.

1) Of vowels: unaccented final *e*.

2) Consonants: before vowel, before another consonant; initial, medial, final.

B. Complex Changes

III. Influence.

1) One-sided, a) convergent:
partial (modification), complete (assimilation); vowel on vowel (umlaut), vowel on consonant, consonant on consonant (sandhi), consonant on vowel.
b) divergent (dissimilation): of vowels, of consonants.

2) Mutual, a) convergent:
partial (diphthongic umlaut), complete (diphthongic simplification); consonantal.
b) divergent: resolution of long vowels, of short (?).

IV. Transposition.

1) Of consonants.
2) Of vowels (in different syllables).
3) In different words.

Imitative Sound-Changes.

The general principle on which imitative changes depend is simply this—that the same effect, or nearly the same, may be produced on the ear by very different means. Thus, starting from the mid-front-narrow vowel *e*, we can lower

its natural pitch either by slightly raising the back of the tongue, and thus producing the corresponding mixed *ə* instead of the front vowel, or else by rounding into the mid-front-round *œ*, the result being that *œ* and *ə* are so alike in sound that they are constantly confused in many languages. This similarity of sound between the mixed and round vowels was first pointed out by Mr. Bell (Visible Speech, p. 87).

There is the same similarity between the low-narrow and the mid-wide vowels, and also between the high-wide and the mid-narrow. Thus the English *e* in *men* is indifferently pronounced, either as the mid-front-wide or the low-front-narrow, and the *ə* in *bət* as the high-back-wide or the mid-back-narrow.

Whenever, then, we find a sound changing directly into another which, although very similar in acoustic effect, is formed in quite a different manner, we may be sure that the change is an imitative, not an organic one. Thus, when we find *œ* and *ə* constantly interchanging without any intermediate stages, it would be unreasonable to assume, as we should have to do on the assumption of organic change, three such stages as *œ*, *é*, *ə*, whereas the imitative hypothesis makes the direct change of *œ* into *ə* perfectly intelligible.

Inorganic Changes.

Inorganic sound-changes, which result from purely external causes, are of a very varied character, and are consequently difficult to classify. One of the most prominent of these external influences is the striving after logical clearness, which comes more and more into play as the sounds of the language become less distinct. Clearness may again be attained in many ways—by discarding one of two words which have run together in form, though distinct in meaning, or by taking advantage of any tendency to change which may keep the two words distinct (scheideformen). The phenomenon of *levelling*, by which advanced languages get rid of superfluous distinctions, is a very im-

portant inorganic change, and is strongly developed in Transition English. A familiar aspect of inorganic sound-change is the alteration of foreign words so as to give them a homely appearance, as in *sparrow-grass* for *asparagus*.

General Law of Change.

The investigation of the various laws of sound-change—important as it is—must not be allowed to divert our attention from the general principle on which they all depend, namely that of incessant change—alternations of development and decay. To say that language changes looks very like a truism, but if so, it is a truism whose consequences are very generally ignored by theorizers on pronunciation. The most important lesson that it teaches us is to regard all cases of stand-still, whether of phonetic or of general linguistic development, as abnormal and exceptional. These cases of arrested development are really much rarer than is commonly supposed, and many of them are quite delusive—the result of the retention of the written representation of an older language, from which the real living language has diverged widely. English and Icelandic are striking examples. The written English language is for all practical purpose an accurate representation of the spoken language of the sixteenth century, which, as far as the sounds themselves are concerned, is as different from the present English as Latin is from Italian. The apparent stability of our language during the last few centuries is purely delusive.

The case of English and Icelandic also shows how it is possible for a language to retain its grammatical structure unimpaired, and at the same time to undergo the most sweeping changes in its phonetic system. How much more then are we bound to expect a change of pronunciation where the whole grammatical structure of a language has been subverted!

It is not only in its unceasing alternations of development and decay that language shows its analogy with the other manifestations of organic life, but also in another very

important feature, namely in that of increasing complexity of phonetic structure. The greater number of sounds in a late as opposed to an early language is at once evident on comparing two languages belonging to the same stock, but in different stages of development, such as English with German, French with Italian or Spanish. It can further be shown that even in German, in its sounds one of the most archaic of the living Teutonic languages, many of the simple vowels are of comparatively late origin.

The sounds of early languages, besides being few in number, are more sharply marked off, more distinct than those of their descendants. Compare the multitude of indistinct vowel sounds in such a language as English with the clear simplicity of the Gothic and Sanskrit triad *a*, *i*, *u*—the three most distinct sounds that could possibly be produced. From these three vowels the complex systems of the modern languages have been developed by the various changes already treated of.

There can be little doubt that the simplicity of earlier phonetic systems was partly due to want of acoustic discrimination, and that primitive Man contented himself with three vowels, simply because he would have been unable to distinguish between a larger number of sounds. The really marvellous fineness of ear displayed by those who speak such languages as English, Danish, or French, must be the result of the accumulated experience of innumerable generations.

From this we can easily deduce another law, namely that the changes in early languages are not gradual, but *per saltum*. A clear appreciation of this principle is of considerable importance, as many philologists have assumed that in such changes as that of a back into a front consonant (Sanskrit *k* into *ch*) the tongue was shifted forwards by imperceptible gradations. Such assumptions are quite unnecessary, besides being devoid of proof. To people accustomed previously only to the broad distinction between back and point consonant, the further distinction of front must at first have appeared almost indistinguishable from its two extremes.

Under such circumstances it is not easy to see how they could have distinguished intermediate modifications of the original sound.

General Alphabetics.

Although it would be possible to carry on the present investigation on a purely comparative basis—confining our attention exclusively to the living languages—such a process would prove tedious and difficult, if pursued without any help from the historical method, many of whose deductions are perfectly well established: to ignore these would be perverse pedantry. But the historical method must be based on a study of the graphic forms in which the older languages are preserved, and especially of their relation to the sounds they represent. It is quite useless to attempt to draw deductions from the spelling of a language till we know on what principles that spelling was formed. We have only to look at living languages to see how greatly the value of the spelling of each language varies. In English and French the spelling is almost worthless as a guide to the actual language; in German and Spanish the correspondence between sound and symbol is infinitely closer, and in some languages, such as Finnish and Hungarian, it is almost perfect—as far as the radical defects of the Roman alphabet allow.

With these facts before us, it is clearly unreasonable to assume, as many philologists have done, that the same divergence between orthography and pronunciation which characterizes Modern English prevailed also in the earlier periods, and consequently that no reliable deductions can be drawn from the graphic forms. I feel confident that every one who has patience enough to follow me to the end of the present discussion will be convinced of the very opposite. Putting aside the actual evidence altogether, it is quite clear that the wretched attempts at writing the sounds of our dialects made by educated men of the present day cannot be taken as standards from which to infer a similar result a thousand years ago.

An educated man in the nineteenth century is one who

has been taught to associate groups of type-marks with certain ideas: his conception of language is visual, not oral. The same system is applied to other languages as well as English, so that we have the curious phenomenon of people studying French and German for twenty years, and yet being unable to understand a single sentence of the spoken languages; also of Latin verses made and measured by eye, like a piece of carpentry, by men who would be unable to comprehend the metre of a single line of their own compositions, if read out in the manner of the ancients. The study of Egyptian hieroglyphics affords almost as good a phonetic training as this.

Before the invention of printing the case was very different. The Roman alphabet was a purely phonetic instrument, the value of each symbol being learned by ear, and consequently the sounds of the scribe being also written by ear. The scarcity of books, the want of communication between literary men, and the number of literary dialects—all these causes made the adoption of a rigid, unchanging orthography a simple impossibility. It must not, of course, be imagined that there were *no* orthographical traditions, but it may be safely said that their influence was next to none at all. The only result of greater literary cultivation in early times was to introduce a certain roughness and carelessness in distinguishing shades of sound: we shall see hereafter that sounds which were kept distinct in the thirteenth-century spelling were confused in the time of Chaucer, although it is quite certain that they were still distinguished in speech. But such defects, although inconvenient to the investigator, do not lead him utterly astray, like the retention of a letter long after the corresponding sound has changed or been lost, which is so often the case in orthographies fixed on a traditional basis.

Early scribes not only had the advantage of a rational phonetic tradition—not a tradition of a fixed spelling for each word, but of a small number of letters associated each with one sound;—but, what is equally important, the mere practical application of this alphabet *forced* them to observe

and analyse the sounds they wrote down: in short they were trained to habits of phonetic observation. Yet another advantage was possessed by the earliest scribes—that of a comparatively limited number of sounds to deal with. For the proofs of this position I must refer to the remarks I have made in the discussion of the Laws of Sound Change, and to the details of the investigation itself.

The Roman alphabet consisted of six simple vowel signs, a e i o u y: on these six letters the vowel notation of all the Teutonic languages was based. If, therefore, we can determine the sounds attached to these letters by the Romans during the first few centuries of Christianity, we can also determine, within certain limits, the sounds of the unlettered tribes who adopted the Roman alphabet to write their own languages. Nor need our determination be absolutely accurate. It is certain that minute shades of difference between a Latin and, for example, an Old English sound would not have deterred the first writers of English from adopting the letter answering to the Latin sound: all that was wanted was a distinctive symbol.

Now there can be no doubt as to the general values of the six Roman vowel-signs. The sounds of the first five are still preserved in nearly all the Modern Latin languages, and that of the *y*, although lost in Italian and the other cognate languages, can be determined with certainty from the descriptions of the Latin grammarians, and from its being the regular transcription of the Greek *upsilon*. The values of the Roman vowel-letters may, then, be represented approximately thus:

a=Italian	*a*;	English	*f*ather.	
e	,,	*e*	,,	b*ed*, b*ear*.
i	,,	*i*	,,	b*it*, b*eat*.
o	,,	*o*	,,	*o*dd, b*o*re.
u	,,	*u*	,,	*f*ull, *f*ool.
y=French	*u*;	Danish	*y*.	

We see that even in English the traditional values of the Roman letters have been very accurately preserved in many

cases, and it need hardly be said that the majority of the living Teutonic languages have preserved them almost as faithfully as Italian and Spanish. We thus find that the Romance and Teutonic traditions are in complete harmony after a lapse of more than ten centuries. The greatest number of exceptions to the general agreement occur in the two most advanced languages of each group—English and French; but it can be shown that these divergences are of very late origin, and that in the sixteenth century the original tradition was still maintained.

We may now pass from the consideration of the single letters to that of their combinations or digraphs. The first use of digraphs, namely to express diphthongs, is self-evident, but they have a distinct and equally important function in symbolizing simple sounds which have no proper sign in the original Roman alphabet. The plan adopted was to take the symbols of two different sounds which both resembled the one in question, and write them one after the other, implying, however, that they were to be pronounced not successively but simultaneously—that an intermediate sound was to be formed. Thus, supposing there had been no *y* in the Roman alphabet, the sound might still have been easily represented by writing *u* and *i* (or *e*) together, implying an intermediate sound, which is no other than that of *y*. As we see, the framers of the Old English alphabet, living at a time when the Roman *y* still had its original sound, had no need of this expedient; but in Germany, where the sound of *y* did not develope till a comparatively late period—during the twelfth century—the only course open was to resort to a digraph, so that the sound which in Danish is still expressed by the Old Roman *y*, is in Modern German written *ue*.

This *ue* affords at the same time an excellent example of the way in which diacritical modifications are developed out of digraphs. The first step is to write one of the two letters above or under the other: accordingly we find the German *ue* in later times written *ů*. Afterwards the *e* was further abbreviated into two dots, giving the familiar *ü*. In some cases the diacritic becomes incorporated into the letter, and

there results what is practically an entirely new letter. Although most diacritics can be explained in this way, as corruptions of originally independent letters, there are still a few cases of arbitrary modification, of which the Old English ð from *d* is an example. Cases of the arbitrary use of consonants as digraphic modifiers also occur. Thus *h* has come to be a perfectly unmeaning sign, implying any imaginable modification of the consonant it is associated with. Compare *g* and *gh* in Italian, *l* and *lh* in Portuguese, etc. The doubling of consonants to express new sounds is equally arbitrary, as in the Welsh *ff* as distinguished from *f*, and the Middle English *ss*=*sh*.

In all the cases hitherto considered the digraph is formed consciously and with design, but it often happens that a diphthong becomes simplified, and the original digraph is still retained for the sake of distinctness. Thus, if the diphthong *iu* passes into the simple sound of *yy*, it is clearly the simplest and most practical course to retain the *iu*, as being a perfectly legitimate representation of a sound which, although simple, lies between *i* and *u*.

All diacritical letters, whatever their origin, are distinguished in one very important respect from the older digraphs —they are perfectly unambiguous, while it is often difficult to determine whether a given digraph is meant to represent a diphthong or a simple sound. There is, however, one invariable criterion, although, unfortunately, it cannot always be applied, which is *the reversibility of the elements of the digraph.* Thus, the sound written *oe* in Old English, as in *boec* (later *bec*), might, on the evidence of this spelling alone, be taken equally well for a diphthongic combination of *o* and *e*, or for a sound intermediate to these two vowels; but when we find *boec* and *beoc* alternating, as they do, on the same page, we see that the *e* was a mere modifier, whose position before or after the vowel to be modified was quite immaterial: the sound must therefore have been simple—a conclusion which is fully confirmed by other evidence.

The Roman alphabet has been further enriched by the differentiation of various forms of the same letter, of which

the present distinctions between *u* and *v*, *i* and *j*, are instances. In these cases varieties of form which were originally purely ornamental and arbitrary have been ingeniously utilized to express distinctions in sounds.

Quantity and Quality in the Teutonic Languages.

The distinguishing feature of the early Teutonic languages is the important part played in them by quantity. This subject has been very fully investigated by Grimm and his school in Germany, and it may be regarded as proved beyond a doubt that in the Teutonic languages quantity was originally quite independent of stress or quality, and that many words were distinguished solely by their quantity.

Even so late as the thirteenth century we find the German poetry regulated partly by quantitative laws. Not only are short and long vowels never rhymed together, but there is also a fine distinction made between dissyllables with short and long penultimates; words like *bĭte* (modern *bitte*) being treated as metrically equivalent to a monosyllable, while *rīte* (now *reite*) is regarded as a true dissyllable. Many metres which employ monosyllabic rhyme-words indifferently with words like *bite* do not show a single instance of a dissyllable like *rīte* at the end of the line.

Similar instances may be adduced from the Icelandic rímur of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

All this is fully confirmed by the direct evidence of many German MSS. of the eleventh century, which employ the circumflex regularly to denote a long vowel.

It is further generally admitted that in the living Teutonic languages these distinctions have mostly vanished, short vowels before single consonants having been generally lengthened, and that quantitative distinctions have been replaced by qualitative ones. The general laws, however, on which these changes depend, have not hitherto been investigated, and I propose hereafter to treat of them in some detail: at present we must content ourselves with an examination of the more general features of the change.

In the substitution of qualitative for quantitative distinctions we can easily observe three stages, 1) the purely quantitative, 2) the transitional, in which, while the distinctions of quantity are still preserved, short and long vowels begin to diverge qualitatively also, and 3) the qualitative, in which long and short vowels are confounded, so that the original quantitative distinctions are represented, if at all, by quality only.

That the oldest English still retained the original quantitative system is in itself highly probable from the analogy of the other cognate languages, and also admits of decisive proof. If we take two vowels, one originally long, the other originally short, which are both long and yet qualitatively distinct in the living language, and show that they were qualitatively identical at an earlier period, we are forced to assume a purely quantitative distinction, for the later divergence of quality could not have developed out of nothing. Let us take the words *stoun* and *bein*, written in Old English *stan* and *bana*. It is quite certain that the *a* of *stan* was originally long, for it is nothing but a simplification of an older *ai*, still preserved in the German *shtain*, while there is equally decisive proof of the shortness of the *a* of *bana*. Now, if there had been any difference in the quality of the two vowels, they would certainly not have been written with the same letter. The back vowel *a* can only be modified in two directions—in that of *e* or of *o*, that is, by fronting or rounding, and, as we shall see hereafter, such changes were regularly indicated by a change of spelling, even when the departure from the original sound was very minute. We are, therefore, led to the conclusion that the present purely qualitative distinction between *stoun* and *bein* was in the Old English period purely quantitative—*staan* and *bana*. Similar evidence is afforded by the other vowels.

As we have little direct evidence of the quantity of individual Old English words, recourse must be had to the comparison of the old cognates, for the details of which I must refer to the works of Grimm and his successors in Germany. Much may also be learned from the qualitative distinctions of the modern languages.

OLD ENGLISH PERIOD.

We may now proceed to a detailed examination of the vowel-sounds of our language in its oldest stage. The results of this investigation—which is an indispensable preliminary to the study of the later changes—cannot be properly appreciated till the evidence is fully set forth; at present I only wish to remind the reader that a rigorously mathematical method is quite impracticable in such an investigation, which can only be carried out by a process of cumulative reasoning, based on a number of independent probabilities. Nothing can be more irrational than to ignore an obvious deduction merely because it is a deduction, or to discard one that, although not absolutely certain, is extremely probable, in favour of another that is only barely possible.

The principle I have adopted in cases of uncertainty is to adopt the oldest sound that can be ascertained. It happens in many cases that although we can say with certainty that a sound underwent a certain change, we cannot point out the exact period in which the new sound arose. It must be borne in mind that the written language, even in the most illiterate and therefore untraditional times, is always somewhat behind the living speech, and further that a new pronunciation may exist side by side with the old for a long time. In such cases it is necessary to have some definite criterion of selection, and that of always taking the oldest sound seems the most reasonable.

Short Vowels.

A (Æ, O).

The short *a* of the cognate languages is in Old English preserved only in certain cases: 1) before a single consonant followed by *a*, *o*, or *u*, which have, however, in the earliest extant period of the language been in some cases weakened into *e*: *hara*, *hagol*, *caru*, *care*; 2) before nasals: *bana*, *lamb*, *lang*. In other cases *a* is replaced by *æ*: *dæg*, *æppel*, *cræftig*. Alternations of *a* and *æ* according to these rules often occur

in various inflexions of the same word: *dæg, dæges, dagas, dagum.* *a* before nasals is liable to interchange with *o*: *bona, lomb, long.* This *o* is so frequent in the earlier period as in many words almost to supersede the *a*, but afterwards the *a* gets the upper hand, the *o* being preserved in only a few very frequent words, such as *þonne, on, of*, which last is an exceptional case of *o* developing before *f*, also occurring in the proper name *Offa* (=original *Aba*).

So far goes the evidence of the graphic forms, as it may be found in any comparative grammar, and before bringing in the living languages it will be as well to consider what deductions may be drawn from them. In the first place it is clear that the development of the *æ* is not due to any assimilation, but is a purely negative phenomenon, that is to say, that wherever *a* was not supported by a back vowel in the next syllable, it was weakened into *æ* without any regard to the following consonant. The change cannot therefore, as German philologists have already remarked, be compared to the regular vowel-mutation or umlaut.

As to the pronunciation of this *æ*, the spelling clearly points to a sound intermediate between *a* and *e*, while the joining together of the two letters and the frequent degradation of the *a* into a mere diacritic, which is sometimes entirely omitted, show that it was a simple sound, not a diphthong: further than this we cannot advance till we have determined more accurately the sounds of *a* and *e*.

It is also clear that the *o* of *long*=*lang* must have been distinct from the regular *o* in *gold*, etc., for otherwise they would have run together and been confused. This conclusion is further confirmed by direct graphic evidence. In the riddles of that well-known collection of Old English poetry, the Exeter Book, the solution is sometimes given in Runic letters written backwards, and in one of them occurs the word COFOAH which, read backwards, gives *haofoc*=*hafoc* (hawk). Here we have an *a* labialized before *f*, as in *of*=*af*, written *ao*, with the evident intention of indicating a sound intermediate between *a* and *o*, just as *æ* points to a sound intermediate between *a* and *e*.

We may now turn our attention to the pronunciations of the modern languages. Disregarding minute shades of sound, we may distinguish three kinds of *a*s in the living Teutonic languages:

1) the mid-back-wide: English *father*, ordinary German *a*.

2) the low-back-wide: Scotch short *a* in *man*.

3) the low-back-narrow: I hear this sound in the South German dialects for both long and short *a*, and in Dutch for the short *a*, especially before *l*.

As to the relative antiquity of these sounds, there can be little doubt that the first is a later modification of the second, and it is very probable that the second is a weakened form of the third. In fact, it may safely be said that this last requires more exertion in its utterance than any other vowel —a fact which easily accounts for its rarity, and also for its preservation in the South German dialects, which, as we shall see hereafter, have preserved their short vowels more purely than any of the other languages.

Are we then to assume that the Old English *a* had this narrow sound? Analogy is certainly in favour of this assumption, but a little consideration will show that it is untenable. If *a* had been narrow, its weakening *æ*, which is simply *a* moved on towards *e*, would also have been narrow, giving no other sound than the low-front-narrow; but this, as we shall see, was the sound of the open short *e*, from which the *æ* is kept quite distinct: the *æ*, therefore, cannot have been narrow, nor, consequently, its parent *a*. But if we suppose the *a* to have had the sound of the Scotch *man*—that is the low-wide—the difficulty is cleared away, and we come to the very probable conclusion that the *æ* had the exact sound of the modern English *man*—the low-front-wide.

The *a* if labialized (or rounded) would naturally give the low-back-round-wide (English *not*), and as there is every reason to believe that the normal *o* was the mid-back-round-narrow, we see that the labialized *a* in *monn*, etc., was exactly half-way between *a* and *o*—a conclusion to which we have already been led by an examination of the graphic evidence.

I.

The only debatable point about the *i* is whether it had the wide sound of the English and Icelandic or the narrow of the German and Swedish short *i*. All we can say is that, although it is possible that the wide sound may have been the real one, every analogy is in favour of the narrow.

E.

We must distinguish two kinds of *e*s in the Teutonic languages, 1) the *a*-mutation of *i*, as in *helpan*=Gothic *hilpan*, and 2) the *i*-mutation of *a*, as in *ende*=Gothic and Old High German *andi*. The two sounds are now confounded in the Teutonic languages, but there is clear evidence that they were formerly distinct, for in the Middle High German poetry the two *e*s are never rhymed together, and the Icelander Þóroddr, in his treatise on orthography, carefully distinguishes the two, stating that the *e* from *a* had a sound which was a mixture of *a* and *e*, implying, of course, that the other *e* was nearer to the *i* from which it arose.

It has been generally assumed by comparative philologists that there was no distinction between the two *e*s in Old English, but, as I have pointed out elsewhere,[1] there is unmistakable graphic evidence to prove that there was a distinction, the *e* from *a* being often written *æ*, although this spelling was soon abandoned because of the confusion it caused with the regular *æ* of *dæg*, etc.

Putting all these facts together, remembering that the one *e* was nearer *i*, the other nearer *a*, and yet distinct from the *æ*, we can hardly help assigning to the *e* from *i* the sound of the mid-front-narrow, and to the *e* from *a* that of the low-front-narrow. That the *e* from *a* was narrow need not make any difficulty, when we consider that the change took place at a much earlier period than that of the development of the *æ* of *dæg*, etc.—in short, at a period in which the *a* was probably narrow in all the Teutonic languages.

[1] King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care. Introd. p. xxiii.

The unaccented *e* in such words as *gebiden, ende*, requires to be considered separately. In all the living Teutonic languages which possess this sound—that is to say, all except Icelandic and English—it is the mid-mixed-narrow. But in many of the South German dialects the mid-front-narrow occurs, which is clearly a more ancient sound. That this was the sound of the Old Icelandic unaccented *e* (now written and pronounced *i*) is clear from Þóroddr's expressly adducing the second vowel of *framer* (=*framir:* nom. plur. masc. of *framr*) as an example of the close *e* arising from *i*.

It seems most reasonable to suppose that this pronunciation, which is also preserved to the present day in South Germany, was also the Old English one.

U.

What has been said of *i* applies equally to *u*, namely that analogy is in favour of its having had the narrow German sound rather than the wide English one.

O.

It is quite clear that the sound now given to the regular short *o* in all the Teutonic languages except German—the low-back-wide-round—cannot be the old one; for, as we have seen, this was the sound of the modified *a* before nasals (*monn*, etc.) which is kept quite distinct from the regular *o* in such a word as *oft*. This latter *o* is nothing else than an *a*-mutation of *u* (compare *oft* with Gothic *ufta*): it seems, therefore, reasonable to suppose that, as the *a*-mutation of *i* differed from the latter vowel simply in being lowered one degree towards the "low" position of the *a*, the *o* was simply the *u* lowered from its high to the mid position, resulting in the mid-back-narrow-round. Now this is the sound still preserved all over South Germany, and until further evidence is forthcoming it seems to me that we are justified in assuming that the same was the Old English sound.

Y.

This letter, which was originally nothing else but a Greek Υ, was adopted into the Roman alphabet to denote the sound

of the Greek *u*, which did not exist in Latin. The pronunciation of this Greek *u* is generally agreed to have been that of the French *u* or the German *ü*, and it is clear, from the descriptions of the Roman grammarians, that they attached the same value to their *y*, with which the Greek *u* is invariably transcribed. It is a remarkable fact that while the original sound of the Roman *y* has been quite lost in the Romance languages, it is still preserved in Danish and Swedish. As we know that the Scandinavian nations learned the use of the Roman alphabet from England, this Scandinavian tradition not only confirms the generally-received pronunciation of the Roman *y*, but also affords independent proof of the sound of the letter in Old English.

In its origin *y* is the *i*-mutation of *u;* its sound is therefore, as the Icelander Þóroddr says, "blended together of *i* and *u*," and Þóroddr actually considers *y* to be a combination of these two letters. The sound which fulfils these conditions is clearly that which is still preserved in South Germany, Sweden, and, in many words, in Danish — the high-front-narrow-round. This, then, we may safely assume to have been the Old English sound also.

Long Vowels.

AA.

Long *a* in Old English corresponds to an *ai* of the older cognates, Gothic and Old High German, of which it is a simplified form. As the *aa* has been rounded at a later period, and is represented in the present language by the diphthong *ou*, some theorists, who seem incapable of realizing the possibility of sounds changing during the lapse of ten centuries, have assumed that it was labial in the Old English period as well. The answer to this is, that if the sound had been at all labial, it would have been written, at least occasionally, *o* or *oa*, as was actually done at a later period, and as the Old English scribes themselves did in the case of short *a* before nasals: when we find the tenth century scribes writing invariably *stan*, and those of the twelfth century

writing as invariably *stoon* or *ston*, it seems simplest to infer that the former meant to indicate *a* and the latter some variety of *o*.

ÆÆ.

There are two long *æs* in Old English. The commonest is that which corresponds to original *ai*, as in *sǣ*, *dǣl*=Gothic *saiw*, *dail*. The relation of this *ǣ* to the *ā* treated of above is not quite clear. In some words, such as *clǣne*=Old German *kleini*, the *æ* may be explained as an umlaut of *ā*, original *claini* first becoming *clāni* and then *clǣni*. But such words as *sǣ* and *dǣl* do not admit this explanation. It seems therefore simplest to assume that *ǣ* and *ā* are both independent modifications of *ai*, the former being formed by convergence, the latter by loss of the *i*.

The second *ǣ* is that which corresponds to original *ā*, Gothic *ē*, as in *dǣd*=Gothic *dēd*, Old German *tāt*. It is, however, quite clear (as will be shown hereafter) from the Modern English forms that this *ǣ* did not exist in the dialect from which literary English has arisen, but was represented by *ē*, as in Gothic, which is the case even in the West-Saxon in some words, such as *wēn*=Old German *wān*, Gothic *wēn*, and the proper name *Ælfrēd*=Old German *Alprāt*.

The only question about the sound of *ǣ* is whether it was narrow or wide. The analogy of short *æ* would rather point to its being wide, that of the pronunciation of Modern German, in which the *èè*-umlaut of *ā* (*kèèzə*=*kaasi*) is always narrow, rather to narrowness. In fact the long sound of the *æ* in *mæn* is quite unknown in the Modern Teutonic languages. It must also be borne in mind that *ǣ* is probably a much older formation than the short *æ*, and may very well have been developed at a time when all the vowels were still narrow. If so, long *æ* must have been the low-front-narrow.

EE.

Long *ē* corresponds first to original *ā*, although, as already stated, this *ē* often becomes *ǣ* in the West-Saxon dialect. In many words it is a simplification of the diphthongs *eā* and *eō*,

as in *nēd, ēc*=*neād, eāc* (both of which forms are also common), *gēng*=*geōng*. The third and most common *ē* is the *i*-umlaut of *ō*, written *oe* in the oldest documents, as in *grēne* (*groene*)= original *grōni*. The pronunciation of all these *ēs* was probably the same, as they are not distinguished from one another in writing, and cannot well have been any other than the mid-front-narrow.

II, UU,

Correspond to original *ii* and *uu*, which are still preserved in the Scandinavian languages, the Old English *wīn* and *hūs* being now pronounced in Icelandic and Danish *viin, huus*. There can be no doubt that the Old English sounds were the same as those still preserved in these languages—the high-front-narrow and the high-back-narrow-round.

OO

Corresponds to original *ō*, as in *gōd, mōdor*. The sound was no doubt the same as that still preserved in Danish and Swedish, namely the mid-back-narrow-round, but without the abnormal rounding of the *óó* of these languages.[1]

YY

Is the umlaut of *ū*, as in *mȳs* = *mūsi*, plural of *mūs*. In some words, such as *fȳr* (Old German *viuwar*), it is a simplification of *iu* by diphthongal convergence. Its pronunciation cannot well have been anything else than the high-front-narrow-round.

Diphthongs.

EA.

Whenever original *a* comes before consonant-combinations beginning with *l, r,* or *h*, it is not changed into *æ*, but becomes *ea*, as in *eall, wearm, weax*. There can be no doubt that this *ea* was a true diphthong: its elements are never reversed (p. 23), nor is it confounded with *ae* or *æ*. The only question is whether the stress was

[1] See my paper on Danish Pronunciation (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1873–4, p. 101).

on the first or the second element. There is evidence which seems to point to the conclusion that the stress fell on the *a*. In Middle English *ea* is generally lost, but in the archaic fourteenth century Kentish of the Ayenbite, the old diphthong is still preserved in such words as *eald, healden*. But this *ea* is very often represented by *ya*, sometimes by *yea*, so that the Old English *eald* appears as *eald, yald* and *yeald*. Here we have the glide-vowel represented by the Middle English consonant *y*, showing clearly that the stress was on the *a*. As to the origin of the *ea*, the theory first propounded by Rapp (Physiologie der Sprache, ii. 145) seems the most probable, namely that *a* first became *æ* before *all* consonants (except nasals), so that *ald* became *æld*, and that this *æ* was then diphthongized into *ea* or rather *æa*.

EO.

Similarly, when *é* comes before *r, l* and *h*-combinations, it is diphthongized into *eo*, as in *eorðe, meolc, feoh*. In the Kentish and Northumbrian documents this *eo* is generally represented by *ea*, *eorðe* being written *earðe*. In the word *eart* (from *ért*) *eo* never occurs in any of the dialects—the normal *eort* being unknown even in West-Saxon. When we consider that *é* in Icelandic also is changed into *ia* (*ea* in the oldest MSS.), as in *hiarta*=Old E. *heorte*, there seems to be every probability that *ea* was the older sound, which in *eart* was preserved in all the dialects, on account of its excessive frequency. As *eo* is never (except in *eart*) confused with *ea*=*a* in the standard West-Saxon, we must suppose that the series of changes, *é, ea, eo*, was already completed when *ea*=*a* began to develope itself. The rounding of *ea* into *eo* is a very curious phenomenon. The frequent rounding of vowels before *l*, of which the Modern English *sòlt* from *salt* is an instance, would lead us to suppose that the change first began before *l*, and then extended to the other words. The analogy of Modern Icelandic, in which the first element of the *ia* has developed into a consonant, and of the Middle Kentish *y* in *yald*, make it very probable that the stress was on the second element.

EAA.

Besides the *ea* from *a*, there is another *ea*, which answers to original *au*, as in *dream*=Gothic *draum*. As this *ea* is distinct in origin and in subsequent development from the other *ea*, it must have been distinct in sound. The only conceivable distinctions are stress and quantity, that is, the *ea*=*au* may have been distinguished either by having the stress on the first element, or else by its accented vowel being long. The former supposition is made untenable by both the Middle Kentish *ya*, as in *dyaþ*, and the Norse spelling *Iatvarðr*(=*Játvarðr*) for *Eadweard:* these examples show that *ea*=*au* had the stress on the same vowel as *ea*=*a*. We are driven, therefore, to the hypothesis that *ea*=*au* had its second element long—*dreaam*. This view is confirmed by the Modern English form of the preterite *ceās* (Gothic *kaus*) which is *chóóz*—an anomaly which is quite inexplicable, except on the assumption of an original long *aa*. The development of the word is clearly *ce-aas*, *ce-òòs*, *chòòs*, *chóóz*. This seems to be what Rask meant by his accentuating *eá*, which Grimm also adopted, although Grimm does not seem to have attached any idea of lengthening to the accent.

The development of *eaa* out of *au* is one of the most difficult questions in Teutonic philology. All the explanations hitherto given are utterly unsatisfactory, and I will not waste time in criticising them, but rather state what I consider to be the only tenable theory, which, as far as I know, has never been made public, although I was glad to learn from Professor Kern, of Leiden, that it had suggested itself to him also. The explanation we propose is simply this. *au* first became *aa*, as in Frisian. This *aa* followed the short *a* and became *ǽǽ*. The *ǽǽ* was then resolved into *eaa* or *ǽaa*. We must suppose that these changes took place before *ai* became *aa:* otherwise there would have been a confusion between *aa*=*au* and *aa*=*ai*. There are, of course, certain difficulties still remaining. The development of a diphthong with one of its elements long is anomalous, and we would expect the diphthongization of the hypothetical

ææ to take place, like that of short *æ*, only before certain consonants. It is, however, quite possible that the diphthongization of long *ææ* was much earlier than that of short *æ*, and that the two phenomena are therefore independent. If so, *ææ* may at first have developed into simple *ea* and the lengthening of the *a* may have been a secondary process.

EOO

Answers to original *iu*, as in *deop*=Gothic *diup*. There can be no doubt that this *eo*=*iu* was distinct from the *eo*=*é*, and every analogy would lead us to suppose that the difference was one of quantity. Positive confirmation is afforded by the English *chuuz*, which points as clearly to an Old English *ccóósan* as *chóóz* does to a *ceaas*. The Icelandic *ióó*, as in *kióósa* (Modern *kjousa*), shows the same anomalous lengthening of the second element.

There is some uncertainty about the first elements of these diphthongs. Some clue is however afforded by the interchange of *e* with *i* in *eo* and *eoo*, which never happens with *ea* and *eaa*: we often find such forms as *iorðe* for *eorðe*, but never *hiard* for *heard*. The inference clearly is that in *eó* and *eoo* the initial vowel was closer and higher than in *ea*, *eaa*, probably through the assimilative influence of the second element. The diphthongs are then strictly *éó*, *éóó*, *èa*, *èaa* (or possibly *æa*, *æaa*).

For the sake of comparison, I append a table giving Mr. Ellis's results (Early English Pronunciation, p. 534) together

LETTERS.	ELLIS.	SWEET.	LETTERS.	ELLIS.	SWEET.
a	*a*, a	*a*	ā	*aa*	*aa*
æ	æ	æ	ǣ	ææ	EE
ò	o	ɔ	ē	ee	*ee*
i	*i*	i	ī	ii	ii
è	e	E	ō	oo	*oo*
é	e	*e*	ū	uu	uu
u	u, *u*?	u	ȳ	yy, ii	II
ó	o	*o*	ea	ea, e*a*	E*a* (æ*a*?)
y	y, *i*	I	eo	eo, eó	*eó*
			eū	ea, e*a*	E*aá*
			eō	eo, eó	*eóó*

with my own, both in palæotype. It will be observed that Mr. Ellis (like all his predecessors) confounds the two short *es* and *os*, which I have carefully distinguished. He is also not clear as to the distinction between *ea*, *eo*, and *eā*, *eō*. Otherwise our results approximate very closely.

MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD.

Orthography.

Some important revolutions in orthography took place during the transition from the Old to the Middle period—most of them the result of French influence.

There are many instances of French influence on the consonant notation: in the vowels two cases require special notice, these are the use of *u* for the Old English *y*, and of *ou* for the Old English *uu*. The explanation of the former change must be sought in the fact that *y* in the Middle period lost its original value, and became confused with *i*, while in the beginning of words it assumed its present consonantal value. The result was that the old sound of *y* was left without a symbol, and the want was supplied, imperfectly enough, by adopting the French representation of the sound, which was *u*. But *u* was further employed, also in imitation of French usage, to represent the voiced sound of the Old E. *f*, so that *u*, which still retained its original pronunciation in many cases, stood for three distinct sounds. In course of time the short *y*-sound disappeared more and more, and at the same time a large number of long *ys* were introduced in words taken from the French, which were all written with *u* (*nature*, etc.). To remedy the consequent confusion between *u*=*yy* and *u*=*uu* (*hus*, etc.), the French *ou* was introduced as the representation of the latter sound, so that *natyyre* and *huus* were distinguished in writing as *nature* and *hous*. For the details of the change of *u* into *ou* I must refer to Mr. Ellis's Early English Pronunciation, where the subject is treated at great length.

These changes are important, as showing that the Middle

English scribes were not at all biassed by traditions of the earlier orthography, and therefore that their testimony can be unhesitatingly accepted, as far as it goes.

We may now turn to the actual sound-changes, beginning with the most important and characteristic of them all, which I will call

Vowel-levelling.

In the Transition period (Semi-Saxon) we are confronted by the curious and apparently inexplicable phenomenon of a language ignoring, as it were, the changes of an earlier period, and returning to the original sounds. Such is at least the case with the Old English modifications of *a* and *é*: where Old English has *æ*, *ea* or *eo*, Middle English has the unmodified *a* and *e*. Compare *glæd*, *heard*, *seofon*, with the Middle English *glad*, *hard*, *seven*.

Such a change as that of *glæd* into *glad* is doubly anomalous, both as being a return to a pronunciation older than that of the oldest extant documents before the Conquest, and also as a change from a weak front to a strong back vowel. It is, in short, inexplicable, if considered as an ordinary organic sound-change. The explanation must be sought among the inorganic sound-changes, due to some purely external cause.

One of the most unmistakable of these inorganic sound-changes is one which may be called levelling. The whole history of English inflection is mainly one of levelling. Thus, in Old English we find the plural formed in a great variety of ways, sometimes in *as*, sometimes in *an*, sometimes with different vowels, and sometimes without any change at all. In Modern English we have only the first, which, originally restricted to a limited number of masculine substantives, is now extended to all substantives without distinction. It would evidently be absurd to attempt to explain these changes as organic, to adduce, for instance, the change of the Old English plural *heortan* into the Modern *harts* as a case of *n* becoming *s*. They are clearly due to external causes, and are simply the result of that tendency to get rid

of useless complexity which characterizes the more advanced stages of language: instead of indicating plurality by a variety of terminations, some of which were of a very vague and indistinct character, the later language selected that termination which seemed the most distinctive, and discarded the rest.

We can now understand how men who were engaged every day of their lives in this levelling process, whose language was being broken up and reconstructed with unexampled rapidity —we can understand how those who spoke the Transition English of the twelfth century came unconsciously to regard the alternation of *æ* and *a* in such words as *dæg, dagas*, as an unnecessary piece of discrimination, comparable to that involved in the use of a large number of plural terminations. And so the indistinct *æ*—so liable to be confounded with *è*—was discarded, and the clear sounding *a* was made the sole representative of the older *a* and *æ*.

When this process of levelling had once begun, it is easy to see how *ea* and *eo* also came to be regarded as superfluous modifications of *a* and *e*, and were therefore in like manner discarded. As we shall see hereafter, *eaa* and *eoo* (=original *au* and *iu*) were simplified into *èè* and *éé* respectively; it is, therefore, probable that *ea* and *eo* themselves were first simplified into *è* and *é*. It is further probable that the first sound of the *è*=*ea* was identical with that of the Old English *æ*. *heard* would, therefore, become *hærd*, whose *æ* would naturally follow the other *æs*, and become *a*, giving the Middle English *hard*. The three spellings *heard, hærd*, and *hard* are to be found constantly interchanging in Laȝamon and other writers of the period.

Whatever may be the explanation of the fact, there can be no doubt that the Old English *æ, ea, eo*, were lost in the Middle period, and that the mysterious connection between the Old English *æ* and the Modern sound in such a word as *mæn* (written *man*) imagined by some philologists, must be given up: the two *æs* are quite independent developments, even when they occur in the same words, as in *ðæt, sæt, sæd, æppel*. Mr. Ellis has shown that up to the seventeenth

century these words were pronounced *ðat, sat, sad, apl*, even in the court dialect, and the sound *æ* is unknown up to the present day in most of our dialects.

Before investigating the sound-changes of the Middle period in detail, it will be necessary to state the general laws which govern the remarkable qualitative divergence of long and short vowels in the later Teutonic languages. If it can once be shown that all the Teutonic languages follow the same general laws, it is but reasonable to suppose that the same laws will be found valid in the case of Middle English also. We shall have still less hesitation in applying these laws to the elucidation of the Middle English sound-changes, when we consider that the English of the thirteenth century was really as much in advance of its contemporaries as Modern English is of its, and that Middle English is practically on a level with Dutch and the other living Teutonic languages. German, indeed, is in many respects much more archaic than Middle English, and may be said to stand to it in almost the same relation as Old English does.

I propose, therefore, to give an impartial classification of the principal changes that have taken place in the living Teutonic languages, beginning with the long vowels.

A. Long Vowels.

1) Back to round (p. 11). Long *a*, whatever its origin, has in all the Teutonic languages except German and Dutch been rounded. Even German and Dutch show the same change in many of their dialects, which give long *a* the sound of the low-back-narrow-round (English *fall*). This is also the Swedish and Danish sound, the only difference being that the Scandinavian vowel is pronounced with greater lip narrowing, so that its sound approximates to that of the regular close *ó* (the "mid" vowel).

2) Front-round to unrounded (page 11). Exemplified in the familiar German change of *œ* and *y* into *é* and *i*, as in *shéén* and *kiin* for *shœœn* and *kyyn*. In Modern Icelandic *œœ* became first unrounded, and the resulting *ee* ran

II.

TEUTONIC LONG VOWELS.[1]

	AA	II	OO		UU		AI	AU	IU
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 Gothic	*ded*	*wein*	*god*	—	*hus*	—	*stain*	*draum*	*diup*
2 Old High German	*tāt*	*wīn*	*guot*	*gruoni*	*hūs*	*hūsir*	*stain* *stein*	*traum* *troum*	*tiuf*
3 Modern High German	taat	wain	guut	gryyn	haus	hayzen	shtain	traum	tiif
4 Old Saxon	*dad*	*win*	*god*	*groni*	*hus*	—	*sten*	*drom*	*diop*
5 Dutch	daat	wèin	ghut	ghrun	hœys zyyr	—	stéén	dróóm	dip
6 Old Icelandic	*dāð*	*wīn*	*gōð*	*grǣn*	*hūs*	*kȳr*	*stèin*	*draum*	*diūp* *siōn*
7 Modern Icelandic	dauð	viin	góuð	grain	huus	kiir	stéin	drœim	djuup sjóun
8 Swedish	dòòd	viin	góód	grœœn	*huus*[2]	lyytə	stéén	drœm	dj*uup* syyn
9 Danish	dòòð	viin	góóð	grœn	huus	lyyðə	stéén	drœm	dyyb syyn
10 Old English	*dæd*	*win*	*god*	*grene*	*hus*	*cȳ*	*stan*	*dream* (=eaa)	*deop* (=eóó)
11 Middle English	*deed* (=éé)	*wiin*	*good* (=óó)	*green* (=éé)	*hous(e)* (=uu)	*kye*	*ston(e)* (=òò)	*dream* (=èè)	*deop* (=éé)
12 Modern English	ddii	wain	gud	griin	haus	kai	stóun	driim	diip

[1] In this and the following table the actual spelling (not the theoretical pronunciation) of the dead languages is given in italics; the modern forms are written phonetically.

[2] The italics indicate the peculiar Swedish *u*—intermediate to *u* and *y*.

together with the regular *èè*, and, like it, was diphthongized into *ai*, so that the Old Icelandic *bœkr* is now disguised under the form of *baikər*. The same change took place in Old English, only it was not carried so far: the *bœk* (written *boec* or *beoc*, p. 23) of the oldest period appears in the later MSS. as *bec* (=*béék*). In Middle English we have the unrounding of *y* into *i*, *cyning* becoming *cing*.

3) Low to mid. Modern English, as will be shown hereafter, affords two unmistakable instances of this change. It is also certain that the German *óó* from *au* was originally "low," for in the Oldest High German such words as *lóós* (=*laus*) are frequently written *laos*. Similar evidence can be adduced in the case of the corresponding Dutch *óó*. The *ee* from *ai* has in like manner passed through the low to the mid stage in German and Dutch.

4) Mid to high. Of this change, again, Modern English affords illustrations, whose consideration must be deferred. Original *óó* has in nearly all the Teutonic languages been raised from the mid position it still preserves in Swedish and Danish (although even here with a slight labial modification in the direction of *u*) to the high one of *u*.

5) High to diphthong. With the high position the extreme is reached, as far as position is concerned. We find, accordingly, that the two high vowels *ii* and *uu* either remain unchanged, which is the case in the Scandinavian languages, or else undergo various modifications in the direction of *ai* and *au*. As there can be no question that Middle English agreed with the Scandinavian languages in retaining long *i* and *u* unchanged, the consideration of their diphthongization may be deferred till we come to the Modern period, to which belongs also the development of the diphthong *iu* out of *yy*.

6) Besides these regular modifications of the two high vowels, there are isolated diphthongizations of other vowels.

a) *óó* to *ou*. In Icelandic *gouð* for the older *góóð*, and Modern English *stóun* for *stóón*.

b) *éé* to *éi*. In the Modern English *téik* for *téék*.

c) *óó* to *uo*. In the Old German *guot* for *góót*, still preserved in South German in the shape of *guət*.

d) *òò* to *au*. In Icelandic, where original *aa* passed through the stage of simple rounding (*òò*), and was then resolved into *au*, *laata* (let) becoming first *lòòta* and then *lauta*.

e) *èè* to *ai*. The *i*-umlaut of *aa* has in the same way been resolved into *ai* in Modern Icelandic, so that *vèèri* (written *væri*) is now *vairi*.

7) Back to front. Exemplified in the Dutch *syyr* for *suur*.

B. Short Vowels.

1) Round to unrounded. In Icelandic, English, and some German dialects *y* has been unrounded into *i*. The same is the case with short *œ* in German. In Modern English we have, lastly, a very anomalous case of unrounding of the back vowel *u*, *but* becoming *bət*.

2) Back to front. Short *u* has in Icelandic and Dutch been changed into a front vowel—the high-front-wide-round in Icelandic, the low-front-narrow-round (or its imitation, the mid-mixed-narrow) in Dutch. The open *ò* in Icelandic (the *u*-umlaut of *a*) has changed into *œ* (the mid-front-wide-round), *mònnum* becoming *mœnnym*. Short *a* has, lastly, been changed into the low-front-wide (*æ*) in a few English dialects—including the literary English.

3) Mid to low. The two mid vowels *é* and *ó* have in all the Teutonic languages been brought down to the low position, so that the old distinction between *è* and *é* has been lost everywhere, except, perhaps, in some German dialects: compare Old English *ènde*, *hélpan*, with the Modern levellings *ènd*, *hèlp*.

4) High to mid. As a general rule the high vowels *i* and *u* have retained their positions, but in Dutch the short *i* is now represented by the mid-front-wide, and the short *u* by *ó* (the mid-narrow), thus taking the place of original short *o*, which, as in the other languages, has been lowered to *ò* (the low-wide): compare *stòk* with *bók* (=*buk*). The peculiar Modern English *u* in *but* (*bət*) seems also to be a case of lowering from high to mid.

III.

TEUTONIC SHORT VOWELS

	A				I				U				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		8	9	10	11	12
1 Gothic	*mann*	*namo wakan*	*andi-*	*nati mati-*	*winnan*	*witan*	*drigkan hilpan*	*stilan*	*sunno*	*sumru*	*ufta*	*hul*	*fulljan*
2 Old Icel.	*mann mònnum*	*vaka*	*èndi*	*nèt*	*vinna*	*vita*	*drékka*	*stéla*	*sunna*	*sumar*	*opt*	*hól*	*fylla*
3 Mod. Icel.	man mœnnym	vaaka	èndi	nèèt	vinna[1]	viita	drèkka	stèèla	synna	syymar	òft	hòòl	fídla *Sw.* fylla
4 Old Engl.	*mann heard lòng*	*nama*	*ènde*	*mète*	*winnan*	*witan*	*hélpan heofon*	*stéla*	*sunne*	*sumor*	*óft*	*hól*	*fyllan*
5 Mid. Engl.	*man hard long* (=ò)	*name* (=naam)	*end* (=è)	*meat* (=èè)	*win*	*wit*	*help heven* (=è)	*steal* (=èè)	*sun*	*summer* (=sumer)	*oft* (=ò)	*hole* (=hòòl)	*fill*
6 Mod. Engl.	mænn hæd lòng	néim	ènd	miit	winn	wit	hèlp hèvən	stiil	sən	səmər	òft	hóul	fil

[1] Italics indicate wide vowels.

The only exception to this general lowering tendency is the frequent shifting of the *a* from the low to the mid position, which is very common in all the languages. The low sound is still preserved in South Scotch, Dutch, and many German dialects, and may be heard in some of the London dialects, where, however, it is probably quite a modern development.

We have, lastly, to consider the important distinction of narrow and wide. Here, also, short and long vowels pursue opposite courses, the general rule being that long vowels remain or become narrow, short vowels wide. These tendencies are at once apparent on comparing any pairs of long and short vowels in the more advanced Teutonic languages, in fact in all of them more or less, except German.

The principle has been carried out with such strictness in the case of the long vowels that, with the single exception of *aa*, all originally long vowels are now narrow in the Teutonic languages. The cause of this exceptional widening of *aa* has already been explained (page 28) as the result of the greater energy required in the formation of the narrow sound.

The short vowels are less consistent. In the first place, some of the languages show the tendency to widening either not at all, or else only partially. In South German all the short vowels are still narrow, including even the *a* (p. 28). In Danish and Swedish short *i* is sometimes narrow, sometimes wide, according to the nature of the following consonant.

The languages in which the principle is most strictly carried out are Icelandic and English. The only exceptions are the *è*, which is narrow in both languages, and the English *ə* in *bət* (mid-back-narrow). The retention of the narrow *è* in all the Teutonic languages is a very curious phenomenon: it is not easy to see why it did not everywhere weaken into the wide *æ*, which it actually has done in the Dutch *kærk* for *kèrk* and several other words, and also in the South Scotch dialect of Teviotdale, where the English distinction of *mæn*, *mèn*, is represented by *man*, *mæn*.

The change of the low-narrow *è* into the mid-wide is, on the other hand, very common, and in many of the languages, as, for instance, English, the two sounds seem to be used almost indiscriminately. This change is, no doubt, a purely imitative one: the change from the low-narrow to the mid-wide must have been direct. To assume that the low-narrow was first widened, and then raised to the mid position, would be to ignore the fundamental laws of short vowel change.

We now see how complete the divergence is between long and short vowels. Long vowels contract both the pharyngal and the oral passage as much as possible, the former by "narrowing," the latter by raising the tongue and contracting the lips; short vowels pursue the very opposite course; high long vowels are never lowered, except partially by diphthongization; high short vowels are never diphthongized, but simply lowered.

Quantity

The general principles on which quantitative changes in the Teutonic languages depend are these:

1) unaccented vowels are shortened, accented vowels are lengthened or shortened under certain conditions, which are:
2) before a single consonant they are lengthened.
3) before double or combined consonants they are shortened.

The result of all these changes, if carried out strictly, would be to eliminate all short accented syllables altogether, and this is actually the case in Modern Icelandic, at least in polysyllables—either the vowel itself is long, or else, if it is short, the syllable is made long by a double consonant. In the other languages, however, the double consonants have been simplified, so that a large number of short accented syllables has been formed: compare Icelandic *vinna* with Danish *vinə* (written *vinde*) and English *winər*, *wining*, German *gəwinən*. This simplification of double consonants has

taken place in Icelandic also in the case of monosyllables such as *man* (written *mann*).

An important result of the simplification is the use of double consonants as a purely graphic expedient to denote the shortness of the preceding vowel. The double *m*, for instance, in *summer*, is simply a way of showing that the original shortness of the *u* has been preserved.

In Icelandic the lengthening of short vowels has been carried out with perfect consistency, but in the other languages there are many exceptions. Thus in Dutch all monosyllables preserve their shortness: compare *vat*, *lòt*, with the plurals *vaatən*, *lóótən*. The retention of original short quantity before single consonants is also very frequent in Modern, and consequently also in Middle English.

The chief cases in which Modern English preserves the Old English short quantity are these.

In the first place the high vowels *i(y)*, *u* are not lengthened: compare *wit* from *witan* with *iit* from *etan*, *sən* from *sunu* and *cəm* from *cuman* with *néim* from *nama*. Exceptions, such as *aivi* from *ifig*, do occur, but they are very few.

English, like Dutch, shows a strong tendency to preserve short quantity in monosyllables, although there are many cases of lengthening. Nevertheless, it may safely be said that the great majority of Old English monosyllables preserve their short quantity in Modern English. Examples are: *swon* (from *swan*), *þæch* (*þæc*), *bæc (bæc)*, *sæd (sæd)*, *lot (hlot)*, *god (god)*, *woz (wæs)*. Examples of lengthening are *géiv (geaf)*, *céim (cam)*, *éit (æt)*, *géit (geat)*, *yóuc (geoc)*. The lengthened vowels in the adjectives *téim* and *léit* may perhaps have arisen from the definite forms *tama*, *lata*.

Dissyllables ending in a vowel, or the infinitival *an*, are almost always lengthened: *nama*, *scamu*, *flotian*, *brecan*, become *néim*, *shéim*, *flóut*, *bréic*. But there are exceptions: *dropa* becomes *drop*, and *hafan* (=*habban*) becomes *hæv*, contrasting with the regular *behéiv* (from *behabban*).

But besides these isolated irregularities, there is a whole class of dissyllables which resists the lengthening tendency, namely those which end in a liquid or nasal. Examples are

hæmər (from *hamor*), *betər (bèter)*, *sædl (sadol)*, *əvən (ofen)*, *botəm (botom)*. There are, however, several exceptions. In the first place, all the past participles in *o* (except *trodn*) lengthen their vowel: *frouzən, chóuzən, clóuvən*, etc. There are also others, such as *iivən (efen)*, *óuvər (ofer)*, *eicər (æcer)*, etc.

In applying these deductions to Middle English we are confronted by a formidable difficulty. The Midland writer Orm, as is well known, indicates short vowel quantity by doubling the following consonant. If, then, we find Orm in the thirteenth century writing always *witenn, sune*, not *wittenn, sunne*, how can we escape the conclusion that he said *wiiten, suune?* If we accept the long vowels for the thirteenth century, we are forced to assume that the original short vowels were first lengthened and then shortened again *before* the diphthongization of *ii* and *uu* into *ej* and *au*; for, otherwise, we should have had *wait* and *saun* in Modern English. Rather than accept this very improbable hypothesis, it seems safer to reserve any decided conclusion till the difficult question of quantity in the Ormulum has been more fully investigated.

The Modern forms of many words point clearly to their originally long vowels having been shortened in the Middle period. Besides the frequent shortening before two consonants, which will be considered hereafter, there are some cases before single consonants. Long *ii* is, as might be expected, often shortened, as in *stif, dich*, and in other words where it stands for various other O.E. long vowels, such as *sili*=O.E. *gesǣlig* and *chil*=*cēle*. Examples of other vowels are *ten*=O.E. *ten, wet*=*wǣt, let*=*lǣtan, lēt*. In *ever*=*ǣver* =*æfre*, the shortening may be ascribed to the liquid in the following syllable.

Close and Open EE and OO in Middle English.

We can now enter on the important question of the distinction between close and open *ee* and *oo* in Middle English.

Mr. Ellis, relying on the fact that Chaucer rhymes all the *ees* and *oos* together without distinction, comes to the conclu-

sion that there was only one sound, but he does not explain how the modern distinctions arose, or how it is that they correspond to distinctions in Old English. If *too* and *taa* are distinct in Old English, and are separated in the form of *tuu* and *too* in Modern English also, it is not easy to see how they could have been confounded in the Middle period. This view was vaguely indicated many years ago by Rapp, and has been recently revived by Dr. Weymouth, who is, however, clearly wrong in assuming that the Middle English sounds were identical with the Modern ones.

As the whole question offers considerable difficulties of detail, I propose to examine it as impartially as possible, utilizing all the evidence that is afforded by the graphic forms, by the general laws of change just stated, by the pronunciation of the sixteenth century, as investigated by Mr. Ellis, and by the pronunciation of the present day. I begin with the *oos*, as offering less difficulty than the *ees*.

Beginning, then, with the *oos*, we find that Middle English *oo* corresponds to three distinct sounds in Old English,

1) to *óó*: too, O.E. tóó (*too*),
2) to *aa*: too, O.E. taa (*toe*),
3) to *ó* short: hool, O.E. hól (*hole*).

Of these three *oos* the two first are kept quite distinct in the present Modern English, original *óó* being now pronounced *uu*, while *oo* from *aa* is now *óó* or *óu*. The natural inference that the two sounds were also kept distinct in the Middle period is fully confirmed by the graphic evidence, for in the earlier writings the *oo* from *aa* is often spelt *oa*, as in *oaðe*= O.E. *aaðe* (Laȝamon), *noan*=*naan* (Procl. of H. III.), *moare* =*maare* (Procl. and A. Riwle), *þoa*=*þaa* (A. Riwle). The clear inference is that the *oo* from *aa* was pronounced with a sound intermediate to *oo* and *aa*, and consequently that original *oo* still retained its Old English sound.

The *oo* of *hool*, arising from original short *ó*, is in the present pronunciation represented by the same vowel as the *oo* from *aa*: it is therefore highly probable that it had in Middle English the same sound as the *oo* from *aa*, namely the more open one.

We may now examine the question from the comparative point of view, and see whether the results harmonize.

The first two *oos* need not detain us long. We have seen that original *óó* is, as a general rule, either retained without change, or else moved up into the *u*-position. It is quite certain that this change had not taken place in the Middle period: *óó* must, therefore, have been kept unchanged. Again, whenever *aa* has changed, it has been by rounding. It has been already proved that the Old English *aa* cannot well have been any other sound than the low-wide, and this, when rounded, naturally gives the low-back-wide-round.

The *o* of *hol* was almost certainly the mid-narrow sound (p. 30). The tendencies of short vowels are, as we have seen, towards lowering and widening. These modifications, applied to our vowel, give the low-back-wide-round. This vowel was then lengthened, and became identical with the *òò* of *tòò* from *taa*, which, as we have seen, was no other than the low-back-wide-round.

But all long vowels are liable to be narrowed (p. 30), and we find, as a matter of fact, that the *òò* from *aa* is narrow in all the living Teutonic languages which possess it. It is, therefore, not only possible, but extremely probable that the *òò* soon became narrow in Middle English also: *tòò* and *hòòl* would therefore have the sound of the Modern English words which are written *taw* and *haul*.

We may now turn to the *ees*. In the present English all the *ees* are levelled under *ii*, but Mr. Ellis's researches have proved that in the sixteenth century a distinction parallel to that of the two *oos* was still kept up, some of the Middle English *ees* being pronounced *ee*, some *ii*, those words which are now written with *ea* (such as *sea*) having the *ee*-sound, while *ee* (as in *see*) had the *ii*-sound. The analogy of the *oos* leads us to suppose that the sixteenth century *ees* correspond to Middle English *èès*, and the *iis* to *éés*. I will now give an example of the different *ees*, with the original Old English forms, together with those of the sixteenth century and the Middle English forms indicated by them, adding the present English spelling, which is, of course, nothing but a dead

tradition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries pronunciation.

TENTH CENT.	FOURTEENTH CENT.	SIXTEENTH CENT.	NINETEENTH CENT.
sīē	sèè	séé	sii (*sea*)
dīēd	déód	diid	diid (*deed*)
dreām	drèèm	dréém	driim (*dream*)
grēne	gréén	griin	griin (*green*)
deōp	déép	diip	diip (*deep*)
mète	mète / mèèt	méét	miit (*meat*)
stélan	stèlan / stèèl	stéél	stiil (*steal*)

Reserving for the present the apparently anomalous *éé* of *déód*, the other changes, after what has been said on the *oos*, call for only a few remarks.

Old English *ǣ* and *ē* remain unchanged in the Middle period. Of the two diphthongs *eā*, when simplified, naturally takes the low position of its principal element (the *ā*), and *eō*, as naturally, takes the mid position of its *ō*. *ē*, following the usual tendencies of short vowels, is lowered, and the two short *e*s are consequently levelled under the common form *è*, which is afterwards lengthened. All the vowels either remain or become narrow.

An important class of apparent exceptions is exemplified in *dǣd*, whose *ǣ* is represented in Middle English not by *èè*, as would be expected, but by *éé*. An examination of these anomalous *ǣ*s soon reveals the fact that they correspond not to Gothic and general Teutonic *ai*, but to Gothic *ē*, general Teutonic *ā* (Gothic *dēds*, Old High German *tāt*). This is clearly one of the many cases in which the explanation of later English forms must be sought not in the literary West-Saxon, but rather in the Mercian dialect, in which the distinction between *éé*=original *aa* and *èè*=*ai* was still kept up. In short, the Middle English *déód* is descended not from *dǣd*, but from *dēd*. Traces of this older *éé* have been preserved in West-Saxon also, not only in such words as *wēn* and *cwēn*, but also in the *rēd* of the name *Ælfrēd*, which is never written *ræd*—the regular form of the substantive *rǣd*, when it stands alone.

Unaccented E.

Middle English, like the majority of the living Teutonic languages, levels all the Old English unaccented vowels under *e*: compare Old E. *caru, nama, gifan,* with the Middle forms *care, name, given.* The sound of this *e* in Modern German, Swedish, Danish, and Dutch, is the mid-mixed-narrow, although, as we have seen (p. 30), there are traces of an older front sound, which we have theoretically assigned to the Old English final *e.* When we consider that the Middle English *e* in the fourteenth century was on the verge of extinction, we cannot well claim for it so archaic a sound as in Old English, and the analogy of the modern languages points clearly to some mixed vowel. Nor is graphic evidence wanting. The confusion and uncertainty of usage in the Middle English orthography shows clearly that the scribes were not satisfied with the letter *e* as a representative of the sound of unaccented *e.* In Wiclif's Bible, for instance, we find, besides the regular *ende, synnes,* such spellings as *mannis, mannys, fadir, opyn, writun, locustus,* constantly occurring. It is not improbable that the *u* is intended for the French *u* (=*y*), and that this spelling is an attempt to represent the obscure sound of the mid-mixed, which, like all the mixed vowels, has a distinctly *labial* effect on the ear (p. 16).

Diphthongs. (*See also* p. 148.)

Middle English, while simplifying, as we have seen, the Old English diphthongs, developed some new ones of its own. All the Middle English diphthongs, with the exception of those in words taken from Norse and French, arose from weakening of the consonants *g* and *w,* by which *g* passed through *gh* (as in German *sagen*) into *i* or *u,* and *w* into *u.* The most important of these diphthongs are *ai, au, eu,* and *ou.*

ai arises from O.E. *ag* (*æg*), *ég, èg, ēg, ǣg: dai* (from *dæg*), *wai* (*wég*), *sai* (*sècgan*), *hai* (*hēg*), *clai* (*clǣg*).

au arises from O.E. *aw, ag: clau* (*clawu*), *drau* (*dragan*).

eu arises from O.E. *iw, īw, ǣw, eāw, eōw: neu* (*niwe*), *speu* (*spīwan*), *leud* (*lǣwed*), *heu* (*heāwan*), *cneu* (*cneōw*).

ou (*òòu, óóu*) arises from O.E. *āw, ōw: sòòu* (*sāwan*), *blóóu* (*blōwan*).

The development of *ai* from *èi* (*sai*=*sèi*=*sècgan*) is paralleled by the Danish pronunciation of *ei* (as in *vei*=*veg*) as *ai*, and is probably the result of an attempt to bring out the diphthongic character of the combination more clearly. There are, however, traces of original *ei* even in the Modern period, in such words as *eiht, eiðer*=*eahta, ægðer*.

It will be observed that *ag* sometimes becomes *ai*, sometimes *au*. The general rule is that *ag* final or before a consonant becomes *ai*, while, if followed by the back vowels *a* or *u*, the diphthong *au* is developed. Thus, *dag* (*dæg*), *tagl* (*tægl*), *magn* (*mægen*), become *dai, tail, main*, while *dragan, sagu*, become *drau, sau*. We have, however, *sau* from *sage*.

The change of *i* into *eu* in the combination *iu*, and the levelling of the quantities of *iw, īw*, etc., must be noticed, although the cause is not apparent.

That the *oou*-diphthongs preserved the long quantity of their first elements is clear from the accounts of the sixteenth century phoneticians; the separation of *òòu* and *óóu* is theoretical.

In the combinations *ig* and *ug* the consonant is naturally absorbed by the vowel, the result being simply a long vowel: *lii* (*licgan*), *uul* (*ugle*).

Consonant Influence.

Quantity. Short vowels are lengthened before liquids and nasals followed by a voice stop—before *ld, nd, mb* (often also before *rd* and a few other *r*-combinations). Thus Old English *wilde, findan, climban*, become *wiild, fiind, cliimb*, the length of whose vowels is shown by the modern forms *waild, faind, claim*. Exceptions can be explained on the same principle as the other cases of the abnormal retention of original short quantity, namely, by the presence of a liquid in the second syllable; hence *hinder, wunder, timber*, not *hiinder*, etc.

Quality. *a* before *ld* is rounded into *ȯ*, and then, in accordance with the rule just stated, lengthened, so that the Old English *sealde* passes through *salde* into *sȯlde*, and finally becomes *sȯȯlde*, whence the Modern *sóóld*.

The rounding of short *a* before nasals, which almost disappeared towards the end of the Old English period, at least in West-Saxon, crops up again in Middle English. An examination of the present forms gives the following rules for the occurrence of *ȯ*=*a* before nasals. Most of the cases of rounding are before *ng*, the general rule being that while verb preterites keep *a*, all other words have *ȯ*. Thus we have the substantive *song*, but the preterite *sang*. Exceptions are *hang* and *fang*, which should regularly be *hong*, *fong*. Rounding before *n* and *m* is exceptional: the only examples are *on*, *bond*, *from*, *wóómb*, *cȯȯmb*.

Initial *w* influences the following vowel in various ways. Sometimes it assimilates *i* into *u*, which then absorbs the *w* itself, as in *such*=*swich*=O.E. *swilc*. Occasionally it draws up *ȯȯ* to the *óó*-position, as in *twóó* for *twȯȯ*, *wóómb* for *wȯȯmb*, contrasting with the regular *wȯȯ*, *wȯȯd* (O.E. *wā*, *wād*). Hence, by the regular changes, the Modern *twuu*, *tuu*, *wuum(b)*, *wóó*, *wóód*.

We may now sum up briefly the changes of the Middle period.

a is preserved, except before *ld*, where it is rounded, and *æ* and *ea* are levelled under it.

è and *é*, together with *eo*, are levelled under *è*.

y is confounded with *i*, which remains unchanged, except that it was probably widened.

ó becomes *ȯ*, and *ȯ* is kept unchanged.

u remains, although probably widened.

a, *è*, and *ȯ* are often lengthened, giving *aa*, *èè* and *ȯȯ*. It will be observed that the Old English *é* and *ó* are not lengthened into *éé* and *óó*, but pass through *è* and *ȯ* into *èè* and *ȯȯ*.

Of the long vowels *ǣ*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū* remain unchanged.

ȳ becomes *ii*.

ā becomes *ȯȯ*.

Of the diphthongs *eā* becomes *èè*, *eō* becomes *éé*.

New diphthongs are developed by the weakening of *g* and *w*.

Unaccented vowels are levelled under *ə*.

Short vowels are often lengthened before liquids followed by voice stops.

MODERN PERIOD.

Loss of final E.

The loss of final *e* in English is one of the many instances of how the whole grammatical structure of a language may be subverted by purely phonetic changes, for it may safely be said that the loss of final *e* in Modern English is almost equivalent to loss of inflexion altogether. Middle English, although much reduced, was still distinctly an inflexional language, as much so at least as Modern Danish or Swedish: its verbs had infinitive and plural endings, and its adjectives still retained some of their old inflexions, including the peculiarly Teutonic distinction of definite and indefinite. In Modern English all this is lost: not only is the distinction of definite and indefinite lost, but our adjectives have become absolutely indeclinable, and the whole spirit of English is now so different from that of the other Teutonic languages, that their most familiar distinctions are quite strange to us, and can only be acquired with considerable difficulty.

The loss of final *e* marks off English sharply and distinctly from the cognate languages, in all of which it is strictly preserved. Those who have such difficulty in admitting, even after the clearest evidence, that Chaucer may possibly have pronounced the final *e*, should try to realize to themselves the fact that the loss of final *e* is really quite an exceptional and anomalous phenomenon: instead of being surprised at Chaucer still retaining it, they should rather be surprised at its loss at so early a period as the fifteenth century, while preserved to the present day in all the cognate languages.

An important result of the loss of final *e* was to prevent change in other directions: we shall find that the Middle English sounds were preserved almost unchanged long after its disappearance. Mr. Ellis's researches have shown that the most characteristic features of Middle English, as, for instance, *ii* and *uu*, were preserved some way into the sixteenth century; others, such as the old *ai* and *au*, still later.

But the tendency to change soon begins to manifest itself, and by the beginning of the seventeenth century we find many important changes either completed, or else in partial operation. During the latter half of the seventeenth century the whole phonetic structure of the language may be said to have been revolutionized. Some slight further changes took place during the first half of the eighteenth century, and by the middle of the century the language finally settled down into nearly its present state. We may, therefore, distinguish roughly five periods of Modern English.

1) the *Earliest* (1450–1500 or rather later), which preserves the sounds of the Middle period unchanged, except that it throws off the final *e*. I propose, therefore, for the sake of convenience, to cite the Middle English forms in this Earliest Modern English, which is really equivalent to Latest Middle English.

2) the *Early* (1550–1650), in which the Middle sounds were distinctly modified, *ii* and *uu* being diphthongized, and *éé* and *óó* moved up to the high positions of *ii* and *uu*, *èè* and *òò* being moved into the vacant mid positions.

3) the *Transition* period (1650–1700), characterized by very important and sweeping changes, such as the simplification of the Middle diphthongs *ai* and *au*, the fronting of *a* and *aa* into *æ*, *ææ*, and the development of the peculiarly English *ə* from *u*.

4) the *Late* period (1700 onwards), in which the long vowels of the Transition period undergo a process of lingual narrowing, *ææ* passing through *èè* into *éé*, while *éé* itself becomes *ii*.

5) the *Latest* period, remarkable for its excessive tendency

to diphthongization, especially in the case of *éé* and *óó*, which are in the present generation almost always *éi* and *óu*.

It is probable that many of the distinctive features of this period existed already in the previous period, either as individual peculiarities or as vulgarisms. It is certain that in the present generation many new pronunciations, which are really very widely distributed, are entirely ignored, or else denounced as vulgarisms, even by the people who employ them habitually. These unrecognized pronunciations are of two kinds, 1) those which, though ignored by every one, are in universal use, and 2) those which appear only sporadically in educated speech, although many of them are firmly established in the language of the populace. As these pronunciations are of great philological importance, as showing us the changes of sound in active operation, and as they have been hitherto quite ignored by phoneticians, I propose to treat of them hereafter as fully as my imperfect observations will allow.

EARLY MODERN PERIOD.

a, aa. Mr. Ellis's authorities seem to describe a very thin sound of the *a*, although the *æ* of the following period does not seem to have been recognized. I think it very probable that the real sound was that of the present Danish *a* in *mand, mane,* which is the mid-back-wide-forward, the tongue being advanced considerably, while the tip is kept down. When the tongue is in this position, a very slight raising of the middle of it towards the palate converts this forward *a* into *æ*, which it closely resembles in sound.

e, i, o. As these vowels are retained unchanged in the present English, any discussion of their pronunciation in the Early Modern period is superfluous.

u. That *u* still retained its original sound is clear from the statements of the phonetic authorities. Salesbury writes it with his Welsh *w*, as in *bwck*=*buck*.

y. It is interesting to observe that there are distinct traces of the old short *y* in the Early Modern period. Clear evidence is afforded by a passage of Salesbury, which I think

Mr. Ellis has misunderstood. Salesbury says (E. E. P. pp. 111, 164) that "Welsh *u* soundeth as the vulgar English people sound it in these words of English, *trust, bury, busy, Huberden.*" Mr. Ellis thinks that Salesbury means nothing but the wide as opposed to the narrow *i*. It seems improbable that so minute a distinction should have been noticed by Salesbury—still more that, even if he had noticed it, he should have gone out of his way to describe it. Nor do I agree with Mr. Ellis in considering the distinction between the Welsh *u* and the wide *i* as being very slight. My own observations of the Welsh *u*, as pronounced in North Wales, fully confirm Mr. Bell's identification of it with the high-mixed-wide vowel (although it seems to be narrow when long), which Mr. Ellis also adopts, but the sound seems to me to be as distinct from *i* as the unaccented German *e* (the mid-mixed-narrow) is from *é* (the mid-front), and to be much more like *y* than *i* (p. 16). I think Mr. Ellis has been led astray by Mr. Bell's identification of the unaccented *e* in *fishes*, etc., with this high-mixed vowel, which I believe to be erroneous. Mr. Bell acutely observed that the *e* in *fishes* was not identical with the preceding *i*, and being unable to find a place for it among his front vowels, fell back on the mixed. I find, however, that the real distinction is that the unaccented vowel is the high-front-wide lowered half-way to the mid position, a sound which Dr. Murray recognizes in Scotch, and writes (é).[1]

That the Welsh *u* sounded to Salesbury himself very like *y* is clear from his express statement that the French *u*, the German *ü*, and the Scotch *u*, closely resembled his own *u* (E. E. P. p. 761). If, now, we examine the four English words given by Salesbury, we shall find that the history of all of them points decisively to the *y*-sound. *Bury* and *busy* are in Old English *bebyrgan* and *bysig*, *trust* is the Norse *treysta*, a diphthong which could not well contract into any vowel but *y*, and the first half of *Huberden* is probably the French *Hubert*, which, of course, had the *y*-sound. What

[1] Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, p. 106.

Salesbury's statement amounts to is, therefore, that these three words (for we may pass over the last) were in the sixteenth century pronounced by the vulgar *tryst, byri, byzi.*

Although Salesbury characterizes these pronunciations as vulgar, it is quite clear, from the retention of the French spelling *u*=*y* in all of them up to the present day, that the old pronunciation must have been kept up some way into the Modern period. Whenever we find a word written with *y* in Old English, and with *u* in the present spelling, we may suppose it preserved the *y*-sound in the beginning, at least, of the Modern period. Such words are:

burden (bəədn)...O.E. byrðen.....M.E. burþen, birþen, berþen
bury (beri) .....bebyrgan .....burien, birien, berien
busy (bizi).....bysig..... .....busi, bisi, besi
church (chəəch)...cyrice (early O.E. cirice)...churche, chirche, cherche
much (məch).....mycel (early O.E. micel)...muche(l), michel, mechel, moche
shut (shət) .....scyttan .....schutten, schitten, schetten

There are besides two interesting words in which the *y*-sound is expressed by the digraph *ui*, which are:

build (bild).....O.E. byldan .....M.E. build, buld, bild, beld
guilt (gilt) .....gylt .....gult, gilt, gelt

The correspondence between the Old, Modern, and Middle forms, the latter (which are taken from Stratmann's Dictionary), with their constant alternation between *u* and *i*, requires little comment. It is quite clear that the ambiguous *u* and *i* were considered unsatisfactory representations of the *y*-sound, and recourse was therefore had to the digraph *ui*, which, as we see, was employed both in the Middle and Modern periods. The forms in *e* point to a previous lowering of the *y* to one of the *æ*-positions. The *o* of *moche* seems to show that there was a spoken, and not merely written form *muche* in the Middle period, with an anomalous change of *y* into *u*.

These words evidently caused considerable embarrassment to the phonetic writers of the Early Modern period, for they had no proper sign for short *y*, and were compelled to identify it with the long French *yy* in *myys* (written *muꝑ*), or else, if they wished to preserve its quantity, to confound it with short *i*. I will now give the sixteenth century pro-

nunciations of these words, as deduced by Mr. Ellis. I have not made any alteration in his spelling, except in the case of Salesbury's *u*, which I have written *y*, as there seems to me to be no doubt that this was the sound intended by him. I have not thought it necessary to add the authorities, except in the case of Salesbury.

burden: u.
bury: y (Sa.).
busy: y (Sa.).
church: y (Sa.), yy, i, u.
much: i, u? y?
shut: i.
build: yy, ii, i, ei (=Middle E. ii).
guilt: i.

The long *yy* in *chyyrch* is probably a mere inaccuracy of Smith's, for Salesbury writes distinctly *tsurts*, not *tsuwrts*, as he would have done had the vowel been long. The *yy* of *byyld* may, on the other hand, be correct, for *y* may very well have been lengthened before *ld*, as *i* is (*wiild*=O.E. *wilde*).

The *us* in these words (except perhaps in *much*) I am inclined to regard as mere pedantry—the attempt to conform the pronunciation to the spelling, of which we have numerous instances in that very pedantic age. Of this artificial *u* for *y* the foreign word *just* is a striking example. This word was certainly never pronounced with *u* in the Middle period, and even at the present day the legitimate descendant of the old *jyst* is still to be heard from all uneducated and many educated speakers in the form of *jist*. Yet we find the artificial *u*-pronunciation already insisted on in the sixteenth century.

ii, uu. Although long *ii* and *uu* were still preserved at the beginning of the Early Modern period, they soon began to be diphthongized. Salesbury writes *ei* and *ow*, as in *wein* (=*wiin*), *ddow* (=*ðuu*), probably meaning *éi*, *óu*. There seem also to be indications of a broader pronunciation, *əi*, *əu*, which, as we shall see, became general in the following period. It is, then, clear that *ii* and *uu* were first modified by partial lowering, *i-i*, *u-u*, becoming *é-i*, *ó-u*, and that the

resulting diphthongs were then exaggerated by divergence—a not unfrequent phenomenon.

èè, éé, òò, óó. The history of these vowels in Modern English affords a striking example of the Teutonic tendency to narrow long vowels, each of them being raised a step, so that *éé* and *óó* become *ii* and *uu*, as in *diid*=Middle E. *déód* and *suun*=*sóón*, while *èè* and *òò* become *éé, óó*, as in *dréém*= Middle E. *drèèm* and *bóón*=*bòòn* (O.E. *bān*).

In one word, the Middle E. *òò* has been preserved up to the present day, and, we may therefore assume, in the Early Modern period also, namely, in the adj. *bròòd*=O.E. *brād*.

ai, au, eu, òòu, óóu. The Middle English diphthongs are generally preserved, although there are traces of the simplification of *ai* and *au*, which was fully carried out in the following period. *eu* was also simplified into *yy* in some words, such as *tryy, nyy*, while in others, such as *heu, sheu*, it was preserved. *óóu* did not, as might be expected, become *uu*, but its first element was kept unchanged, so that *blóóu* (=O.E. *blōwan*) has remained unchanged up to the present day. *òòu* seems to have changed regularly into *óóu, cnòòu* (=O.E. *cnāwan*) becoming *cnóóu*: the two *oous* were therefore levelled.

Quantity.

Middle English *èè* seems to have been shortened very early in the Modern period in some words which still preserve in writing the *ea*=Middle E. *èè*. Such words are *dèf, instèd, hèd, rèd* (partic.), *lèd* (subst.), *dèd, brèd*, and several others. Nearly all the cases, it will be observed, occur before *d*. We shall find the same tendency to shorten before a stopped consonant in the Late Modern period as well.

Consonant Influence.

The most important case is the development of *u* before *l* in the combinations *al* and *óól* (=Middle E. *òò*), *al, talk, óóld*, becoming *aul, taulk, óóuld*. The form *aul* is the origin of our present *òòl, tòòk*.

The only traces of *r*-influence, so marked in the present period, are shown in the occasional conversion of *e* into *a*, as in *hart*, *smart*, for the older *hert*, *smert*.

TRANSITION PERIOD.

We now come to the most important and difficult period of Modern English, in which the vowels of the language may be said to have broken away entirely from the Middle English traditions, and entered on a new life of their own. It is therefore fortunate that the phonetic authorities of this period are of a far higher stamp than those of the preceding one: many of their observations are extremely acute, and are evidently the result of careful study of the actions of the vocal organs.

Short Vowels.

e, *i*, *o*, remain unchanged, as in the previous period. It is interesting to observe that we now, for the first time, find the qualitative distinction between short and long *i* and *u* recognized by one of Mr. Ellis's authorities. The following is Cooper's list of exact pairs of long and short vowel-sounds (E. E. P. p. 83).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
can	ken	will	folly	full	up	meet	foot
cast	cane	weal	fall	foale	—	need	fool

which Mr. Ellis interprets thus (denoting the wide vowel by italics):

cæn	kèn	w*i*l	fòli	f*u*l	ep	mit	fut
cææst	kèèn	wéél	fòòl	fóól	—	niid	fuul

It is clear that, as Mr. Ellis remarks, Cooper was dissatisfied with the usual pairing of *i*, *ii*, and *u*, *uu* (*fil*, *fiil*), and therefore tried to find the true short-narrow *i* and *u* in *miit* and *fuut*, where the *ii* and *uu* were probably shortened before the voiceless *t*, as is still the case. Again, he lengthened the short wide *i* and *u*, and finding that the resulting long vowel was nearly identical with the mid-narrow *éé* and *óó*, naturally identified them as the true longs and shorts. It

must be observed that the *u* of *fuut* has not only been shortened to *fut* in the present English, but has also had time to follow the usual tendencies of short vowels, and become wide. The shortening is, therefore, in all probability, of some antiquity. If, then, we suppose that the long *uu* of *fuut* had been shortened to *u* in Cooper's time, and had not yet been widened, we see that the pairing of *fut* and *fuul* may very well have been perfectly accurate, both as regards quality and quantity.

In the pairs *folly, fall,* Mr. Ellis makes the short *o* of *folly* to correspond exactly with the long *ȯȯ*, and assumes it to be narrow. This, I think, is unnecessary. It is clear that Cooper's analysis is not absolutely accurate; it is only a considerable step in advance. He may very well have considered the distinction between *ȯȯ* and *óó* quite minute enough, and may therefore have disregarded the further refinement of distinguishing narrow and wide *ȯ*.

a. The present *æ*-sound is clearly recognized by the seventeenth-century phoneticians. Wallis describes *a* (both long and short) as a palatal, as opposed to a guttural vowel —as being formed by compressing the air between the middle of the tongue and the palate with a wide opening. And the Frenchman Miege identifies the English short *æ* with the French *e ouvert*, which would certainly be the nearest equivalent.

u. The change of the old *u* into *ə* was fully established in the Transition period, and it is clear from the descriptions given of the sound that it closely resembled the present one: Wallis calls it an obscure sound, and compares it with the French *eu* in *serviteur*, while Miege compares it with the French *o*—a common error of foreigners at the present day, and both Wallis and Wilkins identify it with one of the pronunciations of Welsh *y*, which is generally identified with our *ə*.

Before going any further, it will be necessary to consider the present pronunciation, or rather pronunciations, of the *ə* more closely. There are two distinct sounds of the *ə*—the high-back-wide and the mid-back-narrow, which, although

formed so differently, are so similar in sound that even a practised ear finds it often difficult to distinguish them. Besides these two, a third sound may be heard in many English and Scotch dialects, which is the low-back-narrow.

Different as these three vowels are, they all agree in being unrounded back vowels, and it is clear from the seventeenth century statements that the main distinction between *u* and *ə* was then, as it is now, that *u* was rounded, *ə* not. Now it is quite certain that *u* itself was, in the seventeenth century, the high-back-wide-round (which it still is in those words, such as *wulf*, in which the *u* has been exceptionally retained); unrounded, this vowel would naturally become the high-back-wide—the very sound still in common use. The probability that this was also the seventeenth-century sound is raised almost to a certainty by the statement of Wallis, that the sound is formed with the greatest of the three degrees of closeness of the lingual passage (between tongue and palate) recognized by him. Wilkins's statement that the sound is "framed by a free emission of the breath from the throat," and, again, that it is formed "without any particular motion of the tongue or lips," may be considered as evidence that some such sound as the present mid-back-narrow was also given to the *ə*, but it is quite as probable that the whole description is inaccurate.

The general conclusion I arrive at is, that *u* was first unrounded, and that the resulting high-back-wide was in some pronunciations imitated by the mid-back-narrow, which in some dialects was, in accordance with the tendencies of short vowels, brought down to the low position.

Long Vowels.

éé, *óó*. The close *éé* and *óó*=Middle English *èè* and *òò*, are distinctly recognized. Wallis states that "*e* profertur sono acuto claroque ut Gallorum *é* masculinum," and Cooper, as we have seen (p. 522), pairs *full* and *foal* as long and short, which he could not have done if the *oa* of *foal* still had the broad *òò*-sound.

éi, óu. The diphthongization of Middle English *ii* and *uu* is carried a step further than in the previous period; all the authorities agree in either identifying, or, at least, comparing the first element of the two diphthongs with the *ə* of *bət*. *wiin* and *ȣuu* appear, therefore, in the Transition period as *wəin* and *ȣəu*—very nearly their present form.

ai, au. An important change of this period, although partially developed, as Mr. Ellis has shown, much earlier, is the simplification of the old diphthongs *ai* and *au* into *ee*- and *oo*-vowels. Those writers of the Early period who acknowledge the simple sounds do not give any clue to their precise nature, but the seventeenth century accounts point clearly to *èè* and *òò*, which latter is the sound still preserved in such words as *lòò, hòòk=lau, hauk,* although *èè*, as in *dèè=dai,* has been moved up to *éé*, probably because the Early Modern *éé* has become *ii* in the present English.

The above changes were either already in operation in the Early Modern period, or were at least prepared by previous changes: the next two are peculiar to the Middle period.

aa. Long, like short, *aa* was changed to the front vowel *æ, naam* becoming *nææm*. The *ææ*, being a long vowel, was soon narrowed into *èè*, as is shown by Cooper's pairing *ken* (=*kèn*) and *cane* (=*kèèn*) as long and short.

yy. Long *yy*, both in English words such as *nyy*, and French such as *tyyn*, was diphthongized into *iu, nyy* and *tyyn* becoming *niu* and *tiun*. The older *yy* was, however, still preserved by some speakers, and we have the curious spectacle of the two contemporaries Wallis and Wilkins ignoring each other's pronunciations, Wilkins asserting that the sound of *yy* is "of laborious and difficult pronunciation," especially "to the English," while Wallis considered this very *yy*-sound to be the only English pronunciation of long *u*.

It was probably the influence of this new *iu* that changed the older *eu* into *iu, heu,* etc., becoming *hiu,* whence by consonantization of the first element of the diphthong the present *hyuu*.

IV.

HISTORICAL VIEW OF ENGLISH SOUND-CHANGES.

	Old English.	Middle English.	Modern English.
1	mann	man	mæn
	sæt (=sat)	sat	sæt
	heard (=hard)	hard	haəd
	nama	naam	néim
5	ènde (=andi)	ènd	ènd
	hélpan (=hilpan)	hèlp	hèlp
	seofon	seven	sevən
	mète (=mati)	mèèt	miit
	stélan (=stilan)	stèèl	stiil
10	sæ (=saiw)	sèè	sii
	dæd (=däd)	déód	diid
	dreäm (=draum)	drèèm	driim
	grēne	gréén	griin
	seð	séé	sii
15	witan	wit	wit
	hyll	hil	hil
	wīn	wiin	wain
	fȳr	fiir	fair
	òft (=ufta)	òft	òft
20	òn (=an)	òn	òn
	hól	hòòl	hóul
	tä	tòò	tóó
	tō	tóó	tuu
	sunu	sun	sən
25	hūs	huus	haus
	dæg	dai	déi
	sècgan	sei, sai	séi
	lagu	lau	lòò

LATE MODERN PERIOD.

The further changes of the eighteenth century are comparatively slight. The short vowels remain unchanged.

The only long vowels which undergo any modification are the *ees*. In the first place the *ées* of the preceding period are raised to *ii*, *dréém* becoming *driim*, the result being that the Middle English *èè* and *éé* are both confused under *ii*. The word *gréét*=M.E. *grèèt* (O.E. *greāt*) is an example of exceptional retention of the older *éé*.

èè from *aa* and *ai* is raised to the mid-position of *éé*, left

vacant by the change of *éé* into *ii*, *nèèm* from *naam* and *sèè* from *sai* becoming *néém* and *séé*.

òò and *óó* are, on the other hand, retained unaltered. We see, therefore, that the fully-established pronunciation of the eighteenth century differed but slightly from that now in use.

Quantity.

The Early Modern *uu* from *óó* is often shortened before stops, almost always before *k*, frequently before other stops, and occasionally before other consonants. Examples are: *luk* (=Middle E. *lóók*), *tuk* (*tóók*), *buk* (*bóók*), *stud* (*stóód*), *gud* (*góód*), *fut* (*fóót*), *huf* (*hóóf*), *buzəm* (*bóózom*).

Other cases of shortening are doubtful, as they probably took place in the Early period: even the changes just considered may have been, at least partially, developed in the Transition period.

The lengthening of vowels before certain consonants will be considered in the next section.

Consonant Influence

Some important modifications are produced in this period by consonant influence, which has, in some cases, also had a conservative effect in preserving older sounds, which would otherwise have undergone various modifications.

The most marked influence is that exercised by the *r*. So strong is it, indeed, that in the present English hardly any vowel has the same sound before *r* as before other consonants. One important result of this is that the *r* itself becomes a superfluous addition, which is not required for distinguishing one word from another, and is therefore weakened into a mere vocal murmur, or else dropped altogether, although always retained before a vowel.

The following table will give a general view of these modifications. The first column gives the Middle English vowels, the second gives what would be their regular representatives in Late Modern English, the third gives the forms

they actually assume, and the last column gives examples with the Middle E. forms in parentheses:

ar	ær	aar	haaəd (hard)
ir	ir	əər	þəəd (þird)
èr	èr	əər	swəəv (swerv)
ur	ər	əər	təəf (turf)
òr	òr	òòr	nòòəþ (norþ)
aar	éér	èèr	fèèr (faar)
air	éér	èèr	fèèr (fair)
éér	iir	iiər (èèr)	diiər, ðèèr (déér, ðéér)
èèr	iir	iiər (èèr)	iiər, bèèr (èèr, bèèr)
óór	uur	uuər, òòr	muuər, flòòr (móór, flóór)
òòr	óór	òòr	mòòr (mòòr)
iir	air	aiər	faiər (fiir)
uur	aur	auər	sauər (suur)

The sympathy between *r* and the broad (low or back) vowels, which is also shown in the older change of *ster*, etc, into *star*, is evident enough here also. In such words as *fèèr* the seventeenth-century sound of long *aa* has been preserved almost unchanged, while in *flòòr* the *r* has not only prevented the regular change into *uu*, but has even lowered the vowel from the *óó*- to the *òò*-position.

In many cases it is doubtful whether the influence of the *r* has been simply conservative, or whether the change—say of *hard* into *hærd*—actually took place, and that the influence of the *r* afterwards changed the *æ* into *a*. The change of *a* into *æ* certainly seems to have been fully carried out in the Transition period before *r* as well as the other consonants, if we may trust the phonetic authorities; but it is quite possible that the older *as* may have remained throughout as vulgarisms, and soon have regained their lost ground.

The levelling of *ir*, *er*, and *ur*, which are kept quite distinct by the phoneticians of the Transition period, is a very curious phenomenon, as it has resulted in an entirely new vowel, which only occurs in these combinations. This vowel is the low-mixed-narrow. It is evidently closely allied to the regular short *ə* in *bət*, and it seems most probable that the first change was to level *ir*, *er*, and *ər* under *ər* (mid-back-narrow), which would then, by the further influence of the *r*, pass into the low-back-narrow, whence to the low-

mixed-narrow is but a short step. Then the vowel was lengthened, and the *r* absorbed.

The influence of *l* is, like that of *r*, in the direction of broadening. In the combinations *alf* and *alm* original short *a* is preserved, the *l* is dropped and the vowel lengthened, so that *half* and *salm* (written *psalm*) become *haaf* and *saam*. In the Early period some of these words developed the usual *au*, but the present forms cannot have arisen from *au*, except, perhaps, *haam* from *halm*, which is often pronounced *hòòm*, pointing clearly to an older *haulm*.

Besides *r* and *l*, there are other consonants which tend to preserve the quality of short *a*, namely, *ð*, *þ*, *s* and *f*, although the *a* is generally lengthened: *faaðər*, *paaþ*, *graas*, *aask*, *laaf*, *craaft*. The refined Transition pronunciation *pæþ*, *æsk*, is, however, still to be heard.

Before leaving this subject of consonant influence, it is necessary to observe that the rules just stated do not always apply to dissyllables, but only to monosyllables. Thus we find *sælou*, *fælou*, not *sòlou*, *fòlou*, *nærou* not *narou*, and *gæðər* contrasting with *faaðər* and *raaðər*.

The influence of initial *w* is also very characteristic of Late Modern English. It not only preserves the old *u*, as in *wul*, *wulf*, but also regularly rounds short *a* into *ò*, *what*, *swan*, becoming *whòt*, *swòn*; also in dissyllables, such as *swòlóu*, *wòlóu*. The Transition forms *wəl*, *wəlf*, *whæt*, were probably artificial refinements, which were never accepted by the mass of the people.[1] (*See also* p. 151.)

LATEST MODERN PERIOD.

We are now, at last, able to study the sounds of our language, not through the hazy medium of vague descriptions and comparisons, but by direct observation; we can throw away theory, and trust to facts. If our analysis of speech-

[1] Mr. H. Nicol has just called my attention to the fact (which I had overlooked) that the change does not take place when the *a* is followed by a back consonant: *wæg*, *wæx*, etc.

sounds were perfectly accurate and exhaustive, and if our ears were trained to recognize with certainty every appreciable shade of pronunciation, the task would be easy enough. As it is, its difficulties are very great, and the observations I am about to make cannot therefore make any pretensions either to complete fullness or perfect accuracy. They are mere first attempts, and will require much revision.

Diphthongization.

The most prominent feature of our present English is its tendency to diphthongization.

The diphthongic character of our *éé* and *óó* has been distinctly recognized by our leading phoneticians, especially Smart and Bell.

Mr. Bell analyses the two diphthongs as *éi*, *óu*, but I find, as regards my own pronunciation, that the second elements are not fully developed *i* and *u*. In pronouncing *óu* the tongue remains throughout in the mid-position, and the second element only differs from the first in being formed with greater closure of the lips, so that it is an intermediate sound between *oo* and *uu*. In *éi* the tongue seems to be raised to a position half way between *é* and *i* in forming the second element, not to the full high position of *i*.

This indistinctness of the second elements of our *éi* and *óu* explains the difficulty many have in recognizing their diphthongic character. Mr. Ellis, in particular, insists strongly on the monophthongic character of his own *ees* and *oos*. I hear his *ee* and *oo* as distinct diphthongs, not only in his English pronunciation, but also in his pronunciation of French, German, and Latin.

The observation of existing pronunciations has further revealed a very curious and hitherto unsuspected fact, namely that our *ii* and *uu* are no longer pure monophthongs in the mouths of the vast majority of speakers, whether educated or uneducated. They are consonantal diphthongs, *ii* terminating in the consonant *y*, *uu* in *w*=*iy*, *uw*. The distinction

between *bit* and *biit* (written *beat*) depends not on the short vowel being wide and the long narrow, but on the former being a monophthong, the latter a diphthong. The narrowness of *ii* (or rather *iy*) is therefore unessential, and we find, accordingly, that the first element of both *iy* and *uw* is generally made wide. These curious developments are probably the result of sympathetic imitation of *éi* and *óu;* and the tongue being already in the highest vowel position the only means of further contraction of the lingual passage left was the formation of consonants.

The only long vowels left are *aa* and *ȯȯ*. Are these genuine monophthongs? I believe not, although their diphthongic character is certainly not nearly so strongly marked as in the case of the vowels already considered. Nevertheless, these two vowels always seem to end in a slight vocal murmur, which might be expressed thus—*aaə*, *ȯȯə*. I find that *aa* and *ȯȯ*, if prolonged ever so much, still have an abrupt unfinished character if this vocal murmur is omitted. The difference between *lȯȯ* (written *law*) and *lȯȯə* (*lore*) is that in the former word the final *ə* is strictly diphthongic and half evanescent, while the *ə* of the second word is so clearly pronounced as almost to amount to a separate syllable. The distinction between the words written *father* and *farther* is purely imaginary.

In popular speech these diphthongs undergo many modifications. The first elements of *éi* and *óu* often follow the general tendencies of short vowels, and are lowered to the low-front-narrow and low-back-wide-round positions respectively, giving *èi* and *ȯu*. This peculiar exaggeration of the two diphthongs, which is not uncommon even among the educated, is popularly supposed to be a substitution of *ai* for *éi*, and those who employ it are reproached with saying "high" instead of "hay." I find, however, that those who say *hèi* for *héi* never confuse it with *hai*, which many of them pronounce very broadly, giving the *a* the low-back sound of the Scotch *man*.

The *ó* of *óu* is often, especially in affected pronunciation, moved forward to the mid-mixed-round position, and from

there, by lowering and further shifting forwards, to the low-front-narrow-round position, so that *nóu* becomes *næu*.

In like manner, the *u* of *uw*=*uu* is often weakened into the high-mixed-round (wide), which is nearly the German *ü*. So that *tuu* becomes almost *tyw* or *tüw*.

The two diphthongs corresponding to Middle E. *ii* and *uu* show strongly divergent tendencies in the present pronunciation. The first element of our *ai* is, I believe, the high-back-wide (which is also the commonest sound of the *ə* in *bət*), that of *au* the low-mixed-wide. In vulgar speech the distinction is still more marked, the *a* of *ai* being gradually lowered to the full low position, whilst the *a* of *au* is moved forward to the low-front-wide position, giving the familiar *æus* for *haus*. These exaggerations may be partly attributable to the desire to prevent confusion with the *èi* and *òu* arising from *éé* and *óó*.

The investigation of these peculiarities is not only of high scientific interest, but is also of great practical importance. We see that the imagined uniformity of "correct" pronunciation is entirely delusive—an error which only requires a little cultivation of the observing faculties to be completely dissipated.

It is also certain that the wretched way in which English people speak foreign languages—often in such a style as to be quite unintelligible to the natives—is mainly due to their persistently ignoring the phonetic peculiarities of their own language. When we once know that our supposed long vowels are all diphthongs, we are forced to acknowledge that the genuine *iis* and *uus* of foreign languages are really strange sounds, which require to be learnt with an effort, in the same way as we acquire French *u* or German *ch*. A case once came under my notice, in which the French word written *été* was confidently given forth as *èitèi*, on the strength of the grammar's assertion that the French *e aigu* had the sound of the English *ay* in *hay*. The result was, of course, to produce a word utterly unintelligible to a Frenchman.

Short Vowels.

The short vowels do not seem to have changed much in the last few generations. The most noticeable fact is the loss of *æ* among the vulgar. It is modified by raising the tongue into the mid-front-wide, resulting in the familiar *ceb* for *cæb*. This anomalous raising of a short vowel is gradually spreading among the upper classes, and is already quite fixed in many colloquial phrases, such as *nóu thenc yuw*, in which *thænc* is hardly ever pronounced with *æ*, as it should be theoretically. To keep the old original *e* distinct from this new sound, the original *e* generally has the broad sound of the low-front-narrow—a pronunciation which is very marked among the lower orders in London. In the pronunciation of those who retain *æ*, original *e* often has the thinner mid-front-wide sound.

Quantity.

The laws of quantity in the Latest Modern English, which are of a very peculiar and interesting character, were, as far as I know, never stated till I gave a brief account of them in the paper on Danish Pronunciation, already mentioned.

The distinction between long and short vowel is preserved strictly only in dissyllables. In monosyllables short vowels before single consonants are very generally lengthened, especially among the uneducated. If the vowel is kept short, the consonant must be lengthened. The result is, that short accented monosyllables do not exist in English. Either the vowel or the consonant must be long. If the vowel is naturally long, the consonant is shortened; if the vowel is originally short, the consonant is lengthened; or else the vowel is lengthened, and the consonant shortened. We thus obtain the forms *téil*, *tèll*, or *tèèl*, of which the last two are entirely optional. Although these quantitative distinctions are most clearly observable in the liquids, they apply quite as fully to the stops, as may be seen by any one who com-

pares the English *hædd* and *hætt* with the Danish *hat*, in which the *t* is really short, giving a peculiarly abrupt effect to English ears.

Among the educated the form *tèll* is more frequent, but among the vulgar the lengthened *tèèl* is very common. These popular pronunciations are very interesting, as affording the only true undiphthongic long vowels which English now possesses: *fiil* and *fill* in popular speech are really *fiyl* and *fiil* with the same wide vowel, the only difference being that in the latter word it is perfectly homogeneous, while in the former it is consonantally diphthongized.

It also deserves notice that there are really three degrees of vowel quantity in English—short, medial, and long, the rule being that long vowels occur only before voice consonants or finally, while before breath consonants they become medial. Compare *luuz* with *luus*, *paaðz* with *paaþ*. This fact has been noticed by Dr. Murray, in his work on the Scotch Dialects (p. 98, note).

A similar distinction is observable in the quantity of some of the consonants themselves. Liquids and nasals are long before voice, short before breath consonants. Compare *billd* with *bilt*, *sinnz* with *sins*. This distinction of quantity has led Mr. Bell to assume that the *l* in *bilt* is voiceless, although he admits (Visible Speech, p. 67) that "there is a trace of vocality." That the *l* in the English *bilt* is *not* voiceless becomes at once evident on comparing it with the Icelandic *lt*, which is really *lht*, with a distinct hiss.

Consonant Influence.

Apart from the laws of quantity already discussed, there is little to say on this subject. There are, however, words whose present forms afford instructive examples of the influence of *l*. These words are *childrən* and *milk*, in both of which the *i* has been gutturalized and labialized into *u* by the *l*, which in the second word has further developed into the diphthong *yu*, giving *chuldrən* and *myulc*. The diphthong in *myulc* is somewhat puzzling. It is not im-

possible that the older forms were *chyyldrən* and *myylc*, which were then diphthongized into *yu*, which in the former word lost its *y*-consonant; or *chyldrən* may have developed direct into *chuldrən*. (*See note* *** on p. 163.)

Notes on the Consonants.[1]

H.

That initial *h* in Old English had the same sound as it has now, and not that of the German *ch* (*kh*), which it is generally agreed to have had when medial and final, is clear from its frequent omission, even in the older documents of the language; for if initial *h* had been really *kh*, there would be no more reason for its omission than for that of *s* or any other initial consonant.

During the Middle period the use of *h* to designate the sound of *kh* was abandoned in favour of *gh*, whence the present spellings *night*, *laugh*, for the O.E. *niht*, *hleahhan*. The spelling *ch*, as in German, also occurs, and it is, at first sight, difficult to see why it was not universally adopted instead of *gh*, which ought to express, not the breath sound *kh*, but rather the corresponding voice (as in German *sagen*). The simplest explanation seems to be that the *ch* was discarded in order to prevent confusion with the *ch* from *c* in *child*, *much*, etc.

HR, HL, HW, HN.

There can be no doubt that in the oldest pronunciation of these combinations the *h* was pronounced separately, and that at a still earlier period the *h* was a real *ch*. In Modern Icelandic, however, which is the only Teutonic language that still preserves all these sounds, the combinations have been simplified into *rh*, *lh*, *wh*, *nh*, which are nothing else but the breath sounds corresponding to *r*, *l*, *w*, *n*, respectively. Modern English also preserves one of them in the simplified form of *wh*.

[1] These do not lay claim to any fullness of detail: they are merely intended to serve as a stop-gap till it is possible to treat the subject more at length.

The fact that *hr*, *hl*, and *hn* drop their *h* very early in the Transition period, seems to show that the change from the compound *h-r*, etc., to the simplified *rh*, must have already begun in the Old English period. That they did pass through the stage of simplification is clear from the spellings *rh*, etc., as in *rhof* (Ormulum), *lhord* (Ayenbite), and the *wh* still preserved.

The change from *hl* to *l* is not, therefore, to be explained as the result of apocope of the initial *h*, but rather as a levelling of the voiceless *lh* under the voiced *l*—a change which is at the present moment being carried out with the only remaining sound of this group, the *wh*.

þ, F.

The main difficulty here is to determine the laws which govern the distribution of the breath *þ* and *f*, and the voice *ð* and *v*. The following table gives a general view of the relations of the living languages.

English	... þing	... ðæt.....	brəðər	óuþ
Icelandic	... þing	... þaað ...	brouðir	éið
Swedish	... ting	... det.....	bróódər	ééd
Danish	ting	... dé	bróóðər	ééð
Dutch	ding	... dat.....	brudər	ééd
German ...	ding	... das.....	bruudər	aid (*for* ait)

The German *ait*, which is still written *eid*, really stands for *aid*, as final stops are always voiceless or whispered in German. The same is the case in Dutch, but original voiced stops preserve their vocality, if followed by a word beginning with a vowel.

The inferences suggested by this table are clear enough.

The English final *þ* for *ð* is evidently an exceptional change, which does not appear in any of the other languages. So also is the Icelandic *þ* in *þaað*. The majority, then, of the living Teutonic languages agree in showing *ð* medially and finally and *þ* initially, except in a small group

of words in very common use, such as *the, then, thus, than, thou.*

The question now arises, what is the relation of the Dutch and German *d* in *ding* to the Scandinavian and English *ting, þing?* If the initial breath forms are the original ones, the voiced *ðat*, etc., must be later modifications; if the ð of *ðat* is the older, the *t* and þ of *ting* and *þing* must be the later developments—in short, there must have been a period in which þ did not exist at all.

If we go back to the Oldest English, we find no trace of any distinction between þ and ð. Many of the oldest MSS. write the ð in all cases—*ðing, ðæt, broðor, aðð*, while others write þ with equal exclusiveness. When we consider that ð is simply the usual *d* modified by a diacritic, and that the þ itself is, in all probability (as, I believe, was first suggested by Mr. Vigfússon), a D with the stem lengthened both ways, we are led to the unavoidable conclusion that the voice sound was the only one that existed in the Early Old English period. The fact that some of the very oldest remains of our language use the digraph *th* cannot outweigh the overwhelming evidence the other way. It was very natural to adopt the digraph *th*, which already existed in Latin as the representative of the sound *th*, as an approximate symbol of the voiced *dh*, but it is clear that it was considered an inaccurate representation of a voiced consonant, and was therefore abandoned in favour of þ or ð, which were at first employed indiscriminately.

Afterwards, when the breath sound developed itself, the two letters were utilized to express the difference, and þ, whose origin was of course forgotten, came to be regarded as the exclusive representative of the breath sound. Accordingly the later MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries always use both þ and ð *together*, often rather loosely, but always with the evident intention of writing þ initially, ð medially and finally. None of them seem to make any distinction between *þing* and *ðæt*, etc. It is, however, clear that these words must have had the same voice pronunciation as they have now.

We may therefore assume three stages in the history of the English *th*-sounds:

Early Old English ...	ȣing.....	ȣæt.....	brōȣor.....	āȣ
Late Old English ...	þing.....	ȣæt.....	brōȣor.....	āȣ
Modern English	þing.....	ȣæt.....	brəȣər.....	óuþ

The mystery of the pronunciation of *the, thou,* is now solved: these words are archaisms, preserved unchanged by the frequency of their occurrence.

These results apply equally to the *f*. There can be no doubt that the *f* in Early Old English was vocal like the Welsh *f*, as is shown by the Old German spelling *uolc*, etc. (still preserved, though the sound has been devocalized, in Modern German), and the Dutch pronunciation.

In the Transition period the voiced *f* was represented by the French *u*, as in Old German, and it is clear from such spellings as *vox* for *fox*, *uader* for *fader*, that the initial vocality of the Old English *f* (and consequently of the ȣ also) was still preserved, as it still is, in many of the Southern dialects.

Even in the present literary English we find initial vocality still preserved in the words *vein* (from *fana*), *vœt* and *vixen*. As, however, these words are not of very frequent occurrence, it is not improbable that they were taken directly from one of the dialects.

There are a few cases of the retention of final vocality also, both of *f* and ȣ, in the present English. The words are *ov*, *twelv*, and *wiȣ*, all three evidently preserved, like *ȣæt*, etc., by their excessive frequency. The pronunciations *of* and *wiþ*, given by some of the Early Modern authorities, are made doubtful by their recognition of *ov* and *wiȣ* as popular or vulgar pronunciations: they may therefore be purely artificial.

The vocal pronunciation of initial *s*, which is common in our dialects, and is shown for the fourteenth century by the Kentish *zay*, *zal*, etc., cannot be original. The sound of *z* is unknown in Scandinavia, and even in Germany the "soft" *s* is clearly the result of Low German influence, and it is unknown in the South German dialects.

It seems, therefore, that the vocalization of initial (and also medial) *s* in English is merely a case of levelling, caused by the analogy of the vocal ȝ and *v*.

G.

The use of *g* for the *y*-consonant (*j*) of the other languages is one of the knotty points of Old English phonetics. It is commonly assumed that the *g* of *gēr* (=Gothic *jēr*), *ge* (=*jus*), and the *ge* of *geoc* (=*juk*), *geā* (=*jā*), are merely orthographical expedients for indicating this *y*-consonant. But there seems no reason why the *i* of the other national orthographies should not have been adopted in England also. As a matter of fact, it is used in foreign names, as in *Iuþytte* (in the Chronicle), *Iuliana*, etc. And not only do such words as *geoc* alliterate with undoubted hard *g*s in the poetry, but we even find such pairs as *Juliana, god,* showing clearly that even in foreign words *y*-consonant was liable to be changed into a sound which, if not identical with the *g* of *god,* was at least very like it.

The *ge* of *geoc* makes it very probable that the *g*=*y*-consonant was a palatal sound—in short, a palatal stop formed in the place of *y* (=Sanskrit ज). The conversion of an open into a stopped consonant is, of course, anomalous, but precisely the same change has taken place in the Romance languages.

The spelling *cg* for *gg,* as in *licgan, ecg,* is curious. We can hardly suppose that the combination is to be understood literally as *c* followed by *g*. Such a change would, at least, be entirely without precedent, and it seems most probable that the combination was meant to indicate a whispered instead of a voiced *gg*. The peculiarity, whatever it was, does not seem to have been carried into the Middle period, whose scribes always write *gg*.

Final *g* after long vowels or consonants often becomes *h* in Old English, which, to judge from the spelling *bogh*=*bōh*=*bōg*, was originally vocal (=*gh*), although it was soon devocalized. In the Transition period all medial and final *g*s became open (*gh*), as in German, Danish, and Icelandic. This *gh* after-

wards became palatalized after front, and labialized after back vowels (*ghw*), and in many cases the palatal and labial *gh* became still further weakened into *i* and *u*, forming the second elements of diphthongs. After a consonant the labial *gh* was confused with *w* (from which it differs only in being slightly more guttural), *folgian* becoming *folwen*. When the *w* came at the end of a word, it was weakened into *u*, *folw* becoming *folu*, and *malw* (O.E. *mealwe*) becoming *malu*. The present *óu* in *folóu*, for which there is sixteenth century authority, as well as for *folu*, is anomalous. It is possible that the *óu* pronunciation may be artificial—the result of the spelling *follow*.

Even initial *g* is often weakened before front vowels, so often, indeed, that the Old English form of the *g* (ȝ) came to be used exclusively to represent this weak sound, while the French form (nearly our present *g*) was reserved for the original stopped *g*. The first change was, no doubt into *gh*, *gifan* becoming *ghiven*, as in the Dutch *ghéévən*, which soon became palatalized, till at last it became simple *y*-consonant, as is clearly proved by such spellings as *iæf*=O.E. *geaf* (Peterborough Chronicle), *yelt*=*gylt* (Ayenbite), etc.

The *g* or *ge*, which represents original *y*-consonant in Old English, always undergoes this weakening, *geoc*, *gē*, becoming *yòòc*, *yéé*. Even when initial *ge* is merely the result of the diphthongization of *a* into *ea*, it is often weakened into *ya*, as in *yard*=*geard*=*gard*.

The result of all these changes was, that by the beginning of the sixteenth century *gh* was entirely lost, being either weakened into a vowel (*i* or *u*), or converted into the corresponding breath sound *kh*, but only finally, as in *dóóuh* (O.E. *dāg*), *enuuh* (*genōg*). In most cases final *gh* (when not vowelized) was dropped entirely, as in *fóóu* (*fāg*), *lóóu* (*lāg*), *fii* (*feoh*).[1]

In the present English *kh*—whether answering to O.E. *g* or *h*—has been entirely lost. It appears from Mr. Ellis's investigations that the full *kh* first became weakened to a

[1] The *u* in *dóóuh*, *fóóu(h)*, etc., was probably a mere secondary formation, generated by the *ghw*, the stages being *oogh*, *ooghw*, *ooughw*, and then *oouh* or simply *oou*.

mere aspiration, which was soon dropped. In such words as *niht* the *i* was lengthened, *niht* becoming *niit*, whence our present *nait*. Final *kh* preceded by a rounded vowel as in *lauh*, *enuuh*, was itself naturally rounded into *khw*, like the *kh* in the German *auch;* hence the present *laaf*, *enəf*—*laukh*, *lakhw*, *lawh*, *laf*. For fuller details the reader must be referred to Mr. Ellis's great work.

CH, J

The change of *c* into *ch* before and after front vowels, as in *chiild*, *tèèch*, from *cild*, *tæcan*, offers considerable difficulties, on account of the many intermediate stages there must have been between the back stop *c* and the present *tsh*-sound. There can be no doubt that the first change was to move *c* to the front-stop position, but, although the further change to the point formation is simple enough, it is not easy to explain the intrusion of the *sh:* we would expect *ciild* to change simply into *tiild*, just as *gemaca* becomes *maat*. I believe that the change from the intermediate front-stop to *tsh* is a purely imitative one. If the front-stop is pronounced forcibly—even with a degree of force stopping far short of actual aspiration—the escape of breath after the contact is removed naturally generates a slight hiss of *yh* (as in *hue*), which is very like *sh* in sound—hence the substitution of the easier *tsh*.

The same remarks apply also to the *dzh*-sound in *wej*, *ej*, *rij*, etc., from *wecg*, *ecg*, *hrycg*.

It is instructive to observe the analogous changes in the Scandinavian languages. In Icelandic *k* and *g* before front vowels are shifted forward a little, without, however, losing their back character, almost as in the old-fashioned London pronunciation of *kaind*, *skai*, etc. In Swedish *k* before front vowels has a sound which is generally identified with the English *ch*. If, however, my limited observations are correct, the real sound is the front stop followed by the corresponding open breath (*yh*). The sound is certainly not the English *ch*, which the Swedes consider an unfamiliar sound. In

Norwegian the stopped element is dropped entirely, and nothing remains but a forward *yh*, so that *kenna* is pronounced *yhenna*. Both in Norwegian and Swedish *g* before front vowels has the simple sound of the consonant *y*.

SH.

The change of Old English *sc* into *sh* is not exactly parallel with that of *c* into *ch*, as it takes place after back as well as front vowels—not only in such words as *ship* (=*scip*), but also in *shun* (*āscunian*), etc. It is therefore possible that *sc* may have passed through the stage of *skh*, as in Dutch, a change which seems to be the result of the influence of the *s*, the *kh* instead of *k* being, like *s*, a sibilant unstopped consonant. The Old English spellings *sceacan*, *sceoc*, etc., for *scacan*, *scōc*, however, seem to point rather to a palatalization of the *c* at an early period. Whatever the development may have been, it is certain that the sound soon became simple, for we find it often written *ss* in the Early Middle period.

In Swedish the sound of *sh* is fully developed, but only before front vowels. In Norwegian *sk* before front vowels changes its *k* into *yh* (voiceless *y*-consonant), which, as we have already seen, is the regular change, giving the combination *s-yh*, which is generally confounded with simple *sh* by foreigners. These facts tend strongly to confirm the view that the change of *sk* into *sh* in English also is due to palatalization of the *k*, although we cannot determine with certainty what the intermediate stages were.

WORD LISTS.

The following lists are intended to include the majority of the words of Teutonic—that is to say English or Scandinavian—origin still in common use, with the corresponding Old and Middle forms. The first column gives the Old English forms; the second the Middle English (but without the final *e*, p. 56) as deduced from the Old English forms and the present traditional spelling, which is given in the third column; the

fourth, lastly, gives the present sounds. I have, of course, carefully compared the valuable pronouncing vocabulary of Early Modern English given by Mr. Ellis in his Third Part, especially in all cases of irregular change or anomalous spelling. These exceptions will be considered hereafter.

The words are arranged primarily according to their vowels in the following order:—a (æ, ea, ei), ā, i, ī, y, ȳ, é (eo), è, ē, ǣ=éé, ǣ=èè, eā, eō, u, ū, o, ō. Then according to the consonant that follows the vowel in this order: h, r, l, ð, s, w, f, ng, n, m, g, c, d, t, b, p; and lastly according to the initial consonant in the same order. The principle I have followed is to begin with the vowels, as being the most independent elements of speech, and to put the stops at the extreme end as being most opposed to the vowels. The semivowels or open consonants naturally come after the vowels, and the nasals next to the stops. As regards position, back consonants come first, then front, then point, and then lip. Voice consonants, of course, come before breath. It will easily be seen that the same general principles have been followed in the arrangement of the vowels. The order of position is back, mixed, front; high comes before mid, and mid before low, and round last of all.

To facilitate reference, I have often given the same word under as many different heads as possible, especially in cases of irregular development.

Old English forms which do not actually occur, but are postulated by later ones, are marked with an asterisk.

The Middle English forms in parentheses are those which, although not deducible from the spelling, are supported by other evidence.

Norse words are denoted by N., and the conventional Icelandic spellings are occasionally added in parentheses.

Many of the inorganic preterites (such as *bore*=*bær*) have been included in the present lists: they are all marked with a dagger.

a, æ, ea, ò.

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
hleahhan	lauh		*laugh*	laaf
geseah	sau		*saw*	sòò
eahta	eiht (ai)		*eight*	éit
hleahtor	lauhter	4	*laughter*	laaftər
sleaht	slauhter		*slaughter*	slòòtər
feaht	fauht		*fought*	fòòt
tæhte	tauht		*taught*	tòòt
aron	ar	8	*are*	aar
hara	haar		*hare*	hèər
scearu	shaar		*share*	shèər
starian	staar		*stare*	stèər
sparian	spaar	12	*spare*	spèər
wær	waar		*ware (wary)*	wèər
faran	faar		*fare*	fèər
nearu (nearw-)	naru		*narrow*	næróu
caru	caar	16	*care*	cèər
dear	daar		*dare*	dèər
tær	† tòòr		*tore*	tòər
bær (*adj.*)	baar		*bare*	bèər
bær (*pret.*)	baar	20	*bare*	bèər
	† bòòr		*bore*	bòər
ears	ars		*arse*	aəs
ar(e)we	aru		*arrow*	æróu
spearwa	sparu	24	*sparrow*	spæróu
gearwa	gèèr		*gear*	giər
hærfest	harvest		*harvest*	haəvest
(ge)earnian	èèrn		*earn*	eən
wearnian	warn	28	*warn*	wòən
fearn	fern		*fern*	fəən
gearn	yarn		*yarn*	yaən
earm	arm		*arm*	aəm
hearm	harm	32	*harm*	haəm
wearm	warm		*warm*	wòəm
swearm	swarm		*swarm*	swòəm
earc	arc		*ark*	aəc
ærce-	arch-	36	*arch(bishop)*	aəch-

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

a, æ, ea, ȯ (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
lāwerce	larc		*lark*	laəc
stearc	starc		*stark*	staəc
spearca	sparc		*spark*	spaəc
mearc	marc	40	*mark*	maəc
barc, N. (börkr)	barc		*bark*	baəc
pearruc	parc		*park*	paəc
heard	hard		*hard*	haəd
weard	ward	44	*ward*	wȯəd
geard	yard		*yard*	yaəd
beard	bèèrd		*beard*	biəd
(ȝū) eart	art		*art*	aət
sweart	swart	48	*swarthy*	swȯəþi
cræt	cart		*cart*	caət
teart	tart		*tart*	taət
hearpe	harp		*harp*	haəp
scearp	sharp	52	*sharp*	shaəp
alor (*under* ld)				
ealu	aal		*ale*	éil
eall	al		*all*	ȯȯl
heall	hal		*hall*	hȯȯl
salu (sealw-)	salu	56	*sallow*	sælou
smæl	smal		*small*	smȯȯl
sceal	shal		*shall*	shæl
scealu	scaal, shaal		*scale, shale*	scéil, shéil
steall	stal	60	*stall*	stȯȯl
weall	wal		*wall*	wȯȯl
hwæl	whaal		*whale*	whéil
falu (fealw-)	falu		*fallow*	fælóu
feallan	fal	64	*fall*	fȯȯl
nihtegale	nihtingaal		*nightingale*	naitinggéil
gealle	gal		*gall*	gȯȯl
calu (cealw-)	calu		*callow*	cælóu
ceallian (N. ?)	cal	68	*call*	cȯȯl
dæl	daal		*dale*	déil
talu	taal		*tale*	téil
bealu	baal		*bale*	béil
swealwe	swalu	72	*swallow*	swolóu
wealwian	walu		*wallow*	wolóu
mealwe	malu		*mallow*	mælóu

h; r, hr, l, hl; ȝ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

a, æ, ea, è (*continued*).

OLD	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
ælf	elf		*elf*	elf
healf	half	76	*half*	haaf
sealfian	salv		*salve*	sælv
cealf	calf		*calf*	caaf
ælmesse	alms		*alms*	aamz
healm	halm	80	*halm*	hòòm
sealm	salm		*psalm*	saam
hālgian	halu		*hallow*	hælóu
gealga	galuz		*gallows*	gælóuz
tælg	talu	84	*tallow*	tælóu
stealcian	stalc		*stalk*	stòòc
wealcan	walc		*walk*	wòòc
bealca	balc		*balk*	bòòc
bealcettan	belch	88	*belch*	belch
alor	alder		*alder*	òòldər
eald	òòld		*old*	óuld
ealdormann	alderman		*alderman.*	òòldəmən
healdan	hòòld	92	*hold*	hóuld
sealde	sòòld		*sold*	sóuld
fealdan	fòòld		*fold*	fóuld
ceald	còòld		*cold*	cóuld
tealde	tòòld	96	*told*	tóuld
beald	bòòld		*bold*	bóuld
healt	halt		*halt*	holt
sealt	salt		*salt*	solt
mealt	malt	100	*malt*	molt
hæ(f)ð	haþ		*hath*	hæþ
hraðor	raðer		*rather*	raaðər
hwæðer	wheðer		*whether*	wheðər
bæð	baþ	104	*bath*	baaþ
baðian	baað		*bathe*	béið
pæð	paþ		*path*	paaþ
fæðm	faðom		*fathom*	fæðəm
ea(l)swā	az	108	*as*	æz
assa	as		*ass*	aas
*hæ(f)s	haz		*has*	hæz

a(æ ea ei), i, ó(oo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o

a, æ, ea, o (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
læssa	les		*less*	les
ðȳ læs ðe	lest	112	*lest*	lest
wæs	waz		*was*	woz
næs	nes		*ness*	nes
græs	gras		*grass*	graas
glæs	glas	116	*glass*	glaas
bræs	bras		*brass*	braas
æsc	ash		*ash*	æsh
āscian	asc		*ask*	aasc
ascan	ashez	120.	*ashes*	æshez
rasc N.	rash		*rash*	ræsh
wascan	wash		*wash*	wosh
flasce	flasc		*flask*	flaasc
baðа sic N.	basc	124	*bask*	baasc
la(to)st	last		*last*	laast
læst (*superl.*)	lèèst		*least*	liist
lǣstan	last		*last*	laast
fæst	fast	128	*fast*	faast
mæst	mast		*mast*	maast
gæst	gest		*guest*	gest
casta N.	cast		*cast*	caast
castel	castl	132	*castle*	caasl
blǣst	blast		*blast*	blaast
æsp	aspen		*aspen*	æspen
awel	aul		*awl*	òòl
clawu	clau	136	*claw*	clòò
hafa (*imper.*)	hav		*have*	hæv
behafa	behaav		*behave*	behéiv
hæfen	haaven		*haven*	héivən
hafoc	hauc	140	*hawk*	hòòc
stæf	staf		*staff*	staaf
stafas	staavz		*staves*	stéivz
scafan	shaav		*shave*	shéiv
nafu	naav	144	*nave*	néiv
geaf	gaav		*gave*	géiv
græf / grafan	graav		*grave*	gréiv
ceaf	chaf		*chaff*	chaaf
ceafor	chaafer	148	(*cock*)*chafer*	chéifər

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

a, æ, ea, o (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
crafian	craav		*crave*	créiv
clæfer	clòòver		*clover*	clóuvər
hæf ȝ (*under* ȝ)				
hræfn	raaven		*raven*	réivən
hæfde hlǣfdige } (*under* d)				
æfter	after	152	*after*	aaftər
sceaft	shaft		*shaft*	shaaft
cræft	craft		*craft*	craaft
angel (*hook*)	angl		*to angle*	ængl
hangan	hang	156	*hang*	hæng
hrang	rang		*rang*	ræng
lang	long		*long*	long
þrang	þrong		*throng*	þrong
þwang	þong	160	*thong*	þong
sang (*pret.*)	sang		*sang*	sæng
sang (*subst.*)	song		*song*	song
strang	strong		*strong*	strong
sprang	sprang	164	*sprang*	spræng
wrang (*pret.*)	wrang		*wrang*	ræng
wrang (*adj.*)	wrong		*wrong*	rong
fang	fang	167	*fang*	fæng
mangere	? monger (u)		*monger*	məngər
òn gemang	? among (u)		*among*	əməng
gang	gang		*gang*	gæng
tange	tongs		*tongs*	tongz
banga N	bang	172	*bang*	bæng
ancleow	ancl		*ankle*	æncl
ranc	ranc		*rank*	ræncə
hlanc	lanc		*lank*	læncə
þancian	þanc	176	*thank*	þæncə
sanc	sanc		*sank*	sæncə
scranc	shranc		*shrank*	shræncə
stanc	stanc		*stank*	stæncə
dranc	dranc	180	*drank*	dræncə
ænig	aani (u)		*any*	eni
hanep	hemp		*hemp*	hemp

a(æ ea ei), i, ó(oo), ȯ, ē, ī̄, eā, eī̄, u, o.

a, æ, ea, ȯ (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
rann	ran		*ran*	ræn
rannsaca N.	ransac	184	*ransack*	rænsæc
lane	laan		*lane*	léin
ðanne	ðan		*than*	ðæn
	ðen		*then*	ðen
swan	swan	188	*swan*	swon
gespann	span		*span*	spæn
wann (*pret.*)	†wun		*won*	wən
wann (*adj.*)	wan		*wan*	won
wanian	waan	192	*wane*	wéin
hwanne	when		*when*	when
fana	vaan		*vane*	véin
mann	man		*man*	mæn
mane	maan	196	*mane*	méin
manig	maani (a)		*many*	meni
begann	began		*began*	begæn
ganot	ganet		*ganet*	gænet
cann	can	200	*can*	cæn
crana	craan		*crane*	créin
bana	baan		*bane*	béin
gebann	ban		*ban*	bæn
panne	pan	204	*pan*	pæn
an(d)swarian	answer		*answer*	aansər
anfilt	anvil		*anvil*	ænvil
and	and		*and*	ænd
hand	hand	208	*hand*	hænd
land	land		*land*	lænd
sand	sand		*sand*	sænd
standan	stand		*stand*	stænd
strand	strand	212	*strand*	strænd
wand N. (vöndr)	wand		*wand*	wond
wand (*pret.*)	†wuund		*wound*	waund
wandrian	wander		*wander*	wondər
candel	candl	216	*candle*	cændl
band (*pret.*)	†buund		*bound*	baund
band (*subst.*)	band		*band*	bænd
	bond		*bond*	bond
brand	brand	220	*brand*	brænd
wanta, N.	want		*want*	wont
plantian	plant		*plant*	plaant

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

a, æ, ea, ȯ (*continued*).

OLD	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
ic eam	am		*am*	æm
æmette	emet	224	*emmet, ant*	emet, aant
hamor	hamer		*hammer*	hæmər
ramm	ram		*ram*	ræm
lama (*adj.*)	laam		*lame*	léim
same	saam	228	*same*	séim
swamm	swam		*swam*	swæm
scamu	shaam		*shame*	shéim
fram	from		*from*	from
nama	naam	232	*name*	néim
gamen	gaam		*game*	géim
crammian	cram		*cram*	cræm
cwam	caam		*came*	céim
damm	dam	236	*dam*	dæm
tama (*adj.*)	taam		*tame*	téim
lamb	lamb		*lamb*	læm
wamb	wóómb		*womb*	wuum
camb	còòmb	240	*comb*	cóum
damp (*subst.*) N.	damp		*damp* (adj.)	dæmp
haga	hau		*haw*	hòò
læg	lai		*lay*	léi
lagu	lau	244	*law*	lòò
sage, sagu	sau		*saw*	sòò
slagan	slai		*slay*	sléi
wagian	wag		*wag*	wæg
fleagan	flai	248	*flay*	fléi
mæg	mai		*may*	méi
maga	mau		*maw*	mòò
gnagan	gnau		*gnaw*	nòò
dæg	dai	252	*day*	déi
*dagenian	daun		*dawn*	dòòn
dragan	drag		*drag*	dræg
	drau		*draw*	dròò
fæg(e)r	fair	256	*fair*	fèər
hæg(e)l	hail		*hail*	héil
snæg(e)l	snail		*snail*	snéil
næg(e)l	nail		*nail*	néil
tæg(e)l	tail	260	*tail*	téil

a(æ ea ei), i, ó(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

a, æ, ea, ȯ (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
ægðer	eiðer		*either*	{ iiðər / aiðə
slæg(e)n	slain		*slain*	sléin
fæg(e)n	fain		*fain*	féin
mæg(e)n	main	264	*main*	méin
ongæg(e)n	again		*again*	{ əgéin / əgèn
bræg(e)n	brain		*brain*	bréin
sægde	said		*said*	sed
mægd	maid	268	*maid*	méid
æcer	aacr		*acre*	éicər
æcern	aacorn		*acorn*	éicðən
race	raac		*rake*	réic
þæc	þach	272	*thatch*	þæch
rannsaca N.	ransac		*ransack*	rænsæc
sacu	saac		*sake*	séic
snaca	snaac		*snake*	snéic
scacan	shaac	276	*shake*	shéic
stacu	staac		*stake*	stéic
spræc	{ spaac / †spòòc		*spake* / *spoke*	spéic / spóuc
wacan	waac	280	*wake*	wéic
wræc	wrec		*wreck*	rec
nacod	naaced		*naked*	néiced
macian	maac		*make*	méic
caca N.	caac	284	*cake*	céic
cwacian	cwaac		*cwake*	cwéic
taca N.	taac		*take*	téic
bæc	bac		*back*	bæc
bacan	baac	288	*bake*	béic
bræc	{ braac / †bròòc		*brake* / *broke*	bréic / bróuc
blæc	blac		*black*	blæc
eax	ax	292	*axe*	æx
axan, āxian	(*under* sc)			
weax, weaxan	wax		*wax*	wæx
fleax	flax		*flax*	flæx

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

a, æ, ea, ȯ (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
sædese	adis		*addice, adze*	sædz
hæ(f)de	had	296	*had*	hæd
hladan	laad		*lade*	léid
	lòòd		*load*	lóud
hlæder	lader		*ladder*	lædər
hlæ(f)dige	laadi	300	*lady*	léidi
sæd	sad		*sad*	sæd
sadol	sadl		*saddle*	sædl
sceadu	shadu		*shadow, shade*	shædóu, shéid
wadan	waad	304	*wade*	wéid
fæder	faðer		*father*	faaðər
gema(c)od	maad		*made*	méid
gegadorian	gaðer		*gather*	gæðər
tōgædere	togeðer	308	*together*	tugeðər
glæd	glad		*glad*	glæd
cradol	craadl		*cradle*	créidl
*geclæðed	clad		*clad*	clæd
træd	†trod	312	*trod*	†trod
nædre	ader		*adder*	ædər
blæd	blaad		*blade*	bléid
blædre	blader		*bladder*	blædər
æt *(prep.)*	at	316	*at*	æt
æt *(pret.)*	aat		*ate*	éit, et
hatian	haat		*hate*	héit
hætt	hat		*hat*	hæt
læt (lata)	laat	320	*late*	léit
þæt	ðat		*that*	ðæt
sæt	sat		*sat*	sæt
sæterdæg	saturdai		*saturday*	sætədi
wæter	water	324	*water*	wòòtər
hwæt	what		*what*	whot
spætte *(pret.)*	spat		*spat*	spæt
fæt	vat		*vat*	væt
fætt *(adj.)*	fat	328	*fat*	fæt
flat N.	flat		*flat*	flæt
geat *(subst.)*	gaat		*gate*	géit
begeat *(pret.)*	got		*got*	got
gnætt	gnat	332	*gnat*	næt
catt	cat		*cat*	cæt
crabba	crab		*crab*	cræb

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

a, æ, ea, ȯ (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
apa	aap		*ape*	éip
happ N.	hapi	336	*happy*	hæpi
scapan	shaap		*shape*	shéip
æppel	apl		*apple*	æpl
sæp	sap		*sap*	sæp
hnæppian	nap	340	*nap*	næp
geapian	gaap		*gape*	géip
cnapa	cnaav		*knave*	néiv
papol(stān)	pebl		*pebble*	pebl

ei (ey). (*All Norse.*)

ei	ai	344	*aye*	ai, éi
þei(r) N.	ȝai (ei)		*they*	ȝéi
nei	nai		*nay*	néi
þeirra N.	ȝeir		*their*	ȝèɔr
heil	hail	348	*hail!*	héil
reisa	raiz		*raise*	réiz
hrein N.	rain(déér)		*rein(deer)*	réin(diər)
swein	swain		*swain*	swéin
steic	stèèc	352	*steak*	stéic
weic	wèèc		*weak*	wiic
beita	bait		*bait*	béit
deyja	dii		*die*	dai

ā.

rā	ròò	356	*roe*	róu
lā	lòò		*lo!*	lóu, lòò
slā	slòò		*sloe*	slóu
swā	sòò		*so*	sóu
wā	wòò	360	*woe*	wóu
hwā	hwóó		*who*	huu

h; r, hr, l, hl; ȝ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ā (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
frā N.	fròò		(*to and*) *fro*	fróu
nā	nòò		*no*	nóu
(ic) gā	gòò	364	*go*	góu
dā	dòò		*doe*	dóu
tā	tòò		*toe*	tóu
twā	twóó		*two*	tuu
āhte	òòuht	368	*ought*	òòt
(n)āht	(n)auht		(*n*)*aught*	(n)òòt
	not		*not*	not
hāl	hòòl / hwòòl		*whole*	hóul
	haal	372	*hale*	heil
hālgian (*under* a)				
māl	mòòl		*mole*	móul
gedāl	dòòl		*dole*	dóul
ār	òòr		*oar*	òər
hār	hòòr	376	*hoar*	hòər
rārian	ròòr		*roar*	ròər
lār	lòòr		*lore*	lòər
sār	sòòr		*sore*	sòər
māre	mòòr	380	*more*	mòər
gāre	gòòr		*gore*	gòər
geāra	yòòr		*yore*	yòər
bār	bòòr		*boar*	bòər
hlā(f)ord	lord	384	*lord*	lòəd
āþ	òòþ		*oath*	óuþ
wrāþ	wraþ		*wrath*	raaþ
	wròòþ		*wroth*	rò(ò)þ
lāþian	lòòþ	388	*loathe*	lóuþ
nā(n)þing	noþing		*nothing*	nəþing
clāþ	cloþ		*cloth*	clò(ò)þ
clāþian	clòòþ		*clothe*	clóuþ
bāþir, N.	bòòþ	392	*both*	bóuþ
hās	hòòrs		*hoarse*	hòòəs
ārās	aròòz		*arose*	əróuz
þās	þòòz		*those*	þóuz
*hwās	whòòz	396	*whose*	huuz

a(æ ea ei), i, ó(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

ā (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
āscian (*under* a)				
*māst	mòòst		*most*	móust
gāst	gòòst		*ghost*	góust
lāwerce (*under* a)				
þāwan	þau	400	*thaw*	þòò
þrāwan	þròòu		*throw*	þró
sāwan	sòòu		*sow*	sóu
snāw	snòòu		*snow*	snóu
māwan	mòòu	404	*mow*	móu
crāwan	cròòu		*crow*	cróu
cnāwan	cnòòu		*know*	nóu
blāwan	blòòu		*blow*	blóu
sāwl	sòòul	408	*soul*	sóul
āwðer (=āhwæðer) or			*or*	òər
gesāw(e)n	sòòun		*sown*	sóun
geþrāw(e)n	þròòun		*thrown*	þróun
gecnāw(e)n	cnòòun	412	*known*	nóun
hlāf	lòòf		*loaf*	lóuf
hlāford (*under* r)				
drāf	dròòv		*drove*	dróuv
ān	òòn, an, a		*one, an, a*	wɔn, ən, ə
ānlice	òònli	416	*only*	óunli
lān N.	lòòn		*loan*	lóun
nān	nòòn		*none*	nən
scān	shòòn		*shone*	shon
stān	stòòn	420	*stone*	stóun
ʔ mānian	mòòn		*moan*	móun
gegān (*part.*)	gòòn		*gone*	gon
grānian	gròòn		*groan*	gróun
bān	bòòn	424	*bone*	bóun
hām	hòòm		*home*	hóum
lām	lòòm		*loam*	lóum
hwām	whóóm		*whom*	huum
fām	fòòm	428	*foam*	fóum
clām	clami		*clammy*	clæmi

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ā (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
āgan	òòu		*owe*	óu
lāg	lòòu		*low*	lóu
fāg	fòò	432	*foe*	fóu
dāg	dòòuh		*dough*	dóu
āg(e)n	òòun		*own*	óun
āc	òòc		*oak*	óuc
(wed)lāc	(wed)loc	436	(*wed*)*lock*	(wed)loc
strācian	stròòc		*stroke*	stróuc
spāca	spòòc		*spoke*	spóuc
tācen	tòòcen		*token*	tóucən
-hād	-hóód	440	(*man*)*hood*	-hud
rād	ròòd		*rode, road*	róud
lād	lòòd(stòòn)		*load*(*stone*)	lóud(stóun)
wād	wòòd		*woad*	wóud
gād	gòòd	444	*goad*	góud
tāde	tòòd		*toad*	tóud
ābād	abòòd		*abode*	əbóud
brād	bròòd		*broad*	bròòd
? ādl				
āte	òòts	448	*oats*	óuts
hāt	hot		*hot*	hot
swāt (*under* ǣ = èè)				
wāt	wot		*wot*	wot
wrāt	wròòt		*wrote*	róut
gāt	gòòt	452	*goat*	góut
bāt	bòòt		*boat*	bóut
rāp	ròòp		*rope*	róup
sāpe	sòòp		*soap*	sóup
swāpan (*under* ǣ = éé)				
grāpian	gròòp	456	*grope*	gróup
pāpa	pòòp		*pope*	póup

ī.

rīht	rīht		*right*	rait
gelīhtan	līht		(*a*)*light*	lait

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

ī (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
gesihȝ	siht	460	*sight*	sait
wiht	wiht		*wight*	wait
	whit		*whit*	whit
niht	niht		*night*	nait
miht	miht	464	*might*	mait
cniht	cniht		*knight*	nait
briht	briht		*bright*	brait
pliht	pliht		*plight*	plait
hire	hir (e)	468	*her*	həər
scire	shiir		*shire*	shiiər, shaiər
stīgrāp	stirup		*stirrup*	stirəp
cirice (*under* y)				
mirhȝ	mirþ		*mirth*	məəþ
wirsa (*under* y)				
hirde	herd	472	(*shep*)*herd*	(shep)əd
*þirda (=þridda)	þird		*third*	þəəd
*bird(=bridd)	bird		*bird*	bəəd
ill N.	il		*ill*	il
scilling	shiling	476	*shilling*	shiling
scil N.	scil		*skill*	scil
stille	stil		*still*	stil
spillan	spil		*spill*	spil
willa	wil	480	*will*	wil
wilig	wilu		*willow*	wilóu
gillan	yel		*yell*	yel
til N. (*prep.*) tilian	til		*till*	til
bill	bil	484	*bill*	bil
film(en)	film		*film*	film
seoloc	silc		*silk*	silc
swilc (*under* c)				
hwilc (*under* c)				
meolc	milc		*milk*	milc
scild	shiild	488	*shield*	shiild
wilde	wiild		*wild*	waild
milde	miild		*mild*	maild

h; r, hr, l, hl; ȝ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

i (*continued*).

OLD	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
gild	gild		*guild*	gild
gildan	yiild	492	*yield*	yiild
cild	chiild		*child*	chaild
cildru	children		*children*	children
hilt	hilt		*hilt*	hilt
smiȝ	smiþ	496	*smith*	smiþ
wiȝ	wiȝ		*with*	wiȝ
fiȝele	fidl		*fiddle*	fidl
niȝer	neȝer		*nether*	neȝər
piȝa	piþ	500	*pith*	piþ
is	iz		*is*	iz
his	hiz		*his*	hiz
þis	ȝis		*this*	ȝis
þise	ȝèez	504	*these*	ȝiiz
mis-	mis-		*mis(take)*	mis-
missan	mis		*miss*	mis
gise	yis (e)		*yes*	yes
bliss	blis	508	*bliss*	blis
fisc	fish		*fish*	fish
disc	dish		*dish*	dish
biscop	bishop		*bishop*	bishəp
wīsdōm	wizdom	512	*wisdom*	wizdəm
list	list		*list*	list
þistel	þistl		*thistle*	þisl
mist	mist		*mist*	mist
gist	yèèst	516	*yeast*	yiist
misteltā	mistltòò		*mistletoe*	misltóu
Crist	Criist		*Christ*	Craist
cristenian	cristen		*christen*	crisn
gist	yèèst	520	*yeast*	yiist
gistrandæg	yisterdai (e)		*yesterday*	yestədi
hwistlian	whistl		*whistle*	whisl
wlisp (*adj.*)	lisp		*to lisp*	lisp
hwisprian	whisper	524	*whisper*	whispər
siwian	seu		*sew*	sóu
niwe	neu		*new*	nyuu

a(æ ea ei), i, ó(eo), è, ō, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

ī (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
cliwe	cleu		*clew*	cluu
tiwes dæg	teuzdai	528	*Tuesday*	tyuuzdi
ifig	iivi		*ivy*	aivi
lifian	liv		*live*	liv
lifer	liver		*liver*	livər
sife	siv	532	*sieve*	siv
stīf	stif		*stiff*	stif
wifel	wiivil		*weevil*	wiivəl
gif	if		*if*	if
gifan	giv	536	*give*	giv
clif	clif		*cliff*	clif
drifen	driven		*driven*	drivən
siftan	sift		*sift*	sift
swift	swift	540	*swift*	swift
scrift	shrift		*shrift*	shrift
fīftig	fifti		*fifty*	fifti
gift	gift		*gift*	gift
hring	ring	544	*ring*	ring
-ling	-ling		*(dar)ling*	-ling
þing	þing		*thing*	þing
singan	sing		*sing*	sing
swingan	swing	548	*swing*	swing
stingan	sting		*sting*	sting
springan	spring		*spring*	spring
wǣng N. (vǣngr)	wing		*wing*	wing
finger	finger	552	*finger*	fingər
cringan	crinj		*cringe*	crinj
clingan	cling		*cling*	cling
bringan	bring		*bring*	bring
sincan	sinc	556	*sink*	sinc
slincan	slinc		*slink*	slinc
scrincan	shrinc		*shrink*	shrinc
stincan	stinc		*stink*	stinc
wincian	winc	560	*wink*	winc
drincan	drinc		*drink*	drinc
twinclian	twincl		*twinkle*	twincl
in(n)	in		*in(n)*	in
rinnan	run	564	*run*	rən
līn	linen		*linen*	linen

h; r, hr, l, hl; ȝ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

i (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
scin(bān)	shin		*shin*	shin
scinn N.	scin		*skin*	scin
spinnan	spin	568	*spin*	spin
gewinnan	win		*win*	win
windwian	winu		*winnow*	winóu
finn	fin		*fin*	fin
beginnan	begin	572	*begin*	begin
cinne	chin		*chin*	chin
tinn	tin		*tin*	tin
getwinnan	twinz		*twins*	twinz
binn	bin	576	*bin*	bin
hinde	hiind		*hind*	haind
hindema	hindermòòst		*hindermost*	hindermóust
rind	riind		*rind*	raind
lind	linden	580	*linden*	lindən
sinder	sinder		*cinder*	sindər
spindel	spindl		*spindle*	spindl
wind	wind		*wind*	wind
windan	wiind	584	*wind*	waind
windauga N.	windu		*window*	windóu
windwian (*under* n)				
findan	fiind		*find*	faind
grindan	griind		*grind*	graind
bindan	biind	588	*bind*	baind
blind	bliind		*blind*	blaind
stintan	stint		*stint*	stint
winter	winter		*winter*	wintər
flint	flint	592	*flint*	flint
minte	mint		*mint*	mint
him	him		*him*	him
rima	rim		*rim*	rim
lim	limb	596	*limb*	lim
swimman	swim		*swim*	swim
wīfman	wuman		*woman*	wumən
wīfmen	wumen (i)		*women*	wimen
grimm	grim	600	*grim*	grim
dimm	dim		*dim*	dim
climban	cliimb		*climb*	claim
timber	timber		*timber*	timbər

a(æ ea ei), i, ó(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o

ī (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
icgland	iiland	604	*island*	ailənd
higian	hii		*hie*	hai
licgan	lii		*lie*	lai
frigedæg	friidai		*Friday*	fraidi
nigon	niin	608	*nine*	nain
tigel	tiil		*tile*	tail
twig	twig		*twig*	twig
ic	ich, ii		*I*	ai
-līc	-li	612	*(like)ly*	-li
liccian	líc		*lick*	lic
þicce	þic		*thick*	þic
stician	stic		*stick*	stic
gestricen	stricen	616	*stricken*	stricən
swi(l)c	such		*such*	səch
wicu	wiic		*week*	wiic
wicce	wich		*witch*	wich
hwi(l)c	which	620	*which*	which
ficol	ficl		*fickle*	ficl
flicce	flich		*flitch*	flich
micel	much		*much*	məch
gicel	(iis)icl	624	*(ic)icle*	(ais)icl
cwic	cwic		*quick*	cwic
bicce	bich		*bitch*	bich
pic	pich		*pitch*	pich
prician	pric	628	*prick*	pric
six	six		*six*	six
betwix	betwixt		*betwixt*	betwixt
hider	hiðer		*hither*	hiðər
riden	riden	632	*ridden*	ridn
hlid	lid		*lid*	lid
þider	ðiðer		*thither*	ðiðər
þridda (*under* r)				
widuwe	widu		*widow*	widóu
hwider	whiðer	636	*whither*	whiðər
biden	biden		*bidden*	bidn
bridd (*under* r)				
*wīdð	widþ		*width*	width
tōmiddes	midst		*midst*	midst
hit	it	640	*it*	it
hitta N.	hit		*hit*	hit

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ī (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
mīgan	mii		*mie*	mii
rīce	rich		*rich*	rich
gelīc	liic	708	*like*	laic
-līc (*under* i)				
sīcan	siih		*sigh*	sai
snīcan	snèèk		*sneak*	sniic
strīcan	striic		*strike*	straic
dīc	diic	712	*dyke*	daic
	dich		*ditch*	dich
īdel	iidl		*idle*	aidl
rīdan	riid		*ride*	raid
sīde	siid	716	*side*	said
slīdan	sliid		*slide*	slaid
wīd	wiid		*wide*	waid
glīdan	gliid		*glide*	glaid
cīdan	chiid	720	*chide*	chaid
tīd	tiid		*tide*	taid
bīdan	biid		*bide*	baid
brīdels	briidl		*bridle*	braidl
slītan (*under* i)				
smītan	smiit	724	*smite*	smait
edwītan (*under* i)				
wrītan	wriit		*write*	rait
hwīt	whiit		*white*	whait
bītan	biit		*bite*	bait
rīpe	riip	728	*ripe*	raip
rīpan	rèèp		*reap*	riip
slīpan	slip		*slip*	slip
grīpan	griip		*gripe*	graip

y.

flyht	fliht	732	*flight*	flait
byht	biht		*bight*	bait
styrian	stir		*stir*	stəər
cyrice	church (i, y)		*church*	chəəch

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

y (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
byrig	-byri	736	(*Canter*)*bury*	-bəri
wyrhta	wriht		*wright*	rait
þyrlian (*under* l)				
byrðen	burden		*burden*	bəədn
wyrsa	wurs		*worse*	wəəs
fyrs	furs	740	*furze*	fəəz
þyrstan	þirst		*thirst*	þəəst
fyrsta	first		*first*	fəəst
wyrm	wurm		*worm*	wəəm
bebyrgan	byri	744	*bury*	bəri
wyrcan	wurc		*work*	wəəc
myrc	mirci		*mirky*	məəci
wyrd (*subs.*)	wiird		*wierd* (adj.)	wiəd
gebyrd	birþ	748	*birth*	bəəþ
scyrta N.	skirt shirt		*skirt* *shirt*	skəət shəət
wyrt	wurt		*wort*	wəət
? yfel (*see* ill)	il	752	*ill*	il
hyll	hil		*hill*	hil
þyrlian	þril		*thrill*	þril
syll	sil		*sill*	sil
mylen	mil	756	*mill*	mil
fyllan	fil		*fill*	fil
bylgja N.	bilu		*billow*	bilóu
fȳlð	filþ		*filth*	filþ
gyldan	gild	760	*gild*	gild
byldan	byld (i)		*build*	bild
gylt	gilt		*guilt*	gilt
cȳðð	ciþ		*kith* (*and kin*)	ciþ

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

y (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
cyssan	cis	764	*kiss*	cis
bysig	byzi		*busy*	bizi
wȳscan	wish		*wish*	wish
lystan	list		*list*(*less*)	list
fȳst	fist	768	*fist*	fist
clyster	cluster		*cluster*	clə̇stər
treysta N.	tryst (u)		*trust*	trəst
yfel	? èèvel		*evil*	iivl
lyftan	lift	772	*lift*	lift
cyng	cing		*king*	cing
ynce	inch		*inch*	inch
þyncan	þinc		*think*	þinc
þynne	þin	776	*thin*	þin
synn	sin		*sin*	sin
cynn	cin		*kin*	cin
cyning(*under* ng)				
dyne	din		*din*	din
mynster	minster	780	*minster*	minstər
gemynd	miind		*mind*	maind
gecynde	ciind		*kind*	caind
tynder	tinder		*tinder*	tindər
byndel	bundl	784	*bundle*	bəndl
mynet	mint		*mint*	mint
dynt	dint		*dint*	dint
trymman	trim		*trim*	trim
cymlic	cumli	788	*comely*	cəmli
hrycg	rij		*ridge*	rij
lyge	lii		*lie*	lai
flycge (*adj.*)	flejd		*fledged*	flejd
mycg	mij	792	*mij*	mij

a(æ ea ei), i, ȯ(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

y (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
dryge	drii		*dry*	drai
bycgan	byy		*buy*	bai
brycg	brij		*bridge*	brij
?lycci N.	luc	796	*luck*	ləc
mycel	much (i)		*much*	mech
cycen	chicen		*chicken*	chicen
cycene	cichen	800	*kitchen*	cichen
cryce	cruch		*crutch*	crəch
fyxen	vixen		*vixen*	vixən
gehȳded	hid		*hid*	hid
dyde	did	804	*did*	did
lytel	litl		*little*	litl
scytel	shutl		*shuttle*	shətl
scyttan	shut (i)		*shut*	shət
spyttan	spit	808	*spit*	spit
flytja N.	flit		*flit*	flit
cnyttan	cnit		*knit*	nit
pytt	pit		*pit*	pit
clyppan	clip	812	*clip*	clip
dyppan	dip		*dip*	dip

ȳ.

scȳ N.	skii		*sky*	skai
hwȳ	whii		*why*	whai
cȳ	cii	816	*kye*	cai
ahȳrian	hiir		*hire*	haiər
fȳr	fiir		*fire*	faiər
gefȳlan	fiil		(*de*)*file*	fail
fȳlð (*under* y)				
hȳð	hiið	820	*hithe*	haið

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

y (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
cȳðð (*under* y)				
lȳs	liis		*lice*	lais
mȳs	miis		*mice*	mais
fȳst (*under* y)				
wȳscan (*under* y)				
hȳd	hiid		*hide*	baid
hȳdan	hiid	824	*hide*	haid
brȳd	briid		*bride*	braid
prȳte	priid		*pride*	praid

é, eo.

þe(=se)	ðe		*the*	ðe, ðə
? bleoh(=*blue*)				
leōht	liht	828	*light*	lait
feohtan	fiht		*fight*	fait
smerian	smèèr		*smear*	smiər
sceran	shèèr		*shear*	shiər
steorra	star	832	*star*	star
spere	spèèr		*spear*	spiər
feorr	far		*far*	far
merg (*adj.*)	meri		*merry*	meri
teran	tèèr	836	*tear*	tèər
teru	tar		*tar*	tar
beran, bera	bèèr		*bear*	bèər
beorht (*see* briht)				
merhð	mirþ		*mirth*	məəþ
eorðe	èèrþ	840	*earth*	əəþ
heorð	hèèrþ		*hearth*	haəþ
weorð	wurþ		*worth*	wəəþ
feorðling	farðing		*farthing*	faəðing
*dēɪð	dèèrþ	844	*dearth*	dəəþ

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

ē, eo (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
eorl	èèrl		*earl*	əəl
ceorl	churl		*churl*	chəəl
cerse (*under* s)				
þerscan	þrash		*thrash*	þræsh
fersc (*under* sc)				
berstan	burst	848	*burst*	bəəst
ceorfan	carv		*carve*	caəv
sweorfan	swerv		*swerve*	swəəv
steorfan	starv		*starve*	staəv
eornan	run	852	*run*	rən
eornost	èèrnest		*earnest*	əənest
leornian	lèèrn		*learn*	ləən
speornan	spurn		*spurn*	spəən
gernan	yèèrn	856	*yearn*	yəən
beornan	burn		*burn*	bəən
beorma	barm		*barm*	baəm
dweorg	dwarf		*dwarf*	dwòəf
beorg	? (iis)berg	860	*(ice)berg*	(ais)bəəg
	baru		*barrow*	bæróu
weorc	wurc		*work*	wəəc
deorc	darc		*dark*	daəc
beorce	birch	864	*birch*	bəəch
beorcan	barc		*bark*	baəc
hērcnian	harc		*hark*	haəc
	hèèrcen		*hearken*	haəcen
sweord	swurd	868	*sword*	sòòəd
heort	hart		*hart*	hart
heorte	hèèrt		*heart*	hart
swellan	swel		*swell*	swel
smella N.	smel	872	*smell*	smel
stelan	stèèl		*steal*	stiil
spellian	spel		*spell*	spel
wel	wel		*well*	wel
wela	wèèl	876	*weal*	wiil
fell	fel		*fell*	fel

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

é, eo (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
fēlagi N.	felu		*fellow*	felóu
melu	mèèl		*meal*	miil
geolo	yelu	880	*yellow*	yelóu
cwelan	cwail		*quail*	cwéil
belle	bel		*bell*	bel
seolh	sèèl		*seal*	siil
self	self	884	*self*	self
seolfor	silver		*silver*	silvər
delfan	delv		*delve*	delv
twelf	twelv		*twelve*	twelv
elm	elm	888	*elm*	elm
helm	helm		*helm*	helm
swelgan	swalu		*swallow*	swolóu
belgan	belu		*bellow*	belóu
seoloc	silc	892	*silk*	silc
weoloc	whelc		*whelk*	whelc
meolc	milc		*milk*	milc
geolca	yolc		*yolk*	yóuc
heōld (*pret.*)	held	896	*held*	held
seldon	seldom		*seldom*	seldəm
feld	fiild		*field*	fiild
smeltan	smelt		*smelt*	smelt
gefēled	felt	900	*felt*	felt
meltan	melt		*melt*	melt
helpan	help		*help*	help
gelpan	yelp		*yelp*	yelp
leðer	lèèðer	904	*leather*	leðər
weðer	weðer		*wether*	weðer
beneoðan	benèèþ		*beneath*	beniiþ
brēðer	breðren		*brethren*	breðren
cerse	cres	908	*cress*	cres
blētsian	bles		*bless*	bles
wesle	wèèzəl		*weasel*	wiizl
besma	bezom		*besom*	bezəm

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, cā, cō, u, o.

ē, eo (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
þrescan	þresh	912	*thresh*	þræsh
fersc	fresh		*fresh*	fresh
sweostor	sister		*sister*	sistər
nest	nest		*nest*	nest
cest	chest	916	*chest*	chest
efen	èèven		*even*	iivn
heofon	hèèven		*heaven*	hevn
seofan	seven		*seven*	sevn
wefan	wèèv	920	*weave*	wiiv
fefer	fèèver		*fever*	fiivər
þēfȣ	þeft		*theft*	þeft
hēng	hung		*hung*	hung
tēn	ton	924	*ten*	ten
begeondan	beyond		*beyand*	beyond
eom (*see* eam)				
brēmel	brambl		*bramble*	bræmbl
weg	wai		*way*	wéi
be(de)gian	beg	928	*beg*	beg
plega	plai		*play*	pléi
leg(e)r	lair		*lair*	lèèər
seg(e)l	sail		*sail*	séil
reg(e)n	rain	932	*rain*	réin
geleg(e)n	lain		*lain*	léin
þeg(e)n	þaan		*thane*	þéin
tweg(e)n	twain		*twain*	twéin
breg(e)n	brain	936	*brain*	bréin
? blegen	blain		(*chill*)*blain*	bléin
bregdan	braid		*braid*	bréid
sprecan	spèèc		*speak*	spiic
wrecan	wrèèc	940	*wreak*	rec
brecan	brèèc		*break*	bréic

h; r, hr, l, hl; ȣ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

é, eo (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
nēxt	next		*next*	next
bēcnian	becon		*beckon*	becən
weder	wèèðer	944	*weather*	weðər
fēded	fed		*fed*	fed
medu	mèèd		*mead*	miid
cnedan	cnèèd		*knead*	niid
tredan	trèèd	948	*tread*	tred
gebed	bèèd		*bead*	biid
brēded	bred		*bred*	bred
blēded	bled		*bled*	bled
etan	èèt	952	*eat*	iit
lēt (*pret.*)	let		*let*	let
fetor	feter		*fetter*	fetər
setlian	setl		*settle*	setl
nebb	nib	956	*nib*	nib
scæphirde	shepherd		*shepherd*	shepəd
*dēpð	depþ		*depth*	depþ
pepor	peper		*pepper*	pepər
slæpte	slept	960	*slept*	slept

è

èrian	èèr		*ear*	iər
swèrian	swèèr		*swear*	swèər
wèrian	wèèr		*wear*	wèər
mère (*sm.*)	mèèr	964	*mere*	miər
mère (*sf.*)	maar		*mare*	mèər
mèrran	mar		*mar*	mar
bère	bar-		*bar-ley*	baəli
bèrige	beri	968	*berry*	beri
ǣr(e)st	erst		*erst*	əəst
mèrsc	marsh		*marsh*	maəsh

a(æ ea ei), i, ó(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

è (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
hèrwe	haru		*harrow*	hærou
bèrn(=bère-ærn)	barn	972	*barn*	baən
smèrcian	smirc		*smirk*	sməəc
gèrd	yard		*yard*	yaəd
gèrdels	girdl		*girdle*	gəədl
begèrded	girt	976	*girt*	gəət
è(nd)lufon	eleven		*eleven*	elevən
hèll	hel		*hell*	hel
sèllan	sel		*sell*	sel
gesǣlig	sili	980	*silly*	sili
scèll	shel		*shell*	shel
wèll	wel		*well*	wel
fèllan	fel		*fell*	fel
cwèllan	cwel	984	*quell*	cwel
	cil		*kill*	cil
dwèlja N.	dwel		*dwell*	dwel
tèllan	tel		*tell*	tel
èlles	els	988	*else*	els
wèlsc	welsh		*Welsh*	welsh
scèlfe	shelf		*shelf*	shelf
èln	el		*ell*	el
tèlg	talu	992	*tallow*	tælou
bèlg	beluz		*bellows*	belóuz
	beli		*belly*	beli
èldest	eldest		*eldest*	eldest
gewèldan	wiild	996	*wield*	wiild
gèlda N.	geld		*geld*	geld
bèlt	belt		*belt*	belt
hwèlp	whelp		*whelp*	whelp
flǣsc	flesh	1000	*flesh*	flesh

h; r, hr, l, hl; ȝ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ȇ (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
behǣs	behest		*behest*	behest
wrǣstan	wrest		*wrest*	rest
gèst	gest		*guest*	gest
bè(t)st	best	1004	*best*	best
wèsp	wasp		*wasp*	wosp
ǣfre	ever-		*ever*	ever
èfese	èèvz		*eaves*	iivz
(ic) hèfe	hèèv	1008	*heave*	hiiv
hèfig	hèèvi		*heavy*	hevi
èft	eft		*eft(soons)*	eft
bereāfod	bereft		*bereft*	bereft
gelǣfed	left	1012	*left*	left
ðǣm	ðem		*them*	ðem
stèmn	stem		*stem*	stem
èngland	england		*England*	inglənd
ènglisc	english	1016	*English*	inglish
sèngan	sinj		*singe*	sinj
*lèngð	lengþ		*length*	lengþ
strèngðo	strengþ		*strength*	strengþ
hlènce	linc	1020	*link*	linc
þèncan (see þyncan)				
stènc	stench		*stench*	stench
wèncle	wench		*wench*	wench
frènciscc	french		*French*	french
cwèncan	cwench	1024	*quench*	cwench
drèncan	drench		*drench*	drench
bènc	bench		*bench*	bench
hènne	hen		*hen*	hen
lǣnan	lend	1028	*lend*	lend
wènian	wèèn		*wean*	wiin
wènn	wen		*wen*	wen
fènn	fen		*fen*	fen
mènn	men	1032	*men*	men
cènnan	cen		*ken*	cen
dènn	den		*den*	den

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

è (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
pèning	peni		*penny*	peni
clǣnsian	?clènz	1036	*cleanse*	clenz
ènde	end		*end*	end
gehènde	handi		†*handy*	hændi
hrèndan	rend		*rend*	rend
sèndan	send	1040	*send*	send
spèndan	spend		*spend*	spend
wèndan	wend		*wend*	wend
bèndan	bend		*bend*	bend
blèndan	blend	1044	*blend*	blend
hrènded	rent		*rent*	rent
lèn(c)ten	lent		*lent*	lent
sended	sent		*sent*	sent
spènded	spent	1048	*spent*	spent
wènded	went		*went*	went
bènded	bent		*bent*	bent
ǣmyrie	emberz		*embers*	embəəz
tèmese	(temz)	1052	*Thames*	temz
èmtig	empti		*empty*	em(p)ti
ège	au		*awe*	òò
ècg	ej		*edge*	ej
ègg N.	eg	1056	*egg*	eg
hège	hej		*hedge*	hej
lècgan	lai		*lay*	léi
lègg N.	leg		*leg*	leg
sècgan	sai	1060	*say*	séi
sècg	sej		*sedge*	sej
wècg	wej		*wedge*	wej
èglan	ail		*ail*	éil
ècc	aach	1064	*ache*	éic
rècenian	recon		*reckon*	recən
hlècc (*adj.*)	lèèc		*leak*	liic
strèccan	strech		*stretch*	strech
wrècca	wrech	1068	*wretch*	rech
fèccan	fech		*fetch*	fech
hnècca	nec		*neck*	nec

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

è (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN
ahrèddan	rid		*rid*	rid
gelǣded	led	1072	*led*	led
stède	stèèd		*stead*	sted
wèdd	wed		*to wed*	wed
bèdd	bed		*bed*	bed
lèttan, lǣtan	let	1076	*let*	let
sèttan, gesèted	set		*set*	set
wǣt (*adj.*)	wet		*wet*	wet
hwèttan	whet		*whet*	whet
nètt	net	1080	*net*	net
nètele	netl		*nettle*	netl
mète	mèèt		*meat*	miit
cètel	cetl		*kettle*	cetl
bètera	beter	1084	*better*	betər
èbbian	eb		*ebb*	eb
wèbb	web		*web*	web
nèbb	nib		*nib*	nib
stèppan	step	1088	*step*	step

ē.

hē	héé		*he*	hii
þē	ȝéé		*thee*	ȝii
wē	wéé		*we*	wii
mē	méé	1092	*me*	mii
gē	yéé		*ye*	yii
hēh	hiih		*high*	hai
nēh	niih		*nigh*	nai
hēr	héér	1096	*here*	hiər
gehēran	? hèèr (éé)		*hear*	ʼhiər
wērig	? wèèri (éé)		*weary*	wiəri
hērcnian	hèèrcen		*hearken*	haəcən

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

ē (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
gehērde	hèèrd	1100	*heard*	həəd
hēl	héél		*heel*	hiil
stēl	stéél		*steel*	stiil
fēlan	féél		*feel*	fiil
cēle	chil	1104	*chill*	chil
? cnēla N.	cnéél		*kneel*	niil
smēðe (*under* ō)				
tēð	téeþ		*teeth*	tiiþ
brēðer (*under* é)				
gelēfan	beléév		*believe*	beliiv
slēfe	sléév	1108	*sleeve*	sliiv
dēfan	diiv		*dive*	daiv
þēfð (*under* é)				
hēng (*pret.*) (*under* é)				
scēne	shéén		*sheen*	shiin
wēnan	wéén	1112	*ween*	wiin
grēne	gréén		*green*	griin
cēne	céén		*keen*	ciin
cwēn	cwéén		*queen*	cwiin
tēn	ten	1116	*ten*	ten
þreōtēne	þirtéén		*thirteen*	þəətiin
bēn (*under* ō)				
gesēman	séém		*seem*	siim
dēman	déém		*deem*	diim
tēman	téém	1120	*teem*	tiim
brēmel (*under* é)				
ēge (=eā)	ei, ii		*eye*	ai
hēg	hai		*hay*	héi
slœg N.	slii		*sly*	slai
tēgan	tii	1124	*tie*	tai
ēcan	éec		*eke*	iic
rēc (=eā)	réec		*reek*	riic
hrēc (=eā)	ric		*rick*	ric
rēcan	rec	1128	*reck*	rec
lēc (=eā)	léec		*leek*	liic

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ē (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
sēcan	séée		*seek*	siic
cēc (=eā)	chéée		*cheek*	chiic
bēce	béech	1132	*beech*	biich
brēc	bréech		*breech*	briich

nēxt (*under* é)

bēcnian (*under* é)

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hēdan	héed		*heed*	hiid
rēdan	rèèd (éé)		*read*	riid
stēda	stéed	1136	*steed*	stiid
spēd	spéed		*speed*	spiid
fēdan	féed		*feed*	fiid
fēded (*under* é)				
nēd	néed		*need*	niid
mēd	méed	1140	*meed*	miid
glēd	gléed		*gleed*	gliid
crēda	créed		*creed*	criid
brēdan	bréed		*breed*	briid
blēdan	bléed	1144	*bleed*	bliid

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lēt (*under* é)				
swēte	swéét		*sweet*	swiit
scēt (=eā)	shéét		*sheet*	shiit
fēt	féét		*feet*	fiit
gemētan	méét	1148	*meet*	miit
grētan	gréét		*greet*	griit
bētel	béétl		*beetle*	biitl

blētsian (*under* é)

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stēp (=eā)	stéép		*steep*	stiip
stēpel	stéépl	1152	*steeple*	stiipl
wēpan	wéép		*weep*	wiip
cēpan	céép		*keep*	ciip
crēpel	cripl		*cripple*	cripl
dēpan (*see* dyppan)	dip	1156	*dip*	dip

*dēpð (*under* é)

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

æ = (éé).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
hær	? hair		*hair*	hèər
þær	ȝèèr		*there*	ȝèər
wæron	wèèr		*were*	wèər
hwær	whèèr	1160	*where*	whèər
fær	fèèr		*fear*	fiər
bær	? béér		*bier*	biər
æl	éél		*eel*	iil
? gesælig	sili	1164	*silly*	sili
mæl	mèèl		*meal*	miil
bræð	brèèþ		*breath*	breþ
*bræðan	brèèð		*breathe*	briið
cæse	chééz	1168	*cheese*	chiiz
æfen	èèven		*even*	iivn
æmette (*under* a)				
wæg	waav		*wave*	wéiv
wægan	weih		*weigh*	wéi
hwæg	whei	1172	*whey*	whéi
hnægan	neih		*neigh*	néi
græg	grai, grei		*gray, grey*	gréi
cæge	cei		*key*	cii
*wægð	weiht	1176	*weight*	wéit
læce	lééch		*leech*	liich
spræc	spééch		*speech*	spiich
þræd	þrèèd		*thread*	þred
wæd	wéédz	1180	*weeds*	wiidz
sæd	séód		*seed*	siid
grædig	gréédi		*greedy*	griidi
dæd	déód		*deed*	diid
ondrædan	drèèd	1184	*dread*	dred
nædl	néédl		*needle*	niidl
lætan (*under* è)				
stræt	stréét		*street*	striit
wæt (*under* è)				

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ǣ(=éé) (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
blǣtan	blèèt	1188	*bleat*	bliit
slǣp	sléép		*sleep*	sliip
swǣpan	swéép		*sweep*	swiip
scǣp	shéép		*sheep*	shiip
wǣpen	wèèpon	1192	*weapon*	wepən
slǣpte (*under* é)				

ǣ(=èè).

sǣ	sèè		*sea*	sii
tǣhte (*under* a)				
ǣr	èèr		*ere*	èèɔr
rǣran	rèèr		*rear*	riər
ǣrest (*under* è)				
hǣlan	hèèl	1196	*heal*	hiil
þrǣl N.	þral		*thrall*	þròòl
dǣl	dèèl		*deal*	diil
hǣlð	? hèèlþ		*health*	helþ
ǣlc (*under* c)				
hǣðen	hèèðen	1200	*heathen*	hiiðən
scǣð	shèèþ		*sheath*	shiiþ
wrǣð	wrèéþ		*wreath*	riiþ
? brǣð	brèèþ		*breath*	breþ
? brǣðan	brèèð	1204	*breathe*	briið
behǣs (*under* è)				
tǣsan	tèèz		*tease*	tiiz
flǣsc (*under* è)				

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

ǣ(=èè) (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
lǣstan (*under* a)				
wrǣstan (*under* è)				
lǣwed	leud		*lewd*	lyuud
lǣfan	lèèv		*leave*	liiv
hlǣfdige (*under* a)				
ǣfre (*under* è)				
gelǣfed (*under* è)				
ǣnig (*under* a)				
lǣnan (*under* è)				
hlǣne	lèèn	1208	*lean*	liin
clǣne	clèèn		*clean*	cliin
mǣnan	mèèn		*mean*	miin
gemǣne	mèèn		*mean*	miin
ǣmyrie (*under* è)				
þǣm (*under* è)				
clǣg	clai	1212	*clay*	cléi
ǣ(l)c	èèch		*each*	iich
rǣcan	rèèch		*reach*	riich
tǣcan	tèèch		*teach*	tiich
blǣc(=ā)	blèèc	1216	*bleak*	bliic
blǣcan	blèèch		*bleach*	bliich
rǣdan	rèèd		*read*	riid
lǣdan	lèèd		*lead*	liid
gelǣded (*under* è)				
*brǣdð	brèèdþ	1220	*breadth*	bredþ
hǣto	hèèt		*heat*	hiit
sǣti N.	sèèt		*seat*	siit
swǣt	swèèt		*sweat*	swet
spǣtte (*under* a)				
hwǣte	whèèt	1224	*wheat*	whiit
wǣt (*under* è)				
fǣtt (*under* a)				

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

eā.

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
fleā	flèè		*flea*	flii
geā	yèè		*yea*	yéi
ceā	ʔ chuuh		*chough*	chəf
þeāh	ȝòòuh	1228	*though*	ȝóu
eāre	èèr		*ear*	iər
forseārian	sèèr		*sear*	siər
neār	nèèr		*near*	niər
geār	yèèr	1232	*year*	yiər
teār	tèèr		*tear*	tiər
deāȝ	dèèþ		*death*	deþ
ceās	chòòz		*chose*	chóuz
eāst	èèst	1236	*east*	iist
eāstre	èèster		*easter*	iistər
heāwan	heu		*hew*	hyuu
hreāw	rau		*raw*	ròò
þeāw	þeu	1240	*thew*	þyuu
sleāw	slòòu		*slow*	slóu
sceāwian	shòòu (eu)		*show* (*shew*)	shóu
screāwa	shreu		*shrew*	shruu
streāw	strau	1244	*straw*	stròò
streāwian	streu		*strew*	struu
feāwa	feu		*few*	fyuu
deāw	deu		*dew*	dyuu
breāw (*see* brū)				
heāfod (*under* d)				
bereāfian	berèèv	1248	*bereave*	beriiv
leāf	lèèf		*leaf*	liif
sceāf	shèèf		*sheaf*	shiif
deāf	dèèf		*deaf*	def
beān	bèèn	1252	*bean*	biin
seām	sèòm		*seam*	siim
steām	stèèm		*steam*	stiim
streām	strèèm		*stream*	striim
gleām	glèèm	1256	*gleam*	gliim
dreām	drèèm		*dream*	driim

a(æ ea ei), i, ó(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

eā (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
teām	tèèm		*team*	tiim
beām	bèèm		*beam*	biim
eāge (*under* ē)				
fleāg	fleu	1260	*flew*	fluu
hreāc (*under* ē)				
leāc (*under* ē)				
ceāc (*under* ē)				
beācen.	bèècon		*beacon*	biicon
heā(fo)d	hèèd		*head*	hed
reād	rèèd		*red*	red
leād	lèèd	1264	*lead*	led
sceādan	shed		*shed*	shed
screādian	shred		*shred*	shred
neād (*under* ē)				
deād	dèèd		*dead*	ded
breād	brèèd	1268	*bread*	bred
sceāt (*under* ē)				
sceāt (*pret.*)	†shot		*shot*	shot
neāt	nèèt		*neat*	niit
greāt	grèèt		*great*	gréit
beātan	bèèt	1272	*beat*	biit
heāp	hèèp		*heap*	hiip
hleāpan	hlèèp		*leap*	liip
steāp (*under* ē)				
ceāp (*subs.*)	chèèp (*adj.*)		*cheap*	chiip
ceāpman	chapman	1276	*chapman*	chæpmen
creāp (*pret.*)	†crept		*crept*	crept

eð.

þréó			*three*	þrii
séó			*see*	sii
héó		1280	*she*	shii
ý			*fee*	fii

* w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

eō (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
freō	fréé		*free*	frii
fleō	fléé		*flee*	flii
gleō	gléé	1284	*glee*	glii
beō (*vb.*)	béé		*be*	bii
beō (*subs.*)	béé		*bee*	bii
þeōh	þiih		*thigh*	þai
hreōh	ruuh	1288	*rough*	rəf
leōht (*under* é)				
hleōr	léér		*leer*	liər
deōr	déér		*deer*	diər
deōre	dèèr (éé)		*dear*	diər
deōrling	darling	1292	*darling*	daəling
dreōrig	drèèri		*dreary*	driəri
beōr	béér		*beer*	biər
feōrða	fourþ		*fourth*	fòɔþ
hweōl	whéél	1296	*wheel*	whiil
ʔgeōl	ʔ		*yule*	yuul
ceōl	céél		*keel*	ciil
heōld (*under* é)				
seōðan	sééð		*seethe*	siið
geō(g)uðʔ	yuuþ	1300	*youth*	yuuþ
forleōsan	(lóóz)		*lose*	luuz
freōsan	frééz		*freeze*	friiz
fleōse	fléés		*fleece*	fliis
ceōsan	chóóz	1304	*choose*	chuuz
breōst	brèèst		*breast*	brest
eōw (*pron.*)	yuu		*you*	yuu
eōw	yeu		*yew*	yuu
eōwe	eu	1308	*ewe*	yuu
hreōwan	reu		*rue* (*rew*)	ruu
seōwian	seu		*sew*	sóu
hleōw	léé		*lee*	lii
feōwer	four	1312	*four*	fòər

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

eō (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
feōwertig	forti		*forty*	fòəti
greōw (*pret.*)	greu		*grew*	gruu
ceōwan	cheu		*chew*	chuu
creōw (*pret.*)	creu	1316	*crew*	cruu
cneōw (*pret.*)	cneu		*knew*	nyuu
cneōw (*subs.*)	cnéé		*knee*	nii
treōw	tréé		*tree*	trii
treōwe	treu	1320	*true* (*trew*)	truu
breōwan	breu		*brew*	bruu
bleōw (*pret.*)	bleu		*blew*	bluu
hreōwð	ryyþ		*ruth*	ruuþ
treōwð	tryyþ	1324	*truth*	truuþ
leōf	(lééf)		*lief*	liif
þeōf	(þééf)		*thief*	þiif
cleōfan	clèèv		*cleave*	cliiv
deōfol	devil	1328	*devil*	devl
geōng	yung		*young*	yəng
betweōnan	betwéén		*between*	betwiin
*gebeōn (*partic.*)	béén		*been*	biin
feōnd	(féénd)	1332	*fiend*	fiind
freōnd	(fréénd)		*friend*	frend
miūc N.	méée		*meek*	miic
leōgan	lii		*lie*	lai
fleōga	flii	1336	*fly*	flai
geōguð	yuuþ		*youth*	yuuþ
hreōd	rééd		*reed*	riid
weōd	wééd		*weed*	wiid
neōd	nééd	1340	*need*	niid
beōdan	bid		*bid*	bid
sceōtan	shóót		*shoot*	shuut
fleōt	fléét		*fleet*	fliit
beōt (*part.*)	beet	1344	*beat*	biit
heōp (*rose*)	hip		*hip*	hip

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

eō (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
hleōp (*pret.*)	†lept		*lept*	lept
sweōp (*pret.*)	†swept		*swept*	swept
weōp (*pret.*)	†wept	1348	*wept*	wept
creōpan	créép		*creep*	criip
deōp	déép		*deep*	diip

u

duru	(duur)		*door*	dòòr
þurh	þruuh	1352	*through*	þruu
	þoruh		*thorough*	þərə
furh	furu		*furrow*	fəróu
crulla N.	curl		*curl*	cəəl
wurð	wurþ	1356	*worth*	wəəþ
furðor	furðer		*further*	fəəðər
þunresdæg	þursdai		*Thursday*	þəəzdi
curs	curs		*curse*	cəəs
turf	turf	1360	*turf*	təəf
murnian	muurn		*mourn*	mòən
wurm	wurm		*worm*	wəəm
burg	ʿboru		*borough*	bərə
wurcan	wurc	1364	*work*	wəəc
swurd	swurd		*sword*	sòəd
wull	? wuul (u)		*wool*	wul
full	full		*full*	ful
crulla (*under* r)				
bulluca	buloc	1368	*bullock*	buləc

a(æ ea ei), ī, ō(eo), ē, ē, ēā, eō, u, o.

u (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
wulf	wulf		*wolf*	wulf
sculdor	shuulder		*shoulder*	shóuldər
ūs	us		*us*	əs
hūsbōnda	huzband	1372	*husband*	həzbənd
tusc	tusc		*tusk*	təsc
būa sic N.	busc		*busk*	bəsc
rust	rust		*rust*	rəst
lust	lust	1376	*lust*	ləst
gust N.	gust		*gust*	gəst
dust	dust		*dust*	dəst
lufu	luv		*love*	ləv
èndlufon	eleven	1380	*eleven*	elevən
scūfan	shuv		*shove*	shəv
dūfe	duv		*dove*	dəv
ònbūfan	abuv		*above*	əbəv
hungor	hunger	1384	*hunger*	həngər
sungen	sung		*sung*	səng
wrungen	wrung		*wrung*	rəng
clungen	clung		*clung*	cləng
tunge	tung	1388	*tongue*	təng
munuc	munc		*monk*	mənc
druncen	drunc		*drunk*	drənc
hunig	huni		*honey*	həni
þunor	þunder	1392	*thunder*	þəndər
sunu	sun		*son*	sən
sunne	sun		*sun*	sən
scūnian	shun		*shun*	shən
spunnen	spun	1396	*spun*	spən
gewunnen	wun		*won*	wən
nunne	nun		*nun*	nən
munuc (*under* nc)				
cunnan	cuning		*cunning*	cəning
dunn	dun	1400	*dun*	dən
tunne	tun		*tun*	tən
under	under		*under*	əndər

h; r, hr, l, hl; ȝ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ū (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
hund	huund		*hound*	haund
hundred	hundred	1404	*hundred*	həndred
sund (*subs.*) / gesund (*adj.*)	suund		*sound*	saund
sundor	sunder		*sunder*	səndər
wund	wuund		*wound*	wuund
gewunden	wuund	1408	*wound*	waund
wundor	wunder		*wonder*	wəndər
funden	fuund		*found*	faund
grund	gruund		*ground*	graund
grunden	gruund	1412	*ground*	graund
bunden	buund		*bound*	baund
pund	puund		*pound*	paund
huntian	hunt		*hunt*	hənt
stunt (*adj.*)	stunt	1416	*to stunt*	stənt
? munt	muunt		*mount*	maunt
þūma	þumb		*thumb*	þəm
sum	sum		*some*	səm
sumor	sumer	1420	*summer*	səmər
swummen	swum		*swum*	swəm
slumerian	slumber		*slumber*	sləmbər
guma	gruum		*groom*	gru(u)m
cuman	cum	1424	*come*	cəm
crume	crumb		*crumb*	crəm
dumb	dumb		*dumb*	dəm
ugglig N.	ugli		*ugly*	əgli
sugu	suu	1428	*sow*	sau
fugol	fuul		*fowl*	faul
cnucian	cnoc		*knock*	noc
cnucel	cnucl		*knuckle*	nəcl
bucca	buc	1432	*buck*	bəc
pluccian	pluc		*pluck*	pləc
wudu	? wuud (u)		*wood*	wud
hnutu	nut		*nut*	nət
gutt	gut	1436	*gut*	gət

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

u (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
būton	but		*but*	bət
butere	buter		*butter*	bətər
? putta N.	put		*put*	put
upp	up	1440	*up*	əp
hup	hip		*hip*	hip
sūpan	sup		*sup*	səp
cuppa	cup		*cup*	cəp

ū.

hū	huu	1444	*how*	hau
ȝū	ȝuu		*thou*	ȝau
nū	nuu		*now*	nau
cū	cuu		*cow*	cau
brū	bruu	1448	*brow*	brau
ūre	uur		*our*	auər
sūr	suur		*sour*	sauər
scūr	shuuer		*shower*	shauər
būr	buuer	1452	*bower*	bauər
gebūr	(buur)		*boor*	buər
(neāh)gebūr	(neih)buur		(*neigh*)*bour*	(néi)bər
ūle	uul		*owl*	aul
fūl	fuul	1456	*foul*	faul
sūȝ	suuþ		*south*	sauþ
mūȝ	muuþ		*mouth*	mauþ
uncūȝ	uncuuþ		*uncouth*	əncuuþ
cūȝe	cuu(l)d	1460	*could*	cud
būȝ N.	(buuþ)		*booth*	buuþ
ūs (*under* u)				
hūs	huus		*house*	haus
lūs	luus		*louse*	laus
þūsend	þuuzend	1464	*thousand*	þauzənd
mūs	muus		*mouse*	maus

scūfan (*under* u)
dūfe (*under* u)

h; r, hr, l, hl; ȝ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ū (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
onbūfan (*under* u)				
scūnian (*under* u)				
dūn	duun		*down*	daun
tūn	tuun		*town*	taun
brūn	bruun	1468	*brown*	braun
þūma (*under* u)				
rūm	(ruum)		*room*	ruum
rūg	ruuh		*rough*	rəf
būgan	buu		*bow*	bau
sūcan (*under* u)				
brūcan	(bruuc)	1472	*brook*	bruc
ūder (*under* u)				
hlūd	luud		*loud*	laud
scrūd	shruud		*shroud*	shraud
crūd	cruud		*crowd*	craud
clūd	cluud	1476	*cloud*	claud
ūt	uut		*out*	aut
ūterlice (*under* u)				
lūtan	luut		*lout* (subst.)	laut
clūt	cluut		*clout*	claut
būtan (*under* u)				
prūt	pruud	1480	*proud*	praud
sūpan (*under* u)				

ȯ.

cohh(ett)an	còuh		*cough*	cof
sōhte	sòuht		*sought*	sòòt
wrohte	wròuht		*wrought*	ròòt
dohtor	dauhter	1484	*daughter*	dòòtər
bohte	bòuht		*bought*	bòòt
brohte	bròuht		*brought*	bròòt

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ē̆, eā, eō, u, o.

ȣ (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
for	for		*for*	fòòr
beforan	befòòr	1488	*before*	befòòr
borian	bòòr		*bore*	bòòr
woruld	wurld		*world*	wəəld
forȣ	forþ		*forth*	fòəþ
norȣ	norþ	1492	*north*	nòəþ
morȣor	murȣer		*murder* (*th*)	məədər
hors	hors		*horse*	hòəs
forst (*under* st)				
dorste	durst		*durst*	dəəst
borsten	burst	1496	*burst*	bəəst
horn	horn		*horn*	hòən
forlor(e)n	forlorn		*forlorn*	foəlòən
þorn	þorn		*thorn*	þòən
swor(e)n	sworn	1500	*sworn*	swòən
scor(e)n	shorn		*shorn*	shòən
mor(ge)ning	morning		*morning*	mòəning
corn	corn		*corn*	còən
tor(e)n	torn	1504	*torn*	tòən
bor(e)n	born		*born*(*e*)	bòən
storm	storm		*storm*	stòəm
forma	former		*former*	fòəmər
sorg	soru	1508	*sorrow*	soróu
morgen	moru		*morrow*	moróu
borgian	boru		*borrow*	boróu
storc	storc		*stork*	stòəc
hord	hòòrd	1512	*hoard*	hòəd
word	word		*word*	wəəd
ford	ford		*ford*	fòəd
bord	bòòrd		*board*	bòəd
scort	short	1516	*short*	shòət
port	port		*port*	pòət
hol	hòòl		*hole*	hóul
holh	holu		*hollow*	holou

h; r, hr, l, hl; ȣ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ȯ (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
holegn	holi	1520	*holly*	holi
þol	þòòl		*thole(pin)*	þóul
swollen	swolen		*swollen*	swóuln
scolu	shòòl		*shoal*	shóul
stolen	stòòlen	1524	*stolen*	stóuln
fola	fòòl		*foal*	fóul
col	còòl		*coal*	cóul
cnoll	cnol		*knoll*	nóul
dol	dul	1528	*dull*	dəl
toll	tol		*toll*	tóul
bolla	bóul		*bowl*	bóul
bolster	bolster		*bolster*	bóulstər
folgian	folu	1532	*follow*	folou
wolcen	welcin		*welkin*	welcin
folc	folc		*folk*	fóuc
scolde	? shuuld		*should*	shud
molde	mould	1536	*mould*	móuld
wolde	? wuuld		*would*	wud
gold	gold		*gold*	góuld
bolt	bolt		*bolt*	bóult
froða N.	froþ	1540	*froth*	frò(ò)þ
moððe	moþ		*moth*	mò(ò)þ
broð	broþ		*broth*	bròòþ
hose	hòòz		*hose*	hóuz
*gefrosen	fròòzen	1544	*frozen*	fróuzn
nosu	nòòz		*nose*	nóuz
*gecosen	chòòzen		*chosen*	chóuzn
cross N.	cross		*cross*	cros
blōsma	blosom	1548	*blossom*	blosəm
gōsling	gosling		*gosling*	gozling
frost	frost		*frost*	frost
òf	ov		*of*	ov
	of	1552	*off*	of
ofen	? òòven		*oven*	əvn

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, cō, u, o.

ȣ (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
offrian	ofer		*offer*	ofər
ofer	òòver		*over*	óuvər
scofel	? shòòvel	1556	*shovel*	shəvl
clofen	clòòven		*cloven*	clóuvn
oft	oft		*oft*	oft
loft N.	loft		*loft*	loft
sōfte	soft	1560	*soft*	soft
lòng	long		*long*	long
þròng	þrong		*throng*	þrong
þwòng	þong		*thong*	þong
sòng *(subs.)*	song	1564	*song*	song
stròng	strong		*strong*	strong
wròng	wrong		*wrong*	rong
mòngere	monger (u)		*monger*	məngər
òngemòng	among (u)	1568	*among*	əməng
tònge	tongz		*tongs*	tongz
òn	on		*on*	on
bònd	bond		*bond*	bond
fròm	from	1572	*from*	from
wòmb	(wóómb)		*womb*	wuum
còmb	còòmb		*comb*	cóum
frocga	frog		*frog*	frog
trog	trouh	1576	*trough*	tròf
boga	bou		*bow*	bóu
flog(e)n	floun		*flown*	flóun
locc	loc		*lock*	loc
socc	soc	1580	*sock*	soc
smocc	smoc		*smock*	smoc
smoca	smòòc		*smoke*	smóuc
stocc	stoc		*stock*	stoc
*gesprocen	spòòcen	1584	*spoken*	spóucən
flocc	floc		*flock*	floc
geoc	yòòc		*yoke*	yóuc

h; r, hr, l, hl; ȣ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ȯ (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
cocc	coc		*cock*	coc
coccel	cocl	1588	*cockle*	cocl
crocc	croc		*crock(ery)*	croc(əri)
cnocian	cnoc		*knock*	noc
brocen	bròòcen		*broken*	bróucən
oxa	ox	1592	*ox*	ox
fox	fox		*fox*	fox
rōd	rod		*rod*	rod
soden	soden		*sodden*	sodn
gescōd	shod	1596	*shod*	shod
fōdor	foder		*fodder*	fodər
god	god		*god*	god
cod	cod		*cod*	cod
troden	troden	1600	*trodden*	trodn
bodian	bòòd		*bode*	bóud
bodig	bodi		*body*	bodi
rotian	rot		*rot*	rot
hlot	lot	1604	*lot*	lot
þrotu	þròòt		*throat*	þróut
(ge)scot	shot		*shot*	shot
scotland	scotland		*Scotland*	scotlənd
flotian	flòòt	1608	*float*	flóut
mot	mòòt		*mote*	móut
cot	cot		*cot*	cot
cnotta	cnot		*knot*	not
botm	botom	1612	*bottom*	botəm
loppestre	lobster		*lobster*	lobstər
open	òòpen		*open*	óupən
hoppian	hop		*hop*	hop
hopa	hòòp	1616	*hope*	hóup
sop	sop		*sop*	sop
stoppian	stop		*stop*	stop
(āttor)coppa	cob(web)		*cob(web)*	cob(web)
cropp	crop	1620	*crop*	crop
dropa	drop		*drop*	drop
topp	top		*top*	top

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

ō.

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
scō	(shóó)		*shoe*	shuu
dō	(dóó)	1624	*do*	duu
tō	tóó		*too, to*	tuu
tōh	tuuh		*tough*	təf
? sōhte, etc. (*under* o)				
hōr	(w)hòòr		*whore*	hòòr
swōr	swòòr	1628	*swore*	swòòr
flōr	flóór		*floor*	flòòr
mōr	móór		*moor*	muər
stōl	stóól		*stool*	stuul
cōl	cóól	1632	*cool*	cuul
tōl	tóól		*tool*	tuul
ōðer	(óóðer)		*other*	eðər
sōð	sóóþ		*sooth*	suuþ
*smōðe	smóóð	1636	*smooth*	smuuð
*(hē) dōð	dóóþ		*doth*	dəþ
tōð	tóóþ		*tooth*	tuuþ
brōðor	(bróóðer)		*brother*	brəðər
gōs	góós	1640	*goose*	guus
gōsling (*under* o)				
bōsm	(bóózom)		*bosom*	buzəm
blōsma (*under* o)				
hrōst	róóst		*roost*	ruust
mōste	must		*must*	məst
rōwan	róu	1644	*row*	róu
hlōwan	lóu		*low*	lóu
flōwan	flóu		*flow*	flóu
grōwan	gróu		*grow*	gróu
blōwan	blóu	1648	*blow*	blóu
hōf *(pret.)*	(hóóv)		*hove*	hóuv
hōf *(subs.)*	hóóf		*hoof*	huuf
behōfian	(behóóv)		*behove*	behuuv (óu)
grōf *(subs.)*	gróóv	1652	*groove*	gruuv
glōf	(glóóv)		*glove*	gləv

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ō (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
sōfte (*under* o)				
sōna	sóón		*soon*	suun
spōn N. ?	spóón		*spoon*	spuun
nōn	nóón	1656	*noon*	nuun
mōna	móón		*moon*	muun
mōnaþ	(móónеþ)		*moneth, month*	mənþ
mōnandæg	(móóndai)		*Monday*	məndi
gedōn	(dóón)	1660	*done*	dən
bōn N.	bóón		*boon*	buun
gōma	gum		*gum*	gəm
glōm	glóóm		*gloom*	gluum
dōm	dóóm	1664	*doom*	duum
brōm	bróóm		*broom*	bruum
blōma	blóóm		*bloom*	bluum
slōg	sleu		*slew*	sluu
wōgian	wóó	1668	*woo*	wuu
genōg	enuuh		*enough*	enəf
drōg	dreu		*drew*	druu
bōg	buuh		*bough*	bau
plōg N.	pluuh	1672	*plough*	plau
hōc	hóóc		*hook*	huc
hrōc	róóc		*rook*	ruc
lōcian	lóóc		*look*	luc
scōc	shóóc	1676	*shook*	shuc
wōc	(awóóc)		*awoke*	əwóuc
cōc	cóóc		*cook*	cuc
crōc N.	cróóc		*crook*	cruc
tōc	tóóc	1680	*took*	tuc
bōc	bóóc		*book*	buc
brōc	bróóc		*brook*	bruc
hōd	hóód		*hood*	hud
rōd	róód	1684	*rood*	ruud
	rod		*rod*	rod
gescōd (*under* o)				
stōd	stóód		*stood*	stud
fōda	fóód		*food*	fuud
fōdor (*under* o)				
flōd	flóód	1688	*flood*	fləd
mōd	móód		*mood*	muud

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

ō (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
mōdor	(móóðer)		*mother*	məðər
gōd	góód		*good*	gud
blōd	blóód	1692	*blood*	bləd
brōd	bróód		*brood*	bruud
wōdnesdæg	wednesdai		*Wednesday*	we(d)nzdi
rōt N.	róót		*root*	ruut
fōt	fóót	1696	*foot*	fut
bōt	bóót		*boot*	buut
hwōpan	whóóp		*whoop*	huup

Addenda.

mearg	maru		*marrow*	mærou
cealc	chalc	1700	*chalk*	chòòc
hæsel	haazel		*hazel*	héizl
sceanc	shanc		*shank*	shænc
wæg(e)n	wagon		*waggon*	wægən
	wain	1704	*wain*	wéin
dragen	draun		*drawn*	dròòn
? gagn	gain		*gain*	géin
sæcc	sac		*sack*	sæc
sleac	slac	1708	*slack*	slæc
wæcce	wach		*watch*	woch
gemaca	maat		*mate*	méit
eaxl	axl		*axle*	æxl
lator	later	1712	*latter*	lætər
gabb N.	gab		*gab*	gæb
tapor	taaper		*taper*	téipər
ār (*metal*)	òòr		*ore*	òòr
hālig dæg	? hòòlidaj	1716	*holiday*	holidi
rāw	ròòu		*row*	róu
*cnāwlǣcan	cnòòulej		*knowledge*(sbst.)	nolej
òn ān	anon		*anon*	ənon

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ADDENDA (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.			MODERN.
wrist	wrist	1720	*wrist*	rist
hiw	heu		*hue (hew)*	hyuu
skipta N.	shift		*shift*	shift
wringan	wring		*wring*	ring
slipor	sliperi	1724	*slippery*	sliperi
hwīnan	whiin		*whine*	whain
cyrnel	cernel		*kernel*	cəənəl
sȳpan	sip		*sip*	sip
fé𝼆er	fèè𝼆er	1728	*feather*	fe𝼆ər
becwé𝼆an	becwèè𝼆		*bequeathe*	becwii𝼆
wést	west		*west*	west
weocce	wic		*wick*	wic
rǣdels	ridl	1732	*riddle*	ridl
gemēted	met		*met*	met
stèrne	stern		*stern*	stəən
rest	rest		*rest*	rəst
wrèncan	wrench	1736	*wrench*	rench
wrǣnna	wren		*wren*	ren
twèntig	twenti		*twenti*	twenti
hēh𝼆o	heiht		*height*	hait
stēran	stéér	1740	*steer*	stiər
cwēn	cwèèn		*quean* [1]	cwiin
?leās	lóós		*loose*	luus
þreātian	þrèèt		*threat*	þret
preōst	(préést)	1744	*priest*	priist
seōc	sic		*sick*	sic
þohte	þòuht		*thought*	þòòt
colt	colt		*colt*	cóult
fōstor	foster	1748	*foster*	fostər
hrōf	róóf		*roof*	ruuf
þus	𝼆us		*thus*	𝼆əs
húsþing N.	hustingz		*hustings*	həstingz
suncen	sunc	1752	*sunk*	sənc
skūm	scum		*skum*	sɑəm

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ǣ, eā, eō, u, o.

[1] Seems to come from *cwéne* with a short vowel = Gothic *kwinō*.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO THE LISTS.[1]

[1] Numbers in parentheses refer to words in the Addenda.

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SUPPLEMENTARY LISTS OF IRREGULARITIES.

Middle Period.

In the following words *æ* and *ea* have become *e* instead of the regular *a*: *gèèr* (gear), *èèrn* (earn), *fern*, *bèèrd* (beard); *elf*, *belch*; *whe*ȣ*er*, *toge*ȣ*er*; *les*, *nes*, *lest*, *lèèst* (least), *gest* (guest); ȣ*en*, *when*; *emet*, *hemp*; *wrec*, *pebl*.

It is clear from these exceptional forms that the Old English *æ* was quite lost after the Transition period; as we see, it was either changed into *a*, or else mispronounced as *è*, just as it would be in the mouth of a foreigner.

The lengthening before *r* in *gèèr*, *èèrn* and *bèèrd* has many parallels, and in the case of *bèèrd* is confirmed by the Modern *biiəd*. The present form *əən*, however, points rather to *ern*, with a short vowel. The lengthening in *lèèst*, although anomalous, is supported by *yèèst* from *yest*=*gist*, by the retention of *òò*=*ā* in *mòòst*, etc., and perhaps by *criist* (see note on 518, below).

a for *ò* in non-preterites (p. 54): *angl*, *hang*, *fang*, *gang*, *bang*.

ò for *a*: *on*, *bond*, *from*, *womb*, *comb*.

ei preserved: *ei* (eye), *ðei* (they), *whei*, *grei*, *cei* (key); *weih* (weigh), *neih*, *neih*(*buur*), *eiht* (eight), *heiht*; *ðeir*; *eiðer*; *rein*(*déér*).

The Modern forms point mostly to *ai*. *ai* (eye) however comes not from *ai*=*ei*, but from *ii*. *cii* (key) is altogether anomalous; so also are the two pronunciations *iiðer* and *aiðər* (either), while the obsolete *éiðər* is regular.

i (*y*) has become *e*, 1) regularly after *y*-consonant: *yel*; *yes*, *yèèst*, *yesterdai*; *yet*. 2) in other words: *her*, *herd* (shep-(herd); *neðer*; *ðèèz* (these); *èèvil*; *flejd* (fledged).

In *snèèc* and *rèèp* (sneak, reap) a highly anomalous change of *ii* into *èè* seems to have taken place.

é, *eo* become *i*: *liht*, *fiht*; *mirþ* (but *meri*), *birch*; *chil*, *silver*, *silc*, *milc*, *fiild*; *sister*; *ric*, *wic*; *cripl*, *hip* (=berry), *dip* (?).

è becomes *i*: *smirc*, *gird*(*l*); *sili*, *cil*, *wiild*; *linc*; *rid*; *nib*.

é becomes *a*, 1) before *r*: *star*, *far*, *tar*, *darling* (from *deōrling*), *farðing*, *carv*, *starv*, *barm*, *dwarf*, *baru*, *darc*, *harc*, *hart*. 2) in: *swalu*, *brambl*.

è becomes *a*, 1) before *r*: *mar*, *maar*, *barlei*, *marsh*, *haru*, *barn*, *yard*. 2) in: *talu* (?); *wasp*; *handi* (?), *aach*.

é, *eo* become *u*: *churl*, *burst*, *run*, *spurn*, *burn*; *hung*.

ē, *eō* become *ii*: *ii* (from *eāge*), *lii* (from *leōgan*), *slii*, *flii*, *tii*; *hiih*, *þiih*, *niih*; *diiv* (?).

ē becomes *èè* before *r*: *hèèr*, *wèèri*, *hèèrcn*, *hèèrd*.

In the case of the first two words there is sixteenth century authority for the *éé*-sound also.

ǣ=*éé* becomes *èè*, 1) before *r* in all words except the doubtful *béér*. 2) in: *mèèl*; *brèèð*; *èèven* (evening); *þrèèd*, *drèèd*; *blèèt*; *wèèpon*.

Three of these, however, are made doubtful by the Modern *þred*, *dred*, *wepon*, which point rather to a shortening of the long vowel at an early period.

eō becomes *èè*: *dèèr*, *drèèri*; *brèèst*, *clèèv* (cleave).

There is Early Modern authority for *déér* as well as *dèèr*. *brèèst*, again, is uncertain on account of the Modern *brest*.

eō becomes *óó*: *lóóz*, *chóóz*; *shóót*.

Compare *chòòz* from *ceās* (p. 35), and *ðòòuh* from *þeāh* (note to 1228, below).

eō becomes *u*(*u*): *yuu; ruuh; yuuþ; yung.*[1]

o becomes *u*: *murðer, durst, burst* (partic.); *dul; amung, munger.*

ō becomes *u*(*u*): *yuu* (you); *tuuh* (tough); *yuuþ*; *yung.*

The following remarks on the diphthongs are intended to supplement those on pp. 52, 53, above.

Diphthongs are formed not only by *g* (*gh*), but also by medial and final *h* (=*kh*), but only with back vowels, the new element being always *u* (never *i*), which I have already explained (note p. 80) as a mere *secondary* formation, due to the labialization of the following *h*=*kh*: the *h* is consequently not absorbed, as is the case with *g*.

The following are examples of genuine *h*-diphthongs, in which *h* is original, not a later modification of *g* (p. 79):

1) from *ah*: *lauh, lauhter, slauhter, fauht, tauht.* And perhaps *sau* from *seah*, although the omission of the *h* makes it more probable that it arises from some confusion with the plural *sāwon.*
2) from *āh*: *ðòuht* (ought).
   not points to *nðòuht*=*nāht; nauht,* however, to a shortened *naht.*
3) from *oh*: *souht, bouht, bouht.*
   For *dauhter* see note to 1484.

In the following words *g* has been anomalously preserved, instead of being diphthongized: *wag, wagon* (but also *wain*), *drag* (but also *drau*), *twig.*

A few general remarks on Middle (or rather Early Modern) English orthography remain to be made.

It is, as we have seen, mainly traditional, but with certain purely phonetic modifications. The first divergence of sound and symbol was the retention of *ee* and *oo* to denote the new sounds *ii* and *uu*, while original *ü* and *uu* themselves changed in the direction of *ai* and *au*. The introduction of *ea* and *oa* to denote the true *ee* and *oo* sound was, on the other hand, a strictly phonetic innovation.

ee and *oo* were partly phonetic, partly historical signs—

[1] I have repeated most of these words again under *ō*.

they denoted the sounds *ii* and *uu*, and implied at the same time an earlier *éé* and *óó*. But in a few cases it is interesting to observe that they were employed purely phonetically, *against* tradition. An example is afforded by the word written *room*, the Old English *rūm*. In the fourteenth century this word was spelt with the French *ou*=*uu*; but in the Early Modern period the regular *rowm*, corresponding with *down*, etc., was abandoned, probably because it would, like *down*, have suggested the regular diphthong *óu* or *əu*, into which the other old *uus* changed, and the word was written phonetically *room*, without at all implying a Middle English *róóm*. Other examples are *door* and *groom*, in which *oo* may perhaps represent short *u*, which it almost certainly does in *wool* and *wood*. The use of single *o* to denote short *u* is a well-known feature of Middle English. It occurs chiefly in combination with *w*, *u*(=*v*), *n*, and *m*, and has been explained (first, I believe, by Dr. J. A. H. Murray) as a purely graphic substitute for *u* in combination with letters of similar formation, to avoid confusion. But such a spelling as *wod* would have suggested an *ò*-sound, as in *god*. To avoid all possibility of this pronunciation, the *o* was therefore doubled. This spelling is only inaccurate as regards the quantity; it is, therefore, difficult to see why it was not adopted in the words written *love*, *come*, etc., which ought by their spelling to indicate the pronunciations *lóóv*, *cóóm*, corresponding to Middle English *lòòv*, *còòm*!

Similar fluctuation between the phonetic and historical principle is shown in many words written with the digraph *ie*. *ie* is in itself nothing but a substitute for *ii*, which from purely graphic reasons was never doubled, as being liable to confusion with *u*. The sound of *ii* was, of course, in most cases expressed by *ee*. There were, however, a few words which preserved their Middle English *ii*-sound throughout the Early Modern period (and up to the present day) as well. Such a word as *fiild*, for instance, if written in the fourteenth century spelling *fild*, would have been read, on the analogy of *wild*, *child*, etc., as *féild*, or *fəild*, while to have written *feeld* would have been a violation of the etymological prin-

ciple. Both history and sound were saved by the adoption of *ie*. The following list of *ie*-words will show that, although *ie* was sometimes used finally to denote the diphthongized sound, it invariably denoted the simple *ii* medially: *hie, lie, die, tie; wierd; yield, shield, wield, field; priest; believe, sieve; lief, thief; fiend, friend.*

In *sieve* we have an instance of *ie* used to denote a short vowel (compare *wool*, etc.); possibly the *ie* was employed simply to prevent the combination *siue*, which would have been graphically ambiguous.

Modern Period.

The general rule which governs the retention and modification of *a* before sibilants seems to be that it is retained before breath consonants, but changed to *æ* before voice consonants. Thus we find *æz, hæz, hæv* contrasting with *a(a)s, gras, asc, last, staf, after*. The change to *æ* takes place, however, before *sh*, although voiceless: *æsh, ræsh*. Also in *æspen*.[1] In the same way *a* followed by *n* and a voice consonant becomes *æ*, as in *ænd, hænd, ænvil*; but if the consonant which comes after the *n* is voiceless, there is no change, as in *ansər, plant, ant*. These laws do not apply to *a* when followed by the other nasals, in which cases it is always changed: *sænc, drænc; dæmp*.

ii has been preserved in the following words: *mii: shiiər, wiiəd; shiild, wiild, fiild, yiild; wiivəl, wiic*.

Of these words the first only has *ī* in O.E.; all the others are Middle E. lengthenings of *i*, corresponding sometimes to original *i*, sometimes to *è* or *é*. It is worthy of note that all of them are written with *ie*, except *shiiər, wiivəl*, and *wiik*, which are written *shire, weevil, week*. The last two spellings with *e*, which go back as far as the fourteenth century, seem to indicate some confusion with *éé*, although we would rather expect the broad *èè*, as in *snèèc* for *sniic*. It is, however,

[1] Note, however, that *aspen* is a dissyllable, with a liquid in the second syllable: but we have *after*, not *æfter*.

possible that these *ees* may be simply Early Modern phonetic spellings, like *room*=*ruum*.

èè has become *éi* (instead of *ii*): *yéi* (yea); *bréic*; *gréit*.[1]

u has been preserved, 1) after *w*: *wuman*, *wul*, *wulf*, *wuund*, *wud* (not in *wəndər*). 2) in other cases: *ful*, *bul*(*əc*); *grum*.

uu has been preserved (sometimes with shortening): *buur* (boor); *əncuuþ*; *cud* (could); *ruum* (room); *bruc* (brook).

óó has been preserved: *hóuv*; *əwóuc*.

óó has become *ə*: *əðer*, *məðer*, *dəþ*, *brəðər*; *gləv*; *mənþ*, *məndi*, *dən*; *fləd*, *bləd*.

For *əvn* and *shəvl* see notes to 1553 and 1556.

The series of changes is clearly *óó*, *uu*, *u*, *ə*; the second and third belonging to the Early Modern, the last to the Transition period. The anomalous spelling *other*, etc., instead of *oother*, was probably meant to indicate the shortness of the *u*=*óó*. To infer from it a Middle E. *òòðer* would be as unreasonable as in the case of *love*, *come*, etc., where the *u* was certainly never lengthened or lowered to *òò*.

Under the head of consonant influence the loss of the initial element of the diphthong *iuu* or *yuu* ought to have been noticed in its place. It takes place after *r* and *l*, but not after stops, nasals, and sibilants: *ruu*, *gruu*, *cruu*; *fluu*, *cluu*; also in *chuu* (*lyuud* is an exception), *yuu*; *hyuu*; *þyuu*; *fyuu*; *nyuu*; *dyuu*; *styuu*; *spyuu*.

The development of the diphthong *óu* out of *ol* in the combination *olc* ought also to have been noticed; it occurs in two words: *yóuc* (yolk), *fóuc* (folk).

Also the change of *a* into *ò* before *lt*, in *holt*, *solt*, *molt*.

NOTES TO THE WORD LISTS.

No. 3. *eiht*. A solitary exception to the general change of *aht* into *auht*. There is Early Mod. evidence for *aiht* as well as *eiht*.

[1] For the preservation of *èè* before *r* in *bèèr*, etc., see p. 68.

6. *fauht.* Salesbury writes *fauht,* and the spelling *fought* seems merely due to confusion with the partic. *fouhten* from O.E. *gefohten.*

15. *năru,* etc. These words are not derived direct from the nom. *nearu,* but from the oblique cases, *nearwe* becoming *nearw,* whence *naru,* by weakening of the final *w.* *caru,* on the other hand, which has *care* in the oblique cases, naturally lengthens its vowel—*caar.*

25. *gèèr* from *gearwa* is only an apparent exception to the rule just stated, the long vowel being probably due to the *r.* The loss of the *w* is, however, anomalous.

58. *shœl,* for *shòòl.* An isolated exception to the development of *au* before *l.*

68. *ceallian.* This word occurs in the poem of Byrhtnoð; it may therefore possibly be English, although Norse influence in so late a work is quite possible.

71. *baal.* Exceptionally taken from the nom. *bealu,* not from the oblique *bealw-* (see note to 15, above).

81. *psalm.* The *p* is, of course, purely pedantic; the word may, however, be French.

84. *tælg.* The vowel is doubtful, and I have given the word again under *è* (992).

89, 91. *alder, alderman.* The exceptional retention of the *a* may be due to the liquid in the second syllable: compare the short *i* in *wunder,* etc., as contrasted with *wuund* (p. 47).

132. *castel.* This word, although of French origin, was in familiar use in English many years before the Conquest.

140. *hauc,* from *havoc* through *havec, haw(e)c.* The converse change has taken place in *waav* (1170); the series was probably *wǣg, waaw, waav.*

150. *clòòver.* The only parallel is *lòòd* from *hladan* (298).

168, 169. *monger, among.* The *u*-sound, for which there is Early Middle authority, as well as for *o,* is anomalous.

181. *eni.* The Early form (or one of them) was *ani* with short *a* (as Gill expressly states); the present form *eni* may therefore be explained as an irregular variation of the normal *æni.*

182. *hemp* seems to point to an O.E. *hænep* (cp. 187).

187, 193. *then, when.* These clearly arise from the Late O.E. *ðænne* and *whænne* with abnormal modification of *a* before nasals (p. 26).

229. *swæm* for *swòm.* *m* seems to bar the retention of *a* for *æ* in the same way in the word *dæmp* (p. 150).

246, 248. *slai, flai,* instead of *slau, flau.* The subs. *slège* may have helped the former irregularity.

253. *daun.* *dag(e)nian* ought to give *dain,* but the analogy of the regular Middle E. *dawes* from *dagas* helped.

270. *acorn.* The *o* is probably inorganic, the result of association with *corn.*

298. *lòòd.* cp. *clòòver* (150).

303. *shaad* for *sceadw-.* cp. *baal,* 71.

324. *water.* The Modern *wòòter,* with its long vowel, is anomalous.

331. *got,* inorganic, from the analogy of the partic. **begoten.*

343. *pebl,* from *pæpol* or *pæbol* (?).

344. *ai.* The modern form is a solitary case of retention of the diphthong.

350. *rein.* The older spelling *raindeer* should have been given.

352. The Middle *stèèc* and its change into the Modern *stéic* are both anomalous.

353. *weak* may possibly come from the O.E. *wāc,* through *wǣc.*

355. *dii,* from *dey(ja)*; cp. *ii* for *ei* from *eāge* (1121).

357. *lā.* If the Modern *lòò* (written *law*) really corresponds to the O.E. *lā,* we have a second instance (besides *bròòd*) of the retention of *òò.* *treysta* (770) should have been referred to here.

372. *haal.* A solitary and dubious instance of the retention of O.E. *ā.*

389. *nothing.* The Modern *ə* is probably due to the analogy of *wən* (415) and *nən.*

396. *whòòz,* read *whóóz.* The Modern *uu* is better evidence than the spelling *whose.*

400. *þau,* points seemingly to an O.E. *þǎwan.*

415. *wən.* The most probable explanation is that *wə* is

simply the Early Modern *óó* with its labial and guttural elements pronounced successively instead of simultaneously (p. 14).

418. *nən.* Not a case of *òò* becoming *ə* through *uu* and *u*, but simply due to the analogy of *wən.*

429. *clami.* The O.E. *ā* in this word must have been shortened at a very early period, else we should have had *clomi.*

440. *-hóód.* A solitary instance of *òò* becoming *óó* in Middle English (except after *w*).

447. *bròòd.* Retention of Middle English *òò* from *ā.*

491. *gild.* Exceptional retention of short *i.* cp. *gild* (from *gyldan*) and *byld* (760, 761).

518. *criist.* The *ch* is, of course, no evidence; but the word may be French. Compare, however, *lèèst* (126) and *yèèst* (520), with the same lengthening before *st.*

528. *teuzdai.* The spelling *ue* indicates the later simplification *yy.*

534. *wiivil.* It is uncertain whether the spelling *ee* indicates a Middle English *wéécil* or is purely phonetic.

604. *island.* The *s* is purely etymological and erroneous.

707. *rich.* May be French.

760, 761. *gild, byld.* Exceptional retention of the short vowels. There is, however, Early Middle authority for *byyld* as well.

796. *luck.* The word *lukka* in Icelandic is said to be of late introduction, otherwise it would fit in very well. I have formed *lycci* from the Danish *lykke.*

847. *þræsh* may be a modification of *þresh*, as *eni* seems to be of *æni* (181).

860. *iceberg.* Probably foreign (Dutch ?).

868. *swurd*; or from *u* (1365).

870. *hèèrt* and *hart* are both independent modifications of *hèrt.*

881. *cwail.* Compare *hair* (1157) from *hǣr.* The history of these two spellings requires investigation: it is possible that the *ai* is merely a comparatively late representation of the sound *èè*, introduced after the simplification of the diphthong *ai* (p. 65).

934. *þaan* for *þain*. Here, again, the spelling may be late. The Modern *þéin* would correspond to either *þaan* or *þain*.

956. *nebb*. The vowel is more probably *è* (1087).

1005. *wasp* points rather to *wæsp* than *wèsp*; both forms may, however, have existed.

1017. *wǣng* (551) should come in here.

1036. *clenz*. The spelling *ea* certainly points to *clèènz*, but the Modern form is against it, and it is possible that the *ea* may be a purely etymological reminiscence.

1038. *handi* may be merely a late derivative of *hand*.

1052. *temz*. The spelling is evidently a pedantic adaptation of the Latin *T(h)amesis*.

1054. *au*. This form (instead of *ai*) is very anomalous. The most probable explanation is that *ège* was made into *æge* by the same confusion between the two vowels as in *wèsp* (1005), and that *æge* then became *age*, which was irregularly diphthongized into *au(e)*.

1057. *hej* points rather to *hècg* than *hège*, which would give *hai*.

1058, 1060. *lai*, *sai*. These forms (instead of *lej*, *sej*) point rather to some such inflection as the imperative *lège*, *sège*.

1064. *aach*. Another case of confusion between *è* and *æ*—*ècc*, *æce*, *ace*, *aach*.

1105. *cnēla*. The Icelandic expression is *knéfalla*, but *knæle* is found in Danish.

1135. *read*. I have given the word again under *èè* (1218), as it is quite uncertain whether it had *ē* or *ǣ* in O.E.: the assumed derivation from *rōdjan* favours the former, the MSS. usage the latter.

1157. *hair*. cp. *cwail* (881).

1171. *weih*, etc. Anomalous retention of *gh* in the form of *h*.

1228. *ȝòòuh*. The stages were probably *ȝeaah*, *ȝaah*, *ȝòòh*, *ȝòòuh*.

1239. *rau*. Apparently from an intermediate *hreǎw*; cp. *þau* (400).

1241, 1242. *slòòu, shòòu.* The same dropping of the first element of O.E. *eaa,* as in the previous word. All these forms are important, as showing that the second element of the diphthong had the accent and was long.

1244. *strau.* cp. 1239.

1276. *chapman.* Points to a shortened *ea,* which naturally passed into *a.*

1292. *darling.* From shortened *eo* — *deōr-, deor-, der-, dar-ling.*

1295. *fourþ.* Probably formed directly from the Middle English *four* itself.

1306. *yuu.* Here the first element of the diphthong is consonantized, and the final *w* thrown off, as in *tréé, cnéé,* etc.

1333. *friend.* The Modern *frend* points to a very early shortened form, which probably co-existed with the older *fréénd.*

1353, 1363. *thorough, borough.* The Modern *ə* points to *þuruh* and *buruh,* and it is possible that the *o* is a mere graphic substitute for *u.*

1370. *shóulder* for *shaulder.* The most probable explanation is that *shuulder* became *shóulder* in the Early Modern period, and the *óu* became *óóu* before *ld,* and so was confounded with the *óóu* in *flóóu,* etc.

1380. *eleven.* Agrees rather with the other form *endleofon.*

1460. *cuuld.* The *l* is, of course, due to the analogy of *wuuld* and *shuuld.*

1470. *ruuh* may possibly come from *hreōh* (1288).

1484. *dauhter.* The anomalous *au* may be due to Norse influence, as Danish has *datter* (Icelandic *dóttir*): I do not know, however, that the Danish form is of any antiquity.

1519. *holu.* The final *h* of *holh* seems to have been first vocalized (and labialized), and then merged into *w,* which, as in *naru,* etc., was weakened into *u.*

1521. *swóuln,* etc. The development of *ou* in the combinations *ol, old,* is Early Modern, and should have been mentioned (p. 61). The phoneticians make the *o* long, writing *tooul* (=*toll*), etc. Its preservation in the present English is, therefore, quite regular, as in *flóu* from Middle E. *flóóu,* etc.

1530. *bóul.* Here, again, the sixteenth century authorities write *booul.* The spelling *bowl* is, of course, phonetic and unhistorical.

1533. *welcin.* cp. *wednesdai* (1694).

1540. *froþ*, etc. The quantity of *o* before *þ*, *s*, and *f* is very uncertain in the present English, but the longs seem to be getting the upper hand.

1553. *oven.* The Modern *əvn* points rather to *óóven* than the regular *òòven.*

1556. *shovel.* The Modern *shəvl*, again, points to an earlier *shuvl*, which may be a shortening of *shuuvel*=*shóóvel*, as was suggested in the case of *oven.* Or the form *shuvel* may be due to the analogy of the verb *shuv*=*scūfan.*

1667, 1670. *sleu*, *dreu.* The most probable explanation is that *slóóg* first became *slóóu*, and then this was confused with the numerous preterites in *eóów* (*greōw*, *cneōw*, etc.), and followed the same change into *eu.*

1694. *wednesday.* cp. *welcin* (1533).

ON THE PERIODS OF ENGLISH.

One of the most troublesome questions of English philology is that of the designation of its various stages. I have throughout this paper adopted the threefold division of Old, Middle, and Modern: it will, therefore, be necessary to say a few words in its justification.

The first question is, shall we retain the name "Anglo-Saxon" for the earliest period of our language, or discard it entirely? The great majority of English scholars are decidedly hostile to the word. They argue that it is a barbarous half-Latin compound, which, although justifiable as applied to a political confederation of Angles and Saxons, is entirely misleading when applied to the *language* spoken by these tribes, implying, as it does, that the English language before the Conquest was an actual mixture of the Anglian and Saxon dialects. The reverse was of course the case, and we consequently have to distinguish between the Anglian dialect

of Anglo-Saxon and the Saxon dialect of Anglo-Saxon.[1] The most serious objection, however, to the word Anglo-Saxon is that it conceals the unbroken development of our language, and thrusts the oldest period of our language outside the pale of our sympathies. Hence, to a great extent, the slowness with which the study of our language makes its way among the great mass of educated people in England—if people can be called educated who are ignorant of the history of their own language.

These arguments have lately been vigorously attacked by a leading English philologist—Professor March. In his able essay[2] he brings out the distinctive features of the two extreme periods very forcibly, and has so far done good service. At the same time, he has greatly exaggerated the difference between the two periods. Thus, in phonology, he says that Anglo-Saxon had sounds now lost in English, such as French *u*, German *ch*, and initial *wl*, *wr*, and that *ī* and *ū* have become diphthongs. Now any one who has read this paper with any attention will see that this part of the argument is worth very little, for all these sounds were preserved unchanged in the sixteenth century, which belongs unmistakably to the Modern period.

The well-known statement that Johnson's Dictionary contains 29,000 Romance words out of 43,500 is a great exaggeration. A large proportion of these 29,000 are words which are never used in ordinary speech or writing, very many of them are quite unknown to the majority of educated people, and not a few of them never existed in the language at all. When we speak of the proportion of Romance elements in English, we mean the English of every-day life, not of dictionaries and technical works,[3] and of the two ex-

[1] If any period of our language is to be called "Anglo-Saxon," let it be the present one—as far, at least, as the literary language is concerned, which is really a mixture of Saxon and Anglian forms.

[2] Is there an Anglo-Saxon Language? Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1872.

[3] On such one-sided grounds as these it would be easy to prove that Modern German is quite as mixed as English is. Observe the proportion of foreign and native words in the following passages, taken at random from a work published this year:

"Wieniawski, der Paganinispieler *par excellence*, zeigt sich da, wo er mit

tremes, the estimate of Turner is certainly fairer than that of Thommerel.

The real distinction between the two stages lies, of course, in the comparatively uninflectional character of the present language and its analytical reconstruction. But the old inflections are not all lost; we still have our genitive, our plurals in *s* and *en*, and in our verbs the Teutonic strong preterite is still common. And it must be borne in mind that even the Oldest English inflections are beginning to break up. There is no *s* or *r* in the nominative singular, consequently no distinction between nominative and accusative in many words, no distinction whatever of gender in the plural of adjectives, or of person in the plural of verbs. The imperfect case terminations are already eked out by prepositions—*hē cwæð tō mē* is much more like English than Latin or even German.

And if we take the intermediate stages into consideration, we find it simply impossible to draw a definite line. Professor March acknowledges this, but takes refuge in a distinction between colloquial and literary speech, which last, he says, has much more definite periods. Professor March surely forgets that for scientific purposes artificial literary speech is worth nothing compared with that of every-day life, with its unconscious, unsophisticated development. It is, besides, very questionable whether there ever was an artificial literary prose language in England in early times.

While differing from Professor March on these points, I fully agree with him in protesting against the loose way in which "Old English" is made to designate any period from Alfred to Chaucer. It is quite clear that the inflectional stage of our language must have a distinctive name, and therefore that Old English must be reserved for it alone.

Schwierigkeiten und *Effecten à la* Paganini spielt, in seinem eigentlichen *Elemente;* seine *Compositionen* sind daher für *exclusive Virtuosen* nicht ohne *Interesse.* Dieselben wollen mit vollkommenster *technischer* Freiheit, übermüthiger Laune und Feuer gespielt sein, vor allen die *Variationen Opus* 11—echte *musikalische Mixpickles.*"

"Ein *effect*volles *Virtuosen*stück in Paganini'scher *Manier.*"

"Das kurze *Thema* ist mit *poetischer Simplicität* zu spielen."

Compare these specimens with the Lord's Prayer, or a page of Swift or Defoe.

The difficulty is with the later stages. The period I call Middle English is now often called "Early English," while those who retain "Anglo-Saxon" call the intermediate periods "Semi-Saxon" or "Old English," while others make various arbitrary distinctions between "Early," "Old," and "Middle" English. It does not seem to be generally acknowledged that each of these terms really implies a definite correlative, that if we call one period "Early," we are bound to have a "Late" one, and that "Middle" implies a beginning and an end—to talk therefore of one period as "Early," as opposed to a "Middle" one, is entirely arbitrary.

Such divisions err also in being too minute. When we consider how one period merges into another, and how the language changed with much greater rapidity in the North than in the South, we see that it is necessary to start with a few broad divisions, not with impracticably minute ones.

I propose, therefore, to start with the three main divisions of *Old*, *Middle*, and *Modern*, based mainly on the inflectional characteristics of each stage. Old English is the period of *full* inflections (*nama, gifan, caru*), Middle English of *levelled* inflections (*naame, given, caare*), and Modern English of *lost* inflections (*naam, giv, caar*). We have besides two periods of *transition*, one in which *nama* and *name* exist side by side, and another in which final *e* is beginning to drop. The latter is of very little importance, the former, commonly called Semi-Saxon (a legitimate abbreviation of Semi-Anglo-Saxon), is characterized by many far-reaching changes. I propose, therefore to call the first the *Transition* period *par excellence*, distinguishing the two, when necessary, as first and second Transition, the more important one being generally called simply *Transition* or *Transition-English*.

Whenever minute divisions are wanted, *Early* and *Late* can be used—Early Old, Late Middle, Early Modern, etc. Still minuter distinctions can be made by employing *Earlier*, *Earliest*, etc., till we fall back on the century or decade.

These divisions could also be applied to the different dialect-names. Thus *Old Anglian* would be equivalent to "Anglian

dialect of Old English," *Modern Saxon* would designate the Dorsetshire dialect, etc.

As regards the Northern dialects of the Middle period, they ought strictly to be classed as Modern, as they soon lost the final *e* entirely. But as they have all the other characteristics of the Middle period, it seems most convenient to take the dominant speech of Chaucer and Gower as our criterion.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

First of all I have a few words to say on the relation of the present essay to Mr. Ellis's great work.

As regards my obligations to Mr. Ellis, I can only say, once for all, that without his investigations this essay would never have been written. It is essentially based on his results, of which, in some places, it is little more than a summary; while I have throughout drawn largely on the enormous mass of material stored up in the "Early English Pronunciation."

In going over the same ground as Mr. Ellis, it is but natural that I should occasionally arrive at conclusions different from his, as, for instance, in the important question of the two *ees* and *oos* in Middle English, and in that of the preservation of short *y* in the Early Modern period.

But I have not been satisfied with merely summarizing and criticizing Mr. Ellis's views, but have also endeavoured to carry his method a step further, by combining his results with the deductions of the historical school inaugurated by Rask, and perfected by Grimm and his followers in Germany. Mr. Ellis's great achievement was to determine generally the phonetic values of the Roman alphabet in England at the different periods, and to establish the all-important principle that the Middle Age scribes wrote not by eye, but by ear, and consequently that their varying orthographic usage is a genuine criterion of their pronunciation. It has, therefore, been possible for me in the present essay to turn my attention more exclusively to the sounds themselves, and the wider

generalizations obtainable from an examination of the various changes, which generalizations can again be applied to the elucidation and confirmation of the individual changes themselves. Many of the general principles stated at the beginning of the essay are, I believe, new and original; such, for instance, as the threefold divisions of sound-changes into organic, inorganic, and imitative, the sketch of the relations between sound and symbol (general alphabetics), the determination of the laws which govern the changes of short and long vowels in the Teutonic languages, etc.

I have also added to our stock of phonetic material, both by the observations on the pronunciation of Modern English and the living Teutonic languages, and also by the full lists of Old English words with their Middle and Modern equivalents, which afford a sound basis both for testing the views I have developed, and for carrying out further investigation.

It need hardly be said that the present essay is but a meagre sketch of what would be a really adequate history of English sounds. An investigation of every dialect and period, even if only on the meagre and imperfect scale here attempted, would fill many volumes. And yet till this is done, we cannot say that the foundations of a scientific English phonology are even laid. And it is only on such investigations that a satisfactory investigation of inflection and syntax can be based.

It was, therefore, absolutely necessary for me to limit my programme as much as possible. Hence the omission of any reference to our dialects, and the comparative neglect of the Middle period. Most of my results are obtained from a direct comparison with Old and Modern English: they are, therefore, to a certain extent, only tentative. In one point they are specially defective, namely as regards the deductions drawn from our present traditional orthography. Although this orthography is, on the whole, a very faithful representation of the pronunciation of the time when it settled into its present fixity, yet there are many of its details which urgently require a more minute examination. In short, we want a thorough investigation of the orthography of the sixteenth

and seventeenth centuries, based on an examination not only of printed works, but also of manuscripts of all kinds. Such an investigation would not fail to yield valuable results.

Of the very considerable labour entailed in the present work, a large portion was expended on the lists. These I at first intended merely to consist of a certain number of examples of each change, but it proved so difficult to draw any definite line of exclusion that I determined to make them as full as possible, excluding only obsolete and doubtful words. There are a large number of words which, although of undoubted Teutonic origin, cannot be assigned to any Old English parent. Again, many Old English words given in the dictionaries without any reference, merely on the authority of Lye and Somner, are of very dubious existence. Many of them I believes to be gueses, formed by analogy from purely Modern words, while others are clearly taken from Transition texts. These I have often omitted, especially when they did not seem to offer any new points of interest. I am fully conscious of the inconsistencies and errors I have fallen into in preparing these lists, but I believe they are inevitable in a first attempt of this kind. It would have been easy to give my work a false appearance of fullness and finish, by suppressing the lists altogether; but I preferred to give them out, imperfect as they are, and rely on the indulgence of those who are alone competent to judge my work—those, namely, who have been engaged in similar initiatory investigations.

[*** Note also the tendency to lower *uu* before *r*, as shown in the almost universal *yòò(r)* for *yuur* (possessive of *yuu*). In the vulgar pronunciation this is carried out in all words, so that the combination *uur* is entirely lost. Thus we have *pòòə* for *puur*, *shòòə* for *shuur*, etc.]

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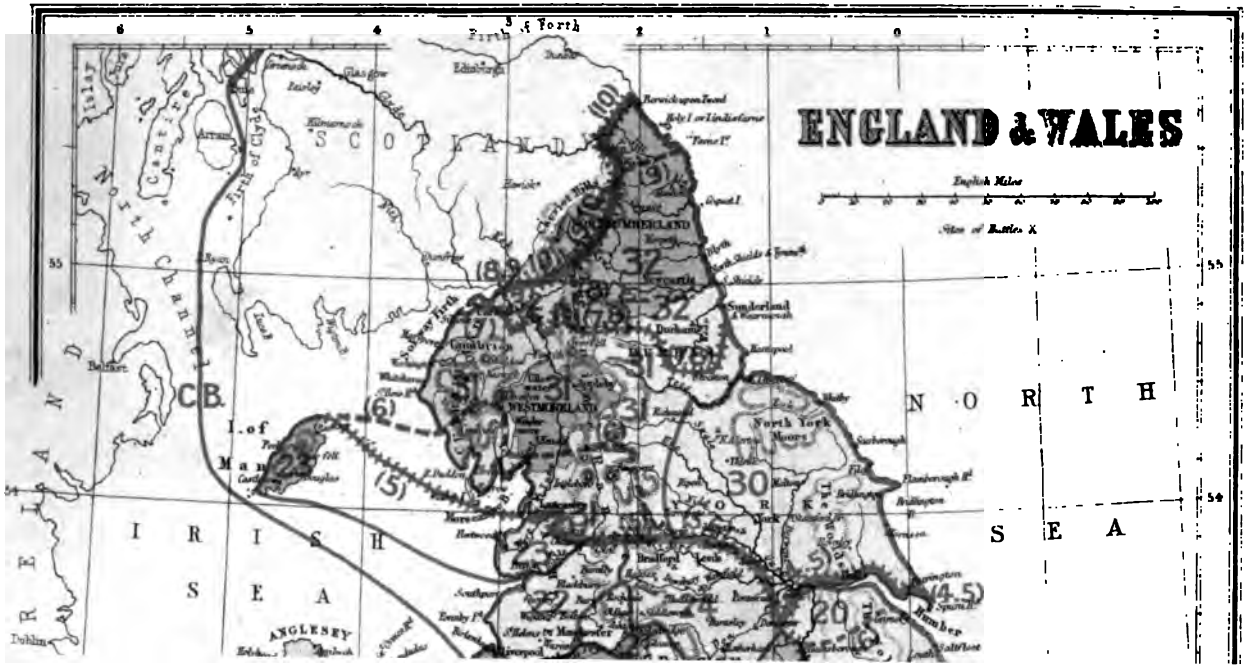
ENGLISH DIALECTS—THEIR SOUNDS & HOMES.

ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS, by Alexander J. Ellis, 1887.



To illustrate Alex. J. Ellis's "EXISTING PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS," *and* "ENGLISH DIALECTS—THEIR SOUNDS AND HOMES."

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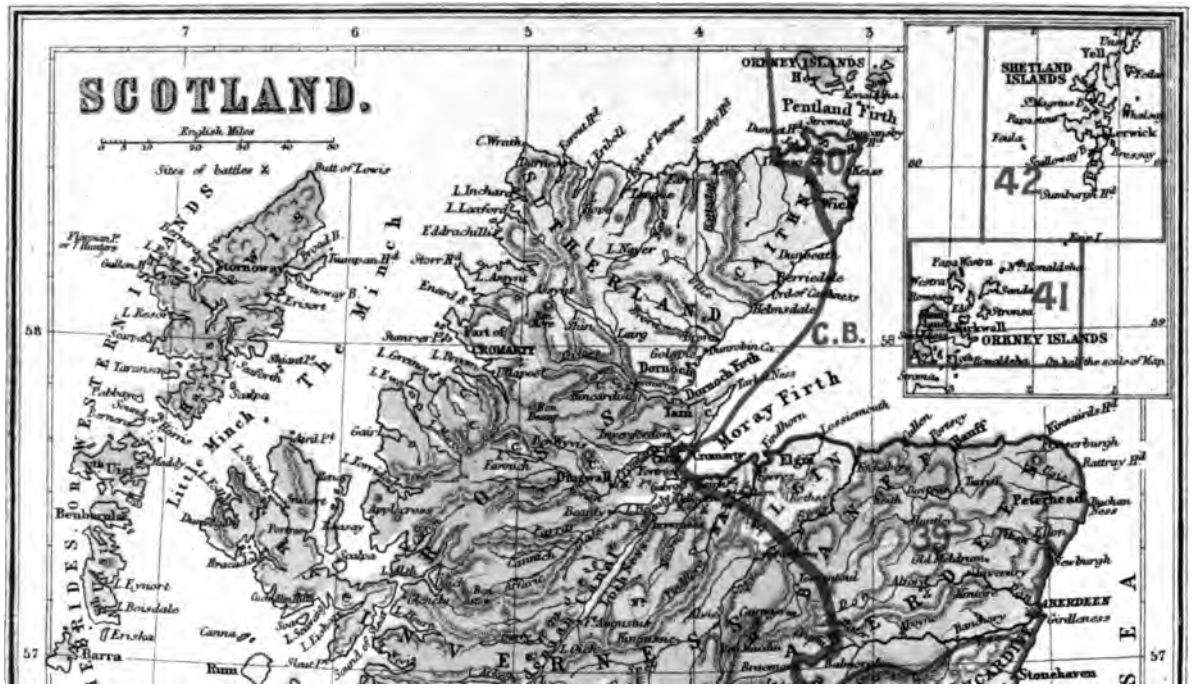
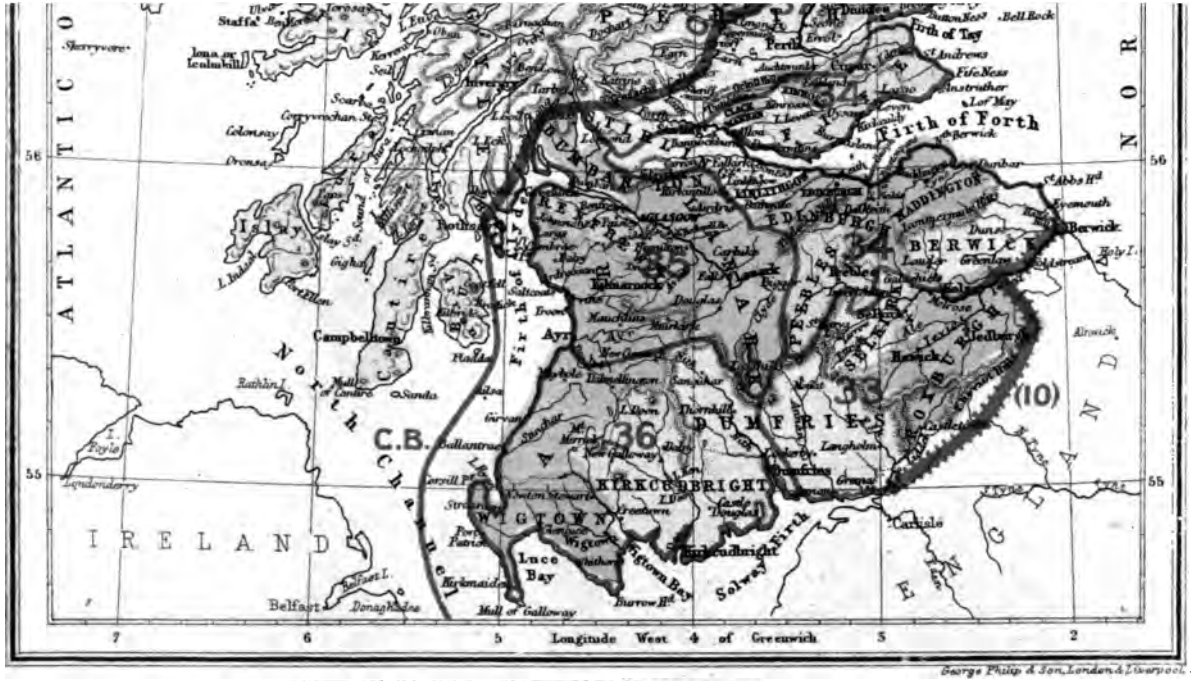
LOWLAND DIALECT DISTRICTS, by J. A. H. Murray & A. J. Ellis.





George Philip & Son, London & Liverpool.

To illustrate Alex. J. Ellis's "EXISTING PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS," *and* "ENGLISH DIALECTS—THEIR SOUNDS AND HOMES."

ENGLISH DIALECTS—

THEIR SOUNDS AND HOMES;

BEING AN ABRIDGMENT OF THE AUTHOR'S 'EXISTING PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS,' WHICH FORMS PART V. OF HIS 'EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,' WITH A SELECTION OF THE EXAMPLES REDUCED TO THE GLOSSIC NOTATION.

BY

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With Two Maps of the Dialect Districts.

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1890.

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CONTENTS.

Key to the Maps of the English and Lowland Dialect Districts.

The Maps themselves are loose, and kept in pockets in the cover, for greater ease of reference.

The BOUNDING LINES OF THE DISTRICTS are drawn in red over Philip & Son's convenient little maps, but on account of the smallness of the scales (that of England being about 57 miles to the inch, and that of Scotland about 42 miles to the inch), the boundaries, which had been all previously traced out on maps of 4 miles to the inch, could be only roughly laid down.

The COUNTRY CONSIDERED lies east and south of the CELTIC BORDER marked CB, commencing in Ireland, and passing through Wales and Scotland.

The six principal DIVISIONS, Southern, Western, Eastern, Midland, Northern and Lowland, are bounded by thick lines, and, being sufficiently indicated by these positional names, are not further marked.

The forty-two DISTRICTS, in each of which a sensible similarity of pronunciation prevails, are bounded by continuous lines, numbered with bold figures, in the order in which they will be treated, and are named positionally in the following list.

VARIETIES, or parts of Districts separately considered, are not entered on the map, but are numbered with small Roman numerals, named and roughly located on the next page.

The CHARACTERS, principally phonetic, by which Districts and Varieties are distinguished, are briefly indicated in the following pages.

Ten TRANSVERSE LINES, passing from sea to sea, and limiting certain dialectal usages, are represented on the map by broken lines, which when the Transverse Lines coincide during any part of their length with the boundaries of Divisions or Districts, are expressed by small cross-lines. The Transverse Lines are numbered with small figures in ( ), and when two or more of them are partially coincident with one another, all the corresponding numbers are annexed as (1. 2), (4. 5), (8. 9. 10).

The names of these ten lines, the meaning of which is explained below, p. 6, are as follows:

(1) the north SUM.
(2) the south SÖÖM.
(3) the reverted UR.
(4) the south TEETH.
(5) the north THEETH.
(6) the south HOOSE.
(7) the north TEE.
(8) the south SUM.
(9) the north SÖÖM.
(10) the south Lowland.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOLLOWING LIST.

B, b. Border.
C Celtic.
D District.
Div. Division.
E, e. East-ern.
I Insular.
L Lowland (Scotch).
M, m. Mid, Midland.
N, n. North-ern.
S, s. South-ern.
V Variety.
W, w. West-ern.

TWO-LETTER ABBREVIATIONS OF NAMES OF COUNTIES CONSIDERED, WITH THE PAGES WHERE THEY ARE PRINCIPALLY TREATED.

Ab. Aberdeenshire, 153.
Ar. Argyll, 144.
Ay. Ayr, 144, 149.
Ba. Banff, 153.
Bd. Bedford, 51.
Be. Berks, 24, 30, 32, 33, 35.
Br. Brecknock, 43.
Bt. Bute, 144.
Bu. Buckinghamshire, 34, 50, 57.
Bw. Berwickshire, 141.
Cb. Cambridge, 58.
Cc. Clackmannan, 141.
Ch. Cheshire, 76, 90, 99.
Co. Cornwall, 37, 39, 41.
Cr. Cromarty, 153.
Cs. Caithness, 160.
Cu. Cumberland, 113, 123, 137.
Db. Derby, 76, 90, 92, 101.
Df. Dumfries, 137, 149.
Dm. Dumbarton, 144.
Dn. Denbigh, 99.
Do. Dorset, 24.
Du. Durham, 113, 123.
Dv. Devon, 24, 37, 38, 39.
Ed. Edinburghshire, 141.
El. Elgin, 153.
Es. Essex, 51, 57.
Fi. Fife, 141, 151.
Fl. Flint, 99.
Fo. Forfar, 151, 152.
Gl. Gloucester, 24, 32.
Gm. Glamorgan, 23.
Ha. Hampshire, 24, 30.
Hd. Haddingtonshire, 141.
He. Hereford, 24, 43.
Ht. Hertford, 51, 57.
Hu. Huntingdon, 51.
Kb. Kircudbright, 149.
Kc. Kincardine, 152.
Ke. Kent, 30, 32, 35.
Kr. Kinross, 141.
La. Lancashire, 76, 82, 113.
Le. Leicester, 101.
Li. Lincoln, 71.
Lk. Lanark, 144.
Ll. Linlithgow, 141.
Ma. Isle of Man, 83.
Mg. Montgomery, 44.
Mi. Middlesex, 57.
Mo. Monmouth, 43.
Na. Nairn, 153.
Nb. Northumberland, 123, 137.
Nf. Norfolk, 59.
Np. Northampton, 32, 51 58.
Nt. Nottingham, 96.
Or. Orkney Isles, 161, 163.
Ox. Oxford, 24, 32, 33, 34.
Pb. Peebles, 141.
Pm. Pembroke, 23.
Pr. Perth, 151.
Rd. Radnor, 43.
Rf. Renfrew, 144.
Rt. Rutland, 58.
Rx. Roxburghshire, 137.
Sc. Scilly Isles, 37, 41.
Sd. Shetland Isles, 161, 167.
Se. Selkirk, 137.
Sf. Suffolk, 59.
Sg. Stirling, 141, 151.
Sh. Shropshire, 43, 44, 99, 101.
Sm. Somerset, 24, 37, 38.
Sr. Surrey, 30, 32, 35.
Ss. Sussex, 24, 30, 35.
St. Stafford, 90, 92, 101.
Wa. Warwick, 32, 101.
We. Westmorland, 113.
Wg. Wigtonshire, 149.
Wi. Isle of Wight, 30.
Wl. Wiltshire, 24.
Wo. Worcester, 32, 101.
Wx. Wexford, 20.
Yo. Yorkshire, 83, 108, 113.

LIST OF DIVISIONS, DISTRICTS AND VARIETIES, WITH THEIR NAMES.

I. S. Div.
D 1 to 12.

D 1. w.CS.
That is, S on C ground, shewn on the map by the CB pointing to 1 in margin, representing the position of the se. of Wx. in Ireland, opposite Aberystwith Cd. Dialect in existence a century ago, but now extinct.

D 2. m.CS.
In sw. Pm.

D 3. e.CS.
In sw. Gm.

D 4. w.MS.
V i. Wl.
ii. Gl.
iii. e.He.
iv. Do.
v. Utchland.
Merriott, Montacute, and about a dozen villages between the railways w. of Yeovil Sm., where the personal pronoun I is called *utch*.
vi. n. and e. Sm.

D 5. e.MS.
V i. Ox.
ii. Be.
iii. Ha. and Wi.
iv. s.Sr. and w.Ss.

D 6. n.BS.
V i. s.Wo.
ii. s.Wa.
iii. Banbury.
iv. sw.Np.

D 7. m.BS.
In m. and s. Ox.

D 8. s.BS.
Containing s. London and suburbs in Be. Sr. and ne.Ke.

D 9. ES.
V i. e.Ss.
ii. n.Ke.
iii. e.Ke.

D 10. n.WS.
In w.Sm. and ne.Dv.

D 11. s.WS.
V i. n.Dv.
ii. s.Dv.
iii. e.Co.

D 12. w.WS.
In w.Co. and Sc., modern, varied, not dialects proper.

II. W. Div.

D 13 and 14.

D 13. SW.
In Mo. He. Rd. s.Sh.

D 14. NW.
In m. and se.Sh.

III. E. Div.

D 15 to 19.

D 15. WE.
In m. and n.Bu.

D 16. ME.
V i. Ht.
ii. Bd.
iii. Hu.
iv. m.Np.
v. Es.

D 17. SE.
Containing n.London and suburbs in Bu. Mi. and Es.

D 18. NE.
V i. Cb.
ii. ne.Np.
iii. Rt.

D 19. EE.
V i. nw.Nf.
ii. ne.Nf.
iii. s.Nf.
iv. e.Sf.
v. w.Sf.

IV. M. Div.

D 20 to 29.

D 20. BM.
The whole co. of Li.
V i. s.Li.
ii. m.Li.
iii. n.Li.

D 21. s.NM.
V i. se.La.
ii. nw. or n. Peak of Db.

D 22. w.NM.
V i. Ormskirk.
ii. Bolton and Wigan
iii. Chorley & Leyland
iv. Blackburn.
v. Burnley.
vi. Old Colne Valley.

D 23. n.NM.
V i. The Fylde in m.La.
ii. Ma.

D 24. e.NM.
In South Yo.
V i. Huddersfield.
ii. Halifax.
iii. Keighley.
iv. Bradford.
v. Leeds.
vi. Dewsbury.
vii. Rotherham.
viii. Sheffield.
ix. Doncaster.

D 25. w.MM.
V i. e.Ch.
ii. m.Ch.
iii. w.Ch.
iv. n.St.

D 26. e.MM.
V i. s.Peak of Db.
ii. w.Db.
iii. e.Db.
iv. s.Db.

D 27. EM.
The whole co. of Nt.

D 28. w.SM.
V i. nw.Sh.
ii. detached or English Fl.
iii. w.Ch.
iv. Dn. and se. of main or Welch Fl.

D 29. e.SM.
V *ia*. ne.Sh. and nm. St.
b. wm. St.
c. em. St.
ii*a*. me. and s.Sh.
b. s.St.
c. n.Wo.
iii*a*. e.Wa.
b. w.Wa.
iv. Le.

V. N. Div.

D 30 to 32.

D 30. EN.
Mostly in n. and e.Yo.
V *ia*. m.Yo.
b. York Ainsty.
c. Northallerton.
d. New Malton.
e. Pateley Bridge.
f. Washburn River.
ii*a*. s.Cleveland.
b. ne. Coast and Whitby.
iii*a*. Market Weighton.
b. Holderness.
iv. Goole and Marshland.

D 31. WN.
In nw. Yo., Cu. and We.
V i. n.Craven and nw. Mining Districts of Yo.
ii*a*. s.Lonsdale.
b. n.Lonsdale.
iii. s.We.
iv. Edenside.
Or basin of River Eden in Cu. and We.
v. w.Cu.
vi. s.Du.

D 32. NN.
V i. n.Cu.
ii. n.Du.
iii. Hexham or sw. Nb.
iv. Coalfields or se. Nb.
v. m.Nb.
vi. n.Nb.

VI. L. Div.

Chiefly after Dr. Murray, whose names of districts are given in Italics.

D 33 to 42.

D 33. SL.
Southern Counties.
With a different s. boundary.
V i. English.
In n.Cu. and nw.Nb.
ii. Scotch.
In e.Df., Se. and Rx.

D 34. e.ML.
Lothian and Fife.
In Bw. Cc. Ed. Fi. Hd. Kr. Ll. and Pb.

D 35. w.ML.
Clydesdale.
In Ar. n.Ay. Bt. e. and s. Dm. Lk. Rf.

D 36. s.ML.
Galloway and Carrick.
In s.Ay. w.Df. Kb. Wg.

D 37. n.ML.
Highland Border.
In nw.Fi. w.Fo. w.Sg. e.Pr.

D 38. s.NL.
Angus.
In e.Fo. and m. and s.Kc.

D 39. m.NL.
Moray and Aberdeen.
In Ab. Ba. e.Cr. El. n Kc. n Na.

D 40. n.NL.
Caithness.
In ne.Cs.

The following were not treated by Dr. Murray.

D 41. s.IL.
The Orkneys.

D 42. n.IL.
The Shetlands.

Alphabetical Key to Glossic.

In order to treat intelligibly of sounds there must be some typographical representation of the elements of speech and a fixed method of combining them. A writer on English dialects generally takes the first combination of English letters, which strikes him as convenient for his own use, because it conveys to him personally and at the moment the sound he wants to express, and he mostly does not trouble himself to give any indication of the meaning of his letters and groups of letters. But in this way such a great variety and ambiguity of spelling has been introduced into dialectal writing that no one can read aloud with certainty unless he is previously familiar with the sounds, and a writer is not unfrequently posed himself with his own spelling after the lapse of some years, when the original associations have been forgotten. Outsiders are always quite puzzled. At any rate I have myself been frequently unable to guess the sounds intended. When the pronunciations of all existing different dialects have to be compared, this lazy method breaks down altogether. But such a comparison is what is aimed at in this book. Hence a systematic orthography must be used and its meaning must be explained. English dialect writers founded their own varied spellings on the present received orthography, one of the worst for the purpose that could be conceived. But this made it necessary for me to find a new spelling, which, though based upon the received, could nevertheless be used for all English dialects. Now some years ago I invented Glossic, which has already been used extensively by writers for the English Dialect Society, though strangely enough they do not give even a page of explanation except in one paper by Mr. Elworthy, where the explanation was written by myself. Now letters do not tell their own tale, and I have found my glossic symbols to be sometimes oddly misread by those who have shot at the meanings without having read the explanations. Hence to this treatise I prefix a key to glossic, and request that it may be consulted, as otherwise my book will be utterly useless.

To understand the very varied habits of different parts of the country requires much care and attention, and the length of the follow-

ing list may appal some readers who are unaware of the difficulty and complexity of the problem. To assist the general reader therefore I have devised a system of *varieties* indicated by superior figures. The varieties have to be referred to in my discussions, or preliminary notes, but in writing they are generally left undistinguished, thus the *a* will stand at times for a^1, a^2, a^3 and *e* at times for e^1, e^2, e^3 and so on, as explained in the preliminary notes for each district. All these are however displayed below in alphabetical and numerical order, so that when the reader meets with any one of them he can immediately obtain the required information. My intention has been to give every symbol used in the present treatise, with a general and familiar explanation. I have avoided all scientific and systematic phonetics, sufficiently treated in my larger work, but have endeavoured to make the meaning of the varieties clear.

The reader is recommended first to familiarise himself with the following very short key, in which sufficient words are given to explain the general character of the system of writing, and then to begin the book, and refer to the alphabetical key for an explanation of any other symbols he may meet with, especially those with superior figures attached, and not to assign any value to such symbols without consulting the key.

As an example of the use of Glossic according to the short key in the next page, I annex the dialect test, given on p. 18, in received educated London pronunciation, which may be contrasted with the various dialectal forms given below. The variants in parenthesis ( ) are admissible, but not recommended.

Received Educated London dt.

1. *Soa· (soa·w) ei sai· (sai·y), mai·ts, you see· nou, dhŭt ei ŭm reit ŭbou·t dhat lit·l gyu·l kum·ing from dhŭ skoo·l yon·dŭr.*
2. *Shee· iz goa·ing doun dhŭ roa·d dhe·r throo· dhŭ red gai·t on dhŭ left hand seid ŭv dhŭ wai·y.*
3. *Shooŭr inuf· dhŭ cheild hŭz gon strai·t up tŭ dhŭ doa·ŭr (dau·ŭr, dau·r) ŭv dhŭ rong hous,*
4. *whe·r shee· wil chaan·s tŭ feind dhat drung·kn, def, shriv·ŭld fel·oa (fel·ŭ) ŭu dhŭ nai·m ŭv Tom·us.*
5. *Wee· au·l noa· (noa·w) him ver·i wel.*
6. *Woa·nt dhi oa·ld chap soo·n tee·ch hŭr not tŭ doo· it ŭgen· (ŭgai·n), puo·ŭ thing!*
7. *Luok·! iz·nt it troo·?*

Short Key.

All Glossic words and letters will, from this page forth, be written in Italics exclusively, and Italics will not be used for any other purpose.

The following method of expressing quantity should be thoroughly familiar.

All Glossic vowels are to be considered as short unless marked as long by a turned period (·) placed after them when having the stress, as *mee·ting*, or two turned periods (··) when not having the stress, as *moo·rgai··t* Moorgate.

All short Glossic vowels followed by a consonant in syllables having the stress are distinguished by an inverted period after the following consonant, as *eekon·oami* also pronounced *ikon·ŭmi* economy, where the *ee* and *oa* are both short and fall in familiar speech into *i* and *ŭ*.

Short vowels having the stress and not followed by a consonant are marked as in these words, *gŏŏ·in*, *goo..in*, common provincial forms of 'going,' in received speech, *goa·ing*.

An inverted period before a whole word indicates emphasis, as *·hee*, *not ·yoo*.

) separates words to the eye which are not separated to the ear, as *hee·)l* he will.

1. Long vowels	beet	bait	baa	bought	boat	boot
Glossic	*bee·t*	*bai·t*	*baa·*	*bau·t*	*boa·t*	*boo·t*
with vanishes		*bai·yt*			*boa·wt*	

2. Short accented vowels	knit	net	gnat	knot	nut	nook
Glossic	*nit·*	*net·*	*nat·*	*not·*	*nut·*	*nuok·*

3. Short unaccented vowels	merry	parental	influence
Glossic	*mer·i*	*püren·tül*	*in·flooüns.*

4. Vowel diphthongs unanalysed	file	foil	fowl	fuel
Glossic	*feil*	*foil*	*foul*	*feu il.*

5. Aspirate	hay	behave	mishap
Glossic	*hai·*	*bi-hai·v*	*mis-hap·.*

6. Mutes and Sonants	pea	bee,	toe	doe,	cape	gape
Glossic	*pee·*	*bee·,*	*toa·*	*doa·,*	*kai·p*	*gai·p.*

7. Hisses and burrs	whey	way,	feel	veal,	thin	then,
Glossic	*whai·*	*wai·,*	*fee·l*	*vee·l,*	*thin·*	*dhen·*
	seal	zeal,	rush	rouge,	hue	you
	see·l	*zee·l,*	*rush·*	*roo·zh,*	*yhoo*	*yoo.*

8. Liquids	ear ring	hearing,	gull	struggle
Glossic	*ee·ü ring·*	*hee·üring,*	*gul·*	*strug·l.*

9. Nasals	sum	chasm,	sun	open,	sung
Glossic	*sum·*	*kaz·m,*	*sun*	*oa·pn,*	*sung·*

10. Consonantal diphthongs unanalysed	chest	fetch,	jest	judge
Glossic	*ches·t*	*fech·,*	*jes·t*	*juj·*

Alphabetical Key.

Only short vowels are given in the list; but every one can be lengthened in the way indicated above. Analysed diphthongs ending in *i*, *uo* have these sounds expressed by *y*, *w* as *aay*, *aaw*. If analysed diphthongs end in any other vowel, as *u*, *ue*, this vowel has the short mark as *eŭ*, *uŭĕ*, which see, pp. xix and xxvi.

The palaeotype form of each symbol is given after the letter in parentheses ( ), preceded by 'pal.,' in order that it may be identified with the Table of Dialectal Palaeotype, pp. 76* to 88* of the larger work.

The varieties expressed by small-letter italics with superior numbers are placed in numerical order after the general symbol, written as a capital, and are generally used only in phonetic discussions. The pages of this book, where some of the principal varieties are used, are added at the end of most articles. Where no superior numbers are used or indicated in a preliminary notice, the general symbols have their values assigned in the short key opposite.

The numerous duplicate forms have been designedly introduced for the purpose of assisting the reader in approximating to the sounds.

A, general symbol, with three varieties:

- a^1, pal. (æ), 'short a in bat' and long 'provincial a in Bath,' *ba¹t·*, *Ba¹·th*; see usual received 'short a,' p. 58.
- a^2, pal. (ah), a finicking, but educated sound, used much by ladies in such words as ass, pass, laugh, aunt, *a²s*, *pa²s*, *la²f*, *a²nt*, commonly *aa·s*, *paa·s*, *laa·f*, *aa·nt*, or *aas·*, *paas·*, *laaf·*, *aan·t*, pp. 38, 58, differing little from a^3.
- a^3, also written aa^3, pal. (a^1), fine 'Fr. a in patte,' heard short in place of a^1 in sw. w. and e. England, and long in n. England, p. 58.
- a^4, pal. (ah) or (a^1), used for either a^2 or a^3 when it is advisable to avoid superior figures, p. 68. See *a'y*.

AA, general symbol, with the following varieties:

- aa^0, pal. (a^0), an indistinct sound recalling aa^1, p. 116.
- aa^1, pal. (a), 'short of a in father,' quite distinct from a^1, and common in the M. div.
- aa^2, pal. (*a*), frequently written *ah*, p. 138, to avoid superiors, broader form of aa^1, liable to be confused with *au*, especially heard in D 33.
- aa^3, pal. (a^1), the same as a^3, which see; p. 154.
- aa^4, pal. (a_1), a form of *aa* noted in D 31, p. 114, as lying very near to aa^2, but not quite so deep; here it is not generally distinguished from aa^1.
- aa_{ϵ}, pal. (a_{ϵ}), nasalised *aa*, distinct from the 'Fr. an' *ahn'*.

AAŭ, pal. (âʊ), a fracture consisting of a short *aa* gliding on to *ŭ*; the long form *aa·ŭ* is heard occ. in 'far' *faa·ŭ*, but the *ŭ* is generally omitted by Londoners even in the pause.

AAW, pal. (áu), German diphthong in 'haus' *haaws*, an ordinary provincial diphthong representing *ou*, which see, consisting of short *aa* gliding on to short *uo*, fully written *aaŭŏ*.

AAY, pal. (ái), 'German ai in Hain' *haayn*, the common provincial form of *ei*, which see, consisting of short *aa* gliding on to short *i*, fully written *aaĭ*. Many educated people use *aay* for their 'long i.' In the English pronunciation of Greek, *ει*, *αι* are received and provincial 'long i,' or *a'y*, *aay*, or *ay aay*; the Greeks themselves pronounce them as *ee·*, *ae·*.

AE, pal. (E), the Fr. and Italian broad or 'open e,' the common provincial form of 'e in met,' which is also written e^3 as a variety of *e* (which see), and distinct from e^2, though both sounds are usually written by the general symbol, *e*; this *ae* approximates very closely to a^1.

AEN', pal. (EA), the 'Fr. orinasal in vin' *vaen'*, according to French analysis, but to English ears it sounds rather *an'*, or a French nasalisation of the English a^1, see *N'*.

AEW, *AE·W*, pal. (E'u, EE'u), two common provincial forms of *ou*, consisting of short or long *ae* or e^3 gliding on to short *uo*, of which *ew* is a mild London form.

AEY, *AE·Y*, pal. (E'i, EE'i), a very common provincial form of the 'long i,' (heard also often in London), consisting of a strong short or long *ae* gliding on to short *i*. It produces a very unpleasant effect. It is often represented by *ey*, which is a milder form.

AH, pal. (*a*), the same as aa^2, used when superior figures are inconvenient as in the three following combinations.

AHN', pal. (aA), 'Fr. orinasal vowel in dans' *dahn'* according to Fr. analysis; to Englishmen it sounds like *on'*, or a Fr. nasalisation of the English *o*. See *N'*.

AHW, pal. (áu), a diphthong in which *ah*, that is aa^2, glides on to *ŭŏ*, not uncommon provincially, and then often confused with *ow*, which see.

AHY, pal. (ái), diphthong with $ah = aa^2$ gliding on to *i*, very common provincially and constantly mistaken by strangers for *oy*.

AI, general symbol, with the following varieties:

- ai^1, pal. (*e*), 'Fr. é in été,' with no vanish or termination approaching but not reaching *ee*, as in *ai·y*; it is frequent in the dialects, and its long form also occurs, at any rate in older received speech, but in the pause $ai·^1$ is replaced by *ai·y*.
- ai^2, pal. (e^1), an acuter form of *ai*, nearly *i*, which is generally written, p. 154.
- $ai_{\downarrow}$, pal. ($e_{\downarrow}$), a nasal form of *ai* occ. heard.
- *ĕiee*, (pal. (*ei*), a form of *ee* with a very brief initial *ai*, p. 114.

AIY, pal. (*éi*), with the first element short and the glide from *ai* to *i* rapid and close. Common provincially, and often not distinguished from *ey*.

AI·Y, pal. (*ee'*j), the first element long, gliding off (or 'vanishing') towards some indefinite voice-sound approaching *i*, but often not nearly reaching it; the common London final AY in the pause, as say may *sai·y mai·y*. This is the sound written 'ei' by Dr. Sweet in his 'Elementarbuch.' It is not common provincially.

AO, pal. (o) = o^2, a very common provincial form of 'short o' in closed syllables, replaced usually by *o*; long *ao·* occurs in the older careful pronunciation of 'oar ore, more, four fore,' properly *ao·ŭ*, *mao·ŭ*, *fao·ŭ*, but now constantly replaced by *au·ŭ*, *mau·ŭ*,

fau·ŭ, and even the *ŭ* is frequently omitted as *au· mau· fau·*, which should properly represent 'awe, maw, faugh!' p, 138, No. 9.

AON', pal. (oʌ), French nasal, see *N'*.

AOW, pal. (ɔʊ), a very common provincial form of *ou*, which is generally written *ow*, as most readers would probably confuse *aow*, *ow*, not merely together, but with *aaw*.

AU, general symbol, with the varieties:

au[1], pal. (ʌ), which when short differs very slightly from *o* or 'o in not,' but when long as in *au·* awe, *brau·d* broad, is a very common rec. vowel in England, but is not found on the continent, and also not found in NL., D 38 to 42, although 'au aw' are used by dialect writers. Englishmen constantly confuse *ah·* = *aa*[2] with *au*[1].

au[2], pal. (ʌʌ[1]), a peculiar delicate form of *au*, heard in D 23, p. 82, and probably much the same as *ao*.

Aŭ, pal. (æ'u), the short 'a in bat' gliding on to the 'short a in China.'

AUŭ, pal. (ʌ'u), the sound of *au* gliding on to *ŭ* used for *r*, 'or' is constantly so pronounced when there is a little pause after it; but the first element is often lengthened. See *AO*.

AU·y, pal. (ʌʌ'i), the coarsest form of *oi*, the usual finer form being *oy*.

AW, pal. (æ'u), not to be confused with *au*,—a diphthong consisting of *a* gliding on to *ŭŏ*, very similar to *aew*, but coarser and harsher, used as a form of *ou*, see *ew*.

AY, *A·Y*, pal. (æ'i, ææ'i) not to be confused with *ai*, a coarse harsh provincial form of *ei*, beginning with *a*[1] in place of *aa*.

A'y, pal. (ȧ[1]i) or (ȧhi), according to the value attributed to *a'* [which see under *A*], the finest form of the diphthong *ei* (which see), used by the most refined speakers, in the s. and n. of England.

B, pal. (b), 'b in be,' the English voiced *p*.

CH, general symbol for the diphthong usually analysed as *tsh*, with the varieties:

ch[1], pal. (tʃ), usual 'ch in church,' a consonantal diphthong beginning with the ordinary English *t*[2] and gliding on to the 'convex *sh*[1].'

ch[2], pal. (tʒ), a variety of the last occasioned by reversion, beginning with reverted (t) and gliding on to the 'concave' *sh*[2], naturally and easily resulting from attempting to say *ch* with a 'reverted' tongue, that is, with the under part of the tip against the hard palate.

D, general symbol, having the varieties:

d[1], pal. (ḍ), the usual continental form of *d*, the tip of the tongue being brought against the lower part of the upper gums near the teeth, usually called 'dental,' but properly 'alveolar.' It seldom or ever occurs in the dialects except in connection with *r*[4]. See *D'R*.

d[2], pal. (d), the usual English coronal 'd in do' with the tip of the tongue free from the gums, and approaching the 'crown' of the arch of the hard palate, formed from *d*[4] through *d*[3].

d[3], pal. (d̩), the whole tongue so retracted that the tip of it touches the palate as far away from the gums as possible without 'reversion,' that is, without turning the under side against the palate, p. 28.

d[4], pal. (D), the tongue is 'reverted' so that the under surface of the tip comes against the palate and the tip points to the throat. The peculiar effect on the following vowel is produced by the great hollow thus formed at the back of the tongue. This reversion is naturally relaxed into 'retracted' *d*[1], and that again, by slightly advancing the tongue, into the coronal *d*[2]. This *d*[4] is the true Indian 'cerebral,' and the Indians still feel *d*[2] as cerebral, when opposed to the 'dental' *d*[1]. The two letters *d*', *d*[4] form part of the Indian alphabet. The English seems to be the only tongue which has all three forms *d*[1], *d*[2], *d*[4] and perhaps *d*[3] existing in its dialects.

D', pal. (d'), 'suspended' d. See p. 115.

DH, pal. (dh), the common 'English th in there father breathe' *dhe·r faa·dhŭr bree·dh*. When final, in the pause, it regularly becomes *dhth*, but the *th* being faint, and entirely resulting from ceasing to vibrate the vocal chords, is seldom recognised; the *dh* final is usually short and the *th* after it of indefinite length.

D'R, a contraction for *d*[1]*r*[4], pal. (ˌdˌr), shewing the dental *d*[1] in connection with the dental *r*[4], as it occurs in some dialects. See p. 115.

E, general symbol, used for the following varieties:

e°, pal. (e°), an indistinct sound, scarcely separable from *ŭ*, but rather recalling *e*[1] or *e*[2] than *u*.

e[1], pal. (*e*), the true short of *ai*[2], which see.

e[2], pal. (e), the educated Londoners' fine sound of 'e in net, met, etc.,' the long of which are the vowels in air share there *e·r she·r dhe·r*, or in London often *e·ŭ she·ŭ dhe·ŭ*, distinct from *ai·ŭ shai·ŭ dhai·ŭ*.

e[3], pal. (E), the common provincial sound of 'e in net, met, etc.,' much deeper than *e*[2], also written *ae*, which see; as a general rule *e* is written for both *e*[2] and *e*[3], except in phonetic discussions, because the reader is sure to pronounce them according to his usual habits, and will with much difficulty perceive the difference, as in p. 50.

EE, a general symbol, with the following varieties:

ee[1], pal. (i), short 'e in emit' in open syllables, where it is usually confused with *ee*[2]; in closed syllables it is frequent in Fr., as ville *ree*[1]*l·*, and occurs also in Lowland, p. 137, and possibly occurs in the single English word *been·*, but the short form in closed syllables is common in Lowland, French and Italian.

ee[2], pal. (*i*), the same as *i*[2], which see, but represented by *ee*[2] to shew its similarity with *ee*[1]. The two are confounded by most Englishmen.

ee[3], pal. (*i*i, *i*[1]i), is properly a diphthong beginning with *i*[2] or *i*[3] and ending with a clear *ee*[1], but conceived to be a simple *ee*[1] by those who use it, p. 67. It is the first transitional form from *ee*[1] to *ei*. It is also written *ée* and more frequently *iy*, according to convenience.

EE, *ée* another way of writing *ee*[3] when it is desirable to avoid superior figures, and yet to shew the relation to *ee*[1].

EEŭ, pal. (iʊ), the diphthong heard when r is fully vocalised in here, tier tear, near, *hee·ŭ, tee·ŭ, nee·ŭ*, as usually appreciated, but perhaps *hi·ŭ*,

ti·ŭ, *ni·ŭ*, with *i*² lengthened, is the more correct analysis.

EEW, pal. (*iu*), a diphthong of the *eu* class beginning with a perceptibly clear *ee*¹, but *iw* is the more usual form. Not to be confounded with *yoo*, *yeew*, you, yew.

EI, pal. (a'i), an unanalysed diphthong beginning with some form of *a*, *aa*, *ae*, *u*, gliding on to *i*. Used when the particular form has not been satisfactorily analysed or obtained. It has been found in some cases impossible to determine the particular diphthong used, although the general character is well known, see p. 154.

EO, a general symbol, with the following varieties:

*eo*¹, pal. (ə), the true Fr. 'eu in peu' as distinguished from *oe* the Fr. 'eu in peuple,' which see. Dr. Murray recognises it in Lowland, but the sound there is usually taken as *ue*.

*eo*², pal. (ə₁), a deeper form lying between *eo*¹ and *oe*¹, pp. 38, 115. This seems to be the English form of the Fr. vowel.

EU, pal. (i'u), that is, an unanalysed diphthong, beginning with some variety of *ee*, and ending with some variety of *oo*.

Eŭ, pal. (éu), not to be confused with *eu* above, the first element *e*² is generally long and glides off into *ŭ* as London *ke·ŭ* care.

EW, general symbol of a diphthong beginning with some variety of *e* gliding on to *uo*, and generally a form of *ou*. Varieties:

*e*¹*w*, pal. (*éu*), beginning with *ai*.

*e*²*w*, pal. (e'u), beginning with *e*, mild form.

*e*³*w*, pal. (ɛ'u), beginning with *e*³ = *ae*, and generally written *aew*, which see, and also *aw*.

EY, pal. (éi), a common provincial diphthong *e*² gliding on to *i*.

F, general symbol, with the following varieties:

*f*¹, pal. (f), 'f in fee' with the lower lip touching the upper teeth, the usual English, German, and Romance, and probably Old Latin *f*. When the upper teeth are lost, the under-lip is much retracted, and thus *f*¹ is still distinguished from *f*². The position of the tongue is usually low.

*f*², pal. (ph), the lower lip free from the teeth, the two lips in the position for blowing a small stream of air, the voiceless form of 'German w' = *v*², the modern Greek *φ*, the regular Magyar or Hungarian *f*. The position of the tongue is indifferent, but usually low.

*f*³, pal. (fh), a *wh* complicated by bringing the lower lip against the upper teeth as for *f*¹, but leaving the back of the tongue raised as in *wh*; or it may be considered as an *f*¹ with the back of the tongue raised as for *oo*, p. 153.

G, pal. (g), English 'g in good,' the voiced form of *k*, and with the same varieties.

GH, a general symbol, with the following varieties not found in any English dialect:

*gh*¹, pal. (gjh), an attempt to pronounce *gh* and *y* at the same time, confused with *y* by German phonetists, the voiced form of *kh*¹ (which is found in English dialects), conditioned in German by a palatal vowel preceding 'g.' Also written *gyh*.

*gh*², pal. (gh), the true German 'g in Tage,' the voiced form of *kh*².

*gh*³, pal. (gwh), *gh*² modified by bringing the lips together as for *oo*, found in German after labial

vowels, as genug *gŭnco·gh*[3], also written *guh*.

GW, pal. (gu̯), labialised *g*, an attempt to pronounce *g* and *w* at the same time, as in guano *gwaa·noa*.

GWH, the same as *gh*[3] above.

GY, pal. (gj), an attempt to pronounce *g* and *y* at the same time, palatalised *g*, common in older English and still occasionally heard before *aa*, as garnet *gyaa·net*, and generally in girl *gyu·l*.

GYH, the same as *gh*[1], which see.

H, pal. (h), at the beginning of a word, or after a hyphen or stress accent or period in the middle of a word, the general form of the aspirate, as *hap mis-hap·* hap mishap, the latter thus distinguished from *mish·ŭn* mission, so also *hap-haz·ŭrd* haphazard, *pot·hous* pothouse, *ŭpoth·ikeri* apothecary. The following varieties are rarely distinguished:

h[1], pal. (ʜ), a mere jerk given to the following vowel, without any escape of unvocalised breath, the true voiced aspirate, used in Indian and Celtic postaspirates, where it is written *h*, as *sth'oa·n* stone, p. 21, No. 124.

h[2], pal. (ʜ[ɪ]), a gradual but slightly jerked omission of unvocalised breath preceding a vowel with the mouth in the vowel position and the pharynx slightly contracted, the most common form of the aspirate.

h[3], pal. (ʜh, ʜ[h]), a strongly jerked omission of unvocalised breath before a vowel, a violent form of *h*[2].

I, general symbol, with the following varieties:

i[1], pal. (i[1]), a high form of *i* approaching *ee* in character, but perceptibly leaning towards *ai*.

i[2], pal. (ɪ), the true English 'i in hit,' which is a duller and lower form of *ee*, and hence sometimes written *ee*[2], which see, but to be carefully distinguished from *ee*[1].

i[3], pal. (i̯), very nearly *ai*[1], but with a perceptible leaning towards *i*: some consider that 'pity' is rather *pi*[2]*ti*[3] than *pi*[2]*ti*[2], see pp. 39, 154, 163.

i[4], pal. (i[11]), the Aberdeen 'thick i' which dialect speakers consider to be pronounced uniformly, but which to my ear varied as *i*, *i*[3], *e*, *u*[2], in different words with the same speaker, see pp. 152, 154, 155.

ĩ is used in some provincial diphthongs, p. 116, to indicate an equality of stress in the two elements of a diphthong beginning with *i*, as *ĩaa* = *ĩ*[4]*aa*[4] and *ĩe* = *ĩ*[3]*e*[3] with an even stress on each element, pal. (i[1]á[1], *i*[1]E'), and similarly *ŭō*, which see.

I', pal. (*y*), a sound between *i* and *e* as in the last syllable of houses *houzi'z*, for which either *i* or *e* is generally used.

Iŭ, pal. (iʊ), nearly the same as *eeŭ*; this fracture, with a long first element, is common in London, as ear *i·ŭ*, mere *mi·ŭ*; and with a very short first element is common in D 33, p. 137, No. 3.

IW, pal. (*iu*), nearly the same as *eew*, but having a duller initial sound, the commonest form of 'long u' after a consonant, as few *fiw*, mute *miwt*, cure *kiwŭ*.

IY, pal. (ii, i[1]i), the commonest way of writing *ee*[3], which see, pp. 68 line 1, 107, 114.

J, a general symbol of the consonantal diphthong in 'judge,' having two varieties:

j[1], pal. (dj), voiced form of *ch*[1], which see, a consonantal diphthong, beginning with *d* and gliding on to the 'convex' *zh*[1], the usual 'j in jest,' *jest*.

j[2], pal. (ɒj), voiced form of *ch*[2], which see, a consonantal diphthong, beginning with reverted *d*[4] and gliding on to the 'concave' *zh*[2], heard in D 4 and D 11 when following *r*[8], as *u*[2]*r*[8]*j*[2] urge.

K, a general symbol, which has the varieties:

k[1], pal. (kj), the tongue is raised into the position for *y* while the back position of *k* is maintained, hence this form is usually written *ky*, as *kyaa·t*=*k*[1]*aa·t*, rather an antiquated form of 'cart.' This palatalisation of *k* was formerly much used before *aa*, but is now discredited.

k[2], pal. (k), the usual English 'k,' without palatalisation or labialisation.

k[3], pal. (kw), the lips being closed as for *oo*; it generally gives the effect of a following *w*, and hence *kw* is usually written, thus *kwee·n* queen.

KH, a general symbol for 'the guttural,' having three varieties:

kh[1], pal. (kjh), the palatal form which may be considered a *k*[1] with the closure of the tongue against the palate opened so as to admit of unvocalised breath passing through the opening, and hence also written *kyh*; it is the German 'ch in ich,' and occurs in D 33, p. 132.

kh[2], pal. (kh), the usual guttural Germ. 'ch in ach,' usually written *kh* simply, frequent in the L. div.

kh[3], pal. (kwh), the sound of *kh* modified by closing the lips as for *oo*, the Germ. 'ch in auch buch'; this occurs in D 33, p. 138, very frequently.

KW, pal. (kw), the same as *k*[3], which see.

KWH, pal. (kwh), the same as *kh*[3], which see.

KY, pal. (kj), the same as *k*[1], which see.

KYH, pal. (kjh), the same as *kh*[1], which see.

L, general symbol, with the following varieties:

l[1], pal. (ˌl), the 'dental l' of the continent, see *d*[1].

l[2], pal. (l), the English 'coronal l,' see *d*[2], p. 38.

l[3], pal. (lˌ), the 'retracted l,' see *d*[3], p. 28.

l[4], pal. (ɹ), the 'reverted l,' see *d*[4].

LH, pal. (lh), properly *l*[2]*h*, the flated form of the English *l*[2], which some phonetists say they hear in felt *felht*, but this would be extremely difficult for an Englishman to pronounce.

LY, pal. (lj), an attempt to pronounce *l* and *y* together, common in Italian, not heard in English, though *stal·yŭn*, *mul·yŭn*, *buol·yŭn*, stallion, mullion, bullion, are common; here the place of the accent mark shews that *l*, *y* are pronounced separately, and not as in Italian figlio *fily·oa*.

M, pal. (m), ordinary hum with closed lips and detached uvula, so that the voice passes through the nose, as in *mai· him·* may hymn.

N, general symbol for the hum with open mouth, having the varieties:

n[1] pal. (ˌn), tongue as for *d*[1], 'continental n.'

n[2] pal. (n), 'ordinary coronal English n,' tongue as for *d*[2].

n[3] pal. (nˌ), 'retracted n,' tongue as for *d*[3].

n[4], pal. (ɴ), 'reverted n,' tongue as for *d*[4], common in D 4, 10, 11 in connection with *r*[2] as *ur*[4]*n*[4] earn.

N', pal. (ʌ), French nasalisation, a peculiar way of combining the oral vowels with a strong utterance through the nose, whereby the uvula becomes so much detached that the purity of the vowels is much affected. The French refer their four orinasals to the vowels *ah*, *ao*, *oe*, *ae*, as *ahn' aon' oen' vaen'* an on un vin; but to Englishmen they sound like *on'*, *oan'*, *un'*, *van'*, though the three unnasalised vowels, *o*, *u*, *a*, are unknown in French.

NG, ordinary back hum with the mouth open and the tongue in the position for *g*. Observe the combination *ng-g* in *fing·gŭr*, compare *sing·ŭr* singer, and *ngk* in *thingk* think. Both *ng-g*, and *ngk* occur final in La. and Ch. for the participial termination *ng*.

NH, pal. (nh), the voiceless hum, unvocalised breath being passed through the nose; it is used in D 31 in place of initial *kn*, as *nhaa* know. See p. 116.

NY, pal. (nj), 'palatalised *n*,' an attempt to pronounce *n* and *y* at the same time, compare *ly*, common in French signe *siny*, which some analyse as *singy*.

O, general symbol, in two varieties not usually distinguished:

o[1], pal. (ɔ), the true English 'o in not,' very slightly differing from *au* short; this sound is very difficult to a foreigner, who uses *o*[2].

o[2], pal. (o), the same as *ao*, the common 'short o in French,' as in 'homme,' very usual among the dialects, but in this work *o*[1], *o*[2] are not distinguished.

OA, general symbol, with two varieties:

oa[1], pal. (o), occurs often long, as in note *noa·t* and properly without the vanish, see *oa·ɯ*; but the short sound does not occur in England, although heard in America, as *hoal·* whole.

oa[2], pal. (o'), a high sound of *oa*, approaching to *oo*, and very little different from *uo*[1], p. 138.

OA·W', pal. (oo'ɯ), the *oa* lengthened with a vanish which goes in the direction of *oo*, but does not quite reach it; the form *oaɯ* with a short *oa* is a diphthong of the *ou* class, by no means usual, see *aoɯ*.

OE, general symbol, with the varieties:

oe[1], pal. (œ), Fr. 'eu in peuple veuve,' to be distinguished from *eo*[1], which see.

oe[2], pal. (œ), the peculiar sound heard, if, while saying *oo*, the lips are suddenly and widely opened without displacing the tongue, see *oo*[2], and p. 69.

oe[3], pal. (œ$_1$), lying between *oe*[1] and *u*[2], often heard in Nb. p. 124, the northern transition from *uo*[1] to *u*[2] corresponding to the Midland *uo*[2].

OEN', pal. (œʌ), Fr. 'orinasal in un' *oen'*.

OI, pal. (o'i), an unanalysed diphthong, representing all forms of the English 'oy in boy.' See *au·y*.

OO, general symbol, with these varieties:

oo[1], pal. (u), when long, English 'oo in hoot,' but it does not occur short in ordinary English, being generally replaced by *uo*.

oo[2], pal. (œ'u), that is, *oo* commenced with too open a mouth, very like *ĕŏoo*, really *ŏĕ*[2]*oo*, much used in the Mid. division. It is always conceived to be simple *oo* by dialect speakers. Also written *ŏo*, pp. 60, 67, 69, 71, 77, 103.

oo[3], pal. (ü$_1$u), that is, *oo* com-

menced with a deep *uo*[3] gliding on to *oo*, which I generally write *uow* (which see); it is the first step in the transition from *oo* to *ou*.

*ó*o, the same as *oo*[2].

OU, pal. (a'u), an unanalysed diphthong, beginning with *aa*, *ao*, *u'*, or *u*[3] and ending with *uo*, but the first element is often difficult to determine; see *ow*, *uw*.

OW, pal. (ɔ'u), used for *aow*, pal. (ɔu), which see.

P, pal. (p), ordinary labial mute in paw *pau*·.

R, a general symbol, with many varieties; the essence of the *r* is a periodical rattle or beat causing an intermittence in the loudness of the voice or flatus similar to a beat of intermittence in music, by allowing the tip of the tongue in various positions, or the uvula or the lips, to flap without muscular effort, by the mere rush of the breath through the mouth. Though the variations are very considerable, they have been mainly overlooked, and usually the general form only is used, often in two or three senses, but by means of the superior figures these can be distinguished and discussed.

r[1], pal. (r), the true trill of the tip of the tongue, which is always supposed to be heard before a vowel in English, as ray row rue *ra*[1]*i*· *r*[1]*oa*· *r*[1]*oo*·, but is produced with different force in Scotch and Italian. It is only in w. Midland, Scotland and Wales that it appears to be heard after a vowel, as *her*[1] *haar*[1]*t* her heart, pp. 35, 45, 49.

r' is also used for *r*[1].

r[2], pal. (ɹ), permissive trill, where *r* is usually vocalised to *ŭ*, or left untrilled as *r*[7], but may at pleasure be followed by *r*[1], especially in public speaking, as *deer*[2] either *dee*·*ŭ* or *dee*·*ŭr*[1]. But this, though frequently heard, is not permissible when no *r* is written, as *dhi eidee*·*r*[2] *ŭv it*.

r[3], pal. (ɹr), the *r* after a long vowel, when another vowel follows, as *Me*·*r*[3]*i*=*Me*·*ŭr*[1]*i*, Mary, the first *r* being simply vocalised. This is not the custom in Scotch or Italian, where *Mair*[1]*i* would be said.

r[4], pal. (ˌr), the tip of the tongue which is trilled is advanced nearly against the roots of the gums, which is necessary in the combinations *t*'*r*, *d*'*r*=*t*[1]*r*[4], *d*[1]*r*[4], pal. (ˌtˌr, ˌdˌr), on account of *t* and *d* being produced in that position.

r[5], pal. (*r*), the uvular *r* common in North Germany and North France, and much used in Nb., where also *r*[6] occurs, p. 125.

r[05], pal. (r_o), the effect of stiffening uvula so that it does not flap with the passing breath, p. 125; this is comparable to *r*[7], in which, however, it is the tip of the tongue that is stiffened.

r[6], pal. (*rw*), that is, *r*[5] complicated by partial closure of the lips, frequent in Nb.; thus southerners are apt to hear Rothbury *R*[6]*oth-bor*[6]*i* as *Wau*·*thbau*·*y*.

r[7], pal. (r_o), the point stop, the tip of the tongue being so stiffened that it does not flap in the passing breath; in this case the breath is checked less than for *d*, of which *r*[7] is an imperfect form. It is said to be much used in London, where the speaker dislikes vocalising his r, pp. 49, 58, 70.

r[8], pal. (ʁ), reverted *r*, the tongue being bent round so that the tip points to the throat, the large

hollow thus formed behind the tongue gives a peculiar hollow effect. It may be trilled, and is perhaps always so before a vowel, but natives consider that it is not. It seems to blend with the preceding vowel. See pp. 7, 24, 35, 38, 39, 50, 70, 79.

r^9, pal. (r,), the tongue is as much retracted as possible, without being actually reverted, so that there is a large hollow at the back of the tongue, and the effect produced is nearly that of r^8, pp. 28, 34.

r^{10}, pal. (r), the 'Midland r.' Whether the analysis given on p. 70 is correct, I cannot say with confidence, as Mr. Hallam, my principal M. authority, does not accept it. He considers this r^{10} to be the 'ordinary r, but only before a vowel,' that is, r^1. Not before a vowel, he makes r also $=r^1$ in n.Db., n. and m. St., Ch. and La., except in a few words. In e.Db., Nt., and Le. r not before a vowel is, he says, partly omitted or vocalised to *ŭ*, and partly becomes r^1 or r^7.

r^{11}, pal. (ɯ), stiff-lip-trill; the lips being held firm, there is a slight trill of the inner edges, which is more felt by the speaker than heard by a non-native listener, who is apt to hear a simple *w*, for which reason w^2 may be used as a symbol, but the speaker always feels that he is saying *r* and not *w*, for which there is no such tightness nor quivering. Usually this defective utterance, which occurs only before a vowel or between vowels, is written *w*, as 'vewi waini' for *ver*^{11}*i* r^{11}*aini* or *vew*^{2}*i* w^2*ai·ni* very rainy. See p. 128.

r^{12}, pal. (r^c), a variety of 'untrilled r' which I accept on the authority of Mr. Goodchild, but which I could not distinguish from r^7 in his pronunciation. He considers that "r^{12} is produced by driving the voiced breath over the curved tip of the tongue, which is turned up to the front palate in a spoon-shaped form, and remains rigid instead of vibrating," it is therefore a retracted form of *dh* (EP. p. 543). Mr. Goodchild hears r^7, r^{10}, r^{12} as a series, so that to him r^7, r^{12} are not only not identical but have an intermediate form r^{10}. I have however usually written the general symbol *r*, as it would be hopeless without long native experience to make or even to recognise these fine and difficult distinctions.

RH, pal. (rh), a voiceless *r* in any of the 12 forms above symbolised; but as it is not generally recognised, it is unnecessary to enter into particulars; (r^{s}h) or voiceless reverted *r* is heard initially in D 4.

S, pal. (s), the common voiceless hiss in cease *see·s*. There are many varieties of no dialectal importance, depending on the position of the tongue.

SH, pal. (sh), the common 'sh in she wish.' Two varieties need only be mentioned:

sh^1, pal. (shj), with the tongue convex to the palate; it forms the second element in the consonantal diphthong ch^1, and is probably the high German initial 's' before 'p' and 't,' as in stehen spielen sh^1*tai·ŭn* sh^1*pee·lŭn*.

sh^2, pal. (sh), the ordinary 'sh' with the tongue concave to the palate, and the lips, especially in German, often projected, as *she wish*.

These varieties are both usually written with the general symbol *sh*.

T, general symbol, having the varieties:

t[1], pal. (ṭ), 'dental t,' see *d*[1], and *t'r*, frequently written as *t'* to avoid superior figures.

t[2], pal. (t), the usual English *t*, see *d*[2].

t[3], pal. (t̩), 'retracted t,' see *d*[3].

t[4], pal. (ᴛ), 'reverted t,' see *d*[4], occurring in connection with *r*[8].

T', pal. (t'), 'suspended t,' the tongue assuming the position for *t*[1] and remaining unmoved for a sensible time, which influences the glide on to the following consonant or vowel; thus *t' tin* the tin, different from *tin*, *t' dog* the dog, different from *dog*. It is often run on to the preceding consonant where possible, as *in)t' oo·s* in the house, *in)t' kaart* in the cart, used for the definite article in D 30 and 31.

TH, pal. (th), the common voiceless 'th in thin,' see *dh*.

T'R, pal. (ṭr), contracted form of *t*[1]*r*[1] common in D 21, 22, and 23, and ne. 25, and in N. div.

U, a general symbol, having several varieties, which, however, need not be anxiously distinguished:

u[1], pal. (ə), the fine 'London u in nut' *nu*[1]*t*, p. 58.

u[2], pal. (ɜ), a much deeper form prevalent in the provinces, and occ. written *uu*. In this treatise the general symbol *u* is usually written for either. Before *r*[7], *r*[8] it fuses with the consonant, as *ur*[7] err in London *u*[2]*r*[8] her in D 4.

u[3], pal. (ʊ), as in parental *pu*[2]*ren·tu*[3]*l* or more conveniently *pŭren·tŭl*, or even *pu'ren·tu'l*; very common in unstressed syllables, in which frequently *u* alone is written, as *puren·tul*, the absence of stress preventing all ambiguity.

u[4], pal. (ɔ̈), the 'o in her, u in cur,' if these can be distinguished from *u*[1], *u*[2], but remarkable in the Dv. form of *ou*, or *u*[4]*ŭĕ*[3], see p. 40.

u[5], pal. (ɐ), a peculiar modification of *u*[2] in D 4, which is heard with *au* sounding through it, so that dialect writers constantly write *au*, p. 24, and this is always written *u*[5].

u[6], pal. (ə[1]), a peculiar lighter form of *u*[1] inclining towards *i*; heard in D 10, p. 38, replacing *i* and always written *u*[6].

u[7], pal. (œ), a much deeper sound than *u*[2], but of the same character, the back of the tongue being much lowered.

ŭ = *u*[3], being the form usually employed. It is especially used for fractures and diphthongs.

u' = *u*[3], a form of *u*[3], used when the type *ŭ* fails.

ù, a form formerly used for *uo*[2].

UE, a general symbol, of which the following are varieties:

ue[1], pal. (y), the true 'Fr. u, Germ. ü,' which seems not to be heard in English.

ue[2], pal. (y_1), a deeper variety of *ue*, heard in D 10, 11 and 19, and generally in the L. div. where, however, it is confused with *eo*[1], p. 38.

ue[3], pal. (y_1^5), that is, *ue*[2] with very projecting lips, as in the Dv. diphthong *u*[4]*ŭĕ*[3] more conveniently written *uw*[3], p. 40.

ue[4], pal. ($ỉy_1$), a diphthong heard in D 19, p. 60; it consists in beginning *ue*[2] with the lips too open, and is generally misheard by southerners as *eu*.

UO, a general symbol, with the following varieties:

uo[1], pal. (ʉ), the 'u in pull' in the S. div. It does not occur in the L. div. At the end of a diphthong of the *ou* class it is written *w* as *aaw* = *aaŭĕ*.

uo[2], pal. (ʉ₀), or *uo*[1] pronounced with the lips in the position for *oa* and a slightly lower tongue. It is very like *oa*[2], and both are transitional sounds between the early *uo* and the modern *u*[2]. This *uo*[2] is prevalent in the M div. where a southerner hears it as *uo*[1]. The line of demarcation between *uo*[1], *uo*[2] in D 24 is very difficult to draw, but in D 24, 30, 31 *uo*[1] prevails; it is also difficult at times to distinguish between *uo*[2] and *u*[2]. See pp. 33, 50, 55, 61, 67.

uo[3], pal. (ʉ₁), is a much deeper form of *uo*[1], almost *oa*[1] at times, occurring in D 20, 31. See p. 75.

ŭö, used in some provincial diphthongs to indicate equality of stress in the two elements, thus *ŭöa*[3] = pal. (ŭá[1]), see ī.

UOŭ, pal. (ŭʉ), practically the English 'oor in poor' omitting all trill from the r, as *puoŭ*, but in L. div. where it occurs, the *uo* is practically *uo*[2] and approaches *oa*[2] in effect, the *ŭ* being very short, p. 138.

UOW, the more general form for *oo*[3], pal. (ŭ₁u). See the similar *iy*.

UU, the form used in place of *u*[2] when it is convenient to avoid superior figures, as in *uuw* = *u*[2]*w*, *uuy* = *u*[2]*y*.

Uŭĕ, properly *u*[4]*ŭĕ*[3], see *u*[4].

UW, general symbol, with the following varieties:

uw[1], pal. (ə'u), but used also for other similar diphthongs beginning with other varieties of *u*, as *u*[2]*w* (generally written *uuw*; see *uu* above), *u*[3]*w*, *u*[4]*w*, which need not be anxiously distinguished.

uw[2], pal. (ɔ'y₁[5]), the peculiar Dv. sound of *ou*, see *u*[4].

uw[3], pal. (ə'uu) or (ʉ'uu), not here distinguished, really diphthongs of which the first element is *u*[1] or *u*[3] bearing the stress, and the second is *oo* lengthened, but without stress, sometimes written *ŭoo*; but dialect speakers identify it with *oo*. See p. 123, lines 1 and 2, for examples.

UY, a general form, having the varieties:

uy[1], pal. (ə'i), a common southern form of *ei* differing from *aay*.

uy[2], pal. (ʉ'i), also written *uuy*, a very frequent broad southern form of the diphthong which is commonly confused with *oi*.

uy[3], pal. (ʊ'i), not very clearly distinct from the last = *u*[3]*y*.

V, general symbol, the voiced form of *f*, with the following varieties:

v[1], pal. (v), 'v in view,' voiced form of *f*[1], which see. It is not used in German. On the e. of England from Ke. to Nf. it is replaced by *w*.

v[2], pal. (bh), voiced form of *f*[2], which see; the German *w*.

W, general symbol, with the following varieties:

w[1], pal. (w), common 'English w in we,' the back of the tongue being raised as for *oo*, and the breath when escaping inflating the upper lip, which is not the case for *v*[2]. Either *w*[1] or *v*[2] may directly arise from *oo*, and in Sanskrit even *v*[1] so arises. At present *w*[1] seems confined to English, and it must be distinguished from a prefixed

short *oo*, thus Fr. oui *ooĕĕ*, English we *wee*, German wie r^2ee, Fr. vie r^1ee, and Wood wooed a woman *Wuod wooʻd ŭ wuomŭn*.

w^2, a stiff tongued trill. See r^{11}.

WH, pal. (wh), the voiceless form of *w*, from which it differs as *s* from *z*, and is not at all *hw* or *hŏŏ*, thus when *when*, not *hwen*, and not *hŏŏen*. In educated London speech *wh* is mostly confused with *w*. In Aberdeen it becomes f^1 or f^3, p. 153.

Y, pal. (*j*), common 'y in yet,' to be distinguished from prefixed *ee* as ye yield *yee· yeeʻld*, and from the German *gyh*.

YH, pal. (*j*h), the flated form of *y*, heard properly in hue human *yhoo yhooʻmŭn*, not *yoo yooʻmŭn* or *hĕĕoo hĕĕooʻmŭn*.

Z, pal. (z), the common voiced form of *s* in zeal buzz *zeeʻl buzʻ*.

ZH, general symbol, voiced form of *sh*, which see, with the varieties:

zh^1, pal. (zhj), voiced convex sh^1, second element in $j = d^2zh^1$.

zh^2, pal. (zh), voiced concave sh^2, used in vision $vizh^2$·*ŭn*.

INTRODUCTION.

Nature of the Investigation.

In these pages I propose to give a comparatively popular account of the results obtained on the pronunciation and localisation of English dialects, in the fifth part of my *Early English Pronunciation*, specially entitled *Existing Phonology of English Dialects*. Those who wish more exact accounts are referred to that work, in which I have endeavoured to be as precise as the nature of the case admitted. To indicate the sounds I there used my phonetic alphabet called Palaeotype, or 'ancient types,' which admits of the utmost accuracy, but requires of course a considerable amount of study. In this account I use my other phonetic alphabet called Glossic, already familiar to the English Dialect Society by the works of Mr. C. Clough Robinson for Mid Yorkshire, Mr. Darlington for Cheshire, Mr. Elworthy for West Somersetshire, and Mrs. Parker for Oxfordshire, and extensively employed by Miss Jackson for Shropshire.

I shall not however use Glossic with all the accuracy of which it admits, because I am well aware that few people would take the pains to understand very fine distinctions, and my object is to give a general conception of the nature and localities of the different ways of speaking English among our peasantry, such as most people that can read and write would without much difficulty understand. The values of the Glossic symbols here used are given in a short introductory table, with which I must suppose the reader to be acquainted. The localities are laid down in the two preceding maps of England and Scotland, with the descriptions which follow. Each locality or District is numbered on the map, and will always be referred to by its number, preceded by a capital D, followed frequently by its abbreviated systematic name as given in the key to the map. Thus D 4=w.MS means, district 4, also called western Mid Southern. The district number will enable any one to refer at once from the map to the account of the district here given, without being obliged to look through a mass of other matter. The systematic name shews the

geographical position of the district. The name of the district is also used as the name of the special speech-form which is there prevalent.

The word Dialect has been much discussed, till it has become difficult to say what is a dialect as distinguished from a language on the one hand, or a variety on the other. The term is here used quite popularly for a form of speech among the uneducated confined to a certain district, and distinct from the received speech which we are taught in schools. The relation of received to dialectal speech need not be separately considered. We know that received speech, in all parts of the world, and not in England only, grew out of the speech of those districts which obtained political power, that it was cultivated by writers and taught in schools, till it became quite distinct even from its original source, and has altered continually both in construction and pronunciation, not to mention vocabulary, with the advance of knowledge and the whim of fashion. With this we have nothing to do. Readers that wish to know something of it are referred to the first four Parts of my *Early English Pronunciation.* The speech we here wish to know is the inherited speech of the uneducated, handed down from mother to child without any reference to books—a genuine organic formation. This is even now difficult to discover, and is rapidly disappearing under the influence of railways (which allow of constant shifting of the population), of domestic service (which brings the children of dialect speakers, especially their daughters, who subsequently as mothers become the principal teachers of speech, into close connection with the educated classes, whose speech they naturally strive to imitate), and, worst of all for this investigation, though best for the people themselves, of widely diffused primary education (which introduces as much as possible the system of received speech, and fights with dialect as its natural enemy). It is with great difficulty during many years search, aided by over eight hundred informants, from over eleven hundred places, both fully specified in my larger work,[1] that I have obtained

[1] For brevity and distinctness I here as a general rule omit the names of my informants, but I wish to mention my very great obligations to the following, without whose kind assistance I could not have produced anything like a satisfactory account of English dialectal pronunciation: Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, for general dialects and w. of England; Mr. T. Hallam, for the Midland Division and adjacent parts; Mr. J. G. Goodchild, for Cu. We. and nw.Yo.; Mr. C. Clough Robinson, for Yo. generally; Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, Principal, four Teachers, and twenty-eight Students at Whitelands Training College, Chelsea, for very various counties; Dr. J. A. H. Murray, for Scotland; and, in addition, the following, among numerous others, for the districts named: D 4 Rev. A. Law, Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour,

sufficient knowledge to draw up the account here given. I only profess to assign the pronunciation prevalent during the last twenty years. Occasionally a happy chance has enabled me to look further back. The generation of those pronunciations I have been of course unable to trace, but by referring them all back to their Wessex or West-Saxon form, in which our principal documents of Old English, or so-called Anglo-Saxon, are written, I have been enabled to gain a common standard of comparison, by which all can be judged by themselves and by one another.

The reader should bear strictly in mind the limitations of the title. All speech consists of significant sounds, forming clauses or sentences, whence words are obtained by analysis. These words forming the *vocabulary* are then put together in certain ways called *constructions*, whence grammar and grammatical usage. Now the English Dialect Society has had a great deal to do with vocabulary, as shewn by their original and reprinted glossaries, and a little, unfortunately far too little, to do with grammar. In the present short treatise I have almost nothing to do with peculiar words, and very little indeed to do with peculiarities of construction. My sole interest has been in sounds and places. Taking a number of words in received speech, which have different forms in different localities, and which as a rule have some definite form in each locality, I endeavour to discover what those forms are, and then to classify the kinds of speech by these forms. Thus taking the words 'some house' I find, very roughly speaking, that they are called *sum hous* in the South, *suom hous* in the middle, *suom hoos* in the North of England, and *sum hoos* in the Scottish Lowlands. This at once gives four very important localities, which will be more exactly treated presently. Other words I examine are like 'name, road,' which are occasionally heard as almost *neim*, *roud*, rhyming to 'lime, loud,' but also very frequently with what are here termed 'fractured' vowels, as *naiüm neeüm*, *roaüd rooüd*.

Of constructions I venture upon giving very few indeed, and those principally because they accompany certain pronunciations. These I generally distinguish as 'usages.' Such constructions are 'I am, I be,

Mr. and Miss Trotter; D 5 Mr. Percival Leigh; D 7 Mrs. A. Parker; D 9 Mr. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen, Mr. R. Stead, Miss Darby; D 10 Mr. Elworthy; D 11 Mr. J. Shelly; D 17 Mr. S. Macburney; D 18 Mr. T. E. Cattell; D 19 Rev. Ph. Hoste, Mr. Grant, Rev. C. W. Jones; D 20 Lord Tennyson, Mrs. Douglas-Arden, Mr. Blasson, Mr. E. Peacock; D 25 Mr. T. Darlington; D 30 Mr. Stead, Rev. J. Jackson Wray; D 31 Rev. T. Ellwood; D 32 Mr. Ridley, Rev. G. Rome Hall; D 39 Rev. W. Gregor, Mr. Innes; D 41 Mr. W. Traill Dennison; D 42 Mr. A. Laurenson, Miss A. B. Malcolmson.

I is, I are, we am, they knows I, he do, they does, they do'n *doon*, I do walk, I have a-walked, he walketh.' But I do not dwell upon them as principals, merely as important accessories which serve to point out the district when other information fails.

There is one point of pronunciation which I have been obliged to neglect entirely—intonation. This is only heard in connected sentences spoken by unwatched natives, and even then requires great familiarity to appreciate properly. But even when appreciated there remains the great difficulty of symbolising it intelligibly—a difficulty I have been unable to surmount. Let any one attempt to indicate his own intonation and he will soon discover what I mean. We can go little beyond a vague statement of raising and lowering the pitch of the voice, which moreover does not present precise musical sounds at definite pitches, but a gliding imperfect approximation to musical sounds. When mere unconnected lists of words were sent or recorded, there was no possibility of obtaining even as much as this. Hence I have not attempted to give any account of this peculiarity, which, however, is very characteristic, and strikes a stranger strongly when he first hears it.

It must be understood, then, that this short essay says nothing upon the origin, history, vocabulary, or grammar of the English spoken in different parts of the country, but indicates simply as nearly as I could ascertain the prevalent non-received pronunciation of certain districts into which the English-speaking portion of England, Wales, and Scotland, has been mapped out. The determination of the boundaries of these districts with any approach to exactness has of course been extremely difficult and laborious, but in this essay I must take the results for granted, referring for more particulars to my larger work (Part V. of my *Early English Pronunciation*), and leaving the actual boundaries to the maps themselves. Very seldom indeed can they be accepted as exact, and generally the bounding lines may represent a width of five or ten miles. This is not surprising. The wonder rather is that I have been able to come so near the truth. Received pronunciation is never considered. Even the town as distinct from the rural pronunciation is rarely alluded to. The forces which cause dialects to disappear are necessarily more active and potent in town than in country districts.

The Area of English in Great Britain.

English was not the language originally spoken, and is not even yet universally spoken in the United Kingdom. The whole country was Celtic till about A.D. 449, when the North Germanic nations, usually called Saxons, invaded it. After the battle of Deorham, near Bath, Sm., A.D. 577, when the east of England had been conquered, there was more settlement than conquest. Draw a line roughly from the Firth of Forth by Edinburgh to the w. of Nb. and Du., through Yo., nearly on the line separating D 30 and D 31, and then along the division of D 22 and 24. Continuing by w. side of Db. and e. side of St., skirt the forest of Arden in Wa., and pass through Wo. to the Severn, near Gloucester. Cross the Bristol Channel, going e. of the forest of Selwood, on the borders of Wl. and Sm., and then through Wl. and Do. to the sea. East of this line the language was Saxon, complicated subsequently by Danish on the e. coast, and west of it, the language was Celtic.

The Modern Celtic Border is marked by a broad line lettered CB on the map. The disposition of the Saxon tribes, and the various changes, may be sought for in Rev. J. R. Green's 'Popular History of England,' and 'Conquest of England.' Here we are concerned only with the present boundary of Celt and non-Celt or English, for our population is now too mixed to be called Saxon. The Irish part of the Celtic border in Wx. belongs indeed to extinct times, and has no longer a material existence. The Welsh part of the Celtic border cuts off the extreme sw. of Pm., and the peninsula of Gowerland in Gm., which are old English colonies, where no Welsh has been spoken for centuries. It then runs with a little divergence to the w. through Mo. Br. Rd. Mg. Sh. Dn. and Fl. to the sea at Connah's Quay. To the n. and w. of this line Welsh is the general language spoken, although most (not all) of the inhabitants can understand and even speak English, which is taught in all the schools. To the east all is English, and remains so proceeding n. till we reach the Scotch part of the Celtic Border which passes through Bt. Ar. Dm. Sg. Pr. Ab. Ba. El. Na. Cr., where it reaches the sea, but again appears in Cs. To the w. of this line Gaelic is the language of the people. To the e. and ne. up to Orkney and Shetland, English is the regular speech.

For the other islands, Sheppy belongs to Ke., the Isle of Wight belongs to Ha., the Scilly Isles to w. Co., and all speak English only; the Isle of Man is also now almost, if not quite, entirely English. The

Islands off the w. of Scotland are Gaelic. The Channel Isles, as Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Sark, are Norman French.

The English of Ireland is quite recent, and like that of the American Continent, Canada and the Colonies, is an imported speech, with peculiarities, not forming a separate dialect. These will therefore be disregarded.

Attention, then, will be confined to those districts limited by the Celtic Border as already described. For an accurate and detailed account of these and all other boundaries and matters here spoken of, the reader is once for all referred to my larger treatise. Here the maps are considered generally sufficient to point out the 'Homes' of the English Dialects.

The Ten Transverse Lines.

The area thus laid down is traversed on the map by 10 lines which point out the boundaries of great varieties of speech, but do not always delimit districts. They are shewn on the map by broken lines — — —, when not forming parts of other boundaries, when they do so the broken parts of the line are drawn transversely so as to cut the other boundary. These Lines are numbered on the map where they reach the sea, and often in inland places, by numbers in parenthesis. It will much facilitate the comprehension of the rather complicated arrangement of English dialects, if these Lines are carefully traced and studied.

1. The North *Sum* Line, that is, the northern limit of the pronunciation of 'some' as *sum* in England till, proceeding northwards, we reach Line 8. Between Lines 1 and 8 the word is called *suom* or *suo²m*. Beginning at the n. it follows the Welsh border to Sh., which it traverses to the Severn. Next it pursues this river to Bewdley Wo. (14 nnw. Worcester) where it cuts across Wo. and Wa., nearly in an e. and se. direction, till entering Np. it passes ne. through it and Hu. and by the borders of Rt. and Cb. to the Wash.

2. The Southern *Suom* Line. Although the above Line limits the n. pronunciation of 'some' as *sum*, it does not always limit its southern pron. as *suom* or *suo²m*. This Line bulging out in parts to the s. of Line 1, limits *suom* or *suo²m* to the south so far as it has been at present observed. Lines 1 and 2 coincide as far as Bewdley Wo. The Line 2 follows the Malvern Hills for some way, then crosses Gl. Wl. Ox., just touches Bu. Bd., and runs nearly along the border of Np., till it rejoins Line 1 in Hu. for a little while, but

soon again goes s. through Cb. and Nf., where it bends nw. and falls into the sea near Hunstanton, on n. coast of Nf. Hence there is a considerable area inclosed between Lines 1 and 2 in which both *sum* and *suom* or *suo²m* are both heard, and also an intermediate form like *som*. This may be called the mixed *som* region. We shall find a similar mixed region but with a different intermediate vowel between Lines 8 and 9.

3. The Reverted *ur*[8] Line, or n. limit of the pron. of 'r' as r^8. Sporadically this r^8 through defects of utterance may be heard everywhere, but it ceases to be the regular pronunciation of 'r' beyond this Line. The Line proceeds along the Irish and Welsh parts of the Celtic border, but in England proper begins at the mouth of the Wye in the Bristol Channel at the e. border of D 13, along which it proceeds till it joins Line 1, and then passes along Line 1 to Np., when it diverges to the se. and then probably runs just e. of the border of Ox. to the Thames at Henley, the course of which it follows to the sea. The great difficulty of obtaining information renders the exact position of this line along Ox. slightly doubtful. The line bounds the whole Southern Group of English dialects, and r^8 becomes the parent of r^2, r^3, r^7.

4. The Southern *teeth* Line, or southern limit of the use of a 'suspended' *t*, or else a voiceless *th*, for the definite article 'the.' The *t* generally occurs by assimilation, except in D 24, where it is the rule; *dhu*, *dhi* are also found within this region. The line begins at the s. of the estuary of the Dee in Ch. passing just within the s. border of Ch., cuts across St. n. of Stone, and then across Db. s. of Derby. On leaving Db., it suddenly wheels n. along the e. border of Nt. and w. border of Li., continuing to the Humber, which it pursues to the sea.

5. The Northern *dheeth* Line, or the northern limit (till we reach Line 7) of the pronunciation of the definite article as *dhi*, *dhee*, *dhu* or *th*. Between Lines 5 and 7 the simple 'suspended' *t* alone is used, except in Holderness on se. Yo., where the definite article is altogether omitted. This line begins at sea to the n. of the Isle of Man, and proceeding by sea to Cockerham (6 s. Lancaster), runs e. with a slight s. cusp, till it reaches the Hodder, forming the e. border of La., and pursues this river till it joins the Ribble, which it follows into Yo. as far as Sawley (17 wnw. Keighley), and then probably proceeds direct to Burley (8 n. Bradford) till it joins Line 6, which it follows to the n. border of Li., along which it runs to the sea, that is, it then becomes the same as line 4, but lies on the south side of the Humber. Line 5 forms the n. border of the M. and s. border of the N. dialects.

6. The Southern *hoos* Line, or the Southern limit of the pronunciation of 'house' as *hoos*. From this line northwards throughout England and Scotland *hoos* alone is heard. But for a small portion of the area, in n.Nb. and in D 33, 'how' is not *hoo*, as usual within this region, but *huw*. Although this is a very important Line, yet this distinction does not limit dialects either at its e. or w. extremity, because *hoos* is simply a survival. To the immediate s. of this line 'house' sounds very variously, as will be seen. Line 6 begins at sea to n. of Isle of Man, then crosses to the mouth of the Esk by Ravenglass, Cu. (17 sse.Whitehaven), traverses Cu , and goes to the head of Windermere, which it descends to Newby Bridge (7 ne.Ulverston). It then sweeps round in a way not precisely mapped out, north of Cartmel, and through s.We., to the e. border of La., and enters Yo. just s. of Sedberg (8 e.Kendal, which says *hoos*), and n. of Dent (13 ese.Kendal, and 4 sse.Sedberg), which says *haaws*. This is a very close and sharp division. The Line then runs to the w. border of the West Riding of Yo., which it probably pursues to Burley (7 n. Keighley), and then crossing (to the nw. of Leeds, which has *aa·s*, a remnant of *aaws*), it passes to w. of Snaith (6 s.Selby, having *hoos*), and then goes nearly s., passing n. of Doncaster (using *haaws*), reaches the b. of Li. at the s. of the Isle of Axholme. The line then sweeps through the n. of Li. in rather a ne. direction to the sea, 6 nw. Great Grimsby in Li.

7. The Northern *tee* Line, or Northern limit of the use of simple *t* for the definite article 'the.' To the n. of this line *dhee*, *dhi*, *dhu* are again used, and remain throughout Scotland, except in Cs., where the definite article is reduced to simple *ee*, *i*, and in Orkney and Shetland becomes *dee*, *di*. Line 7 commences in the w. on the Solway Frith, and passes to the e. with two s. cusps, through Cu. into Du., where it keeps on the n. side of Weardale, and then dips a little to the se. till it suddenly turns ne., running close to the coast and falling into the sea about 3 sse. of Sunderland.

8. The Southern *sum* Line, or southern limit of the pronunciation of 'some' as *sum* proceeding from Scotland, just as Line 2 was the southern limit of *suom* or *suo²m* proceeding from the Midland Counties, and Line 1 the northern limit of *sum* proceeding from the South coast. Between Lines 1 and 8 only *suom* or *suo²m* is heard, and between Lines 1 and 2, and also Lines 8 and 9, both *sum* and *suom* or *suo²m* are heard, but *sum* alone is heard s. of Line 2 and n. of Line 9. Line 8 begins on the Solway Frith, about the mouth of the Esk, and proceeds to the ne. to the w. border of Nb. It then turns suddenly s. till it meets Line 7, with which it coincides up to the sea.

9. The Northern *Suom* Line, or the northern limit of any variety of *suom* mixed with *sum*, proceeding from the Midland counties. Between Lines 8 and 9, both *sum* and *suom* are heard with an intermediate form which sounded to me like *soem* (resembling *suo²m*), gradually falling into *sum*, and the latter finally prevails. This may therefore be called the mixed *soem* region. Line 9 agrees with Line 8, to the point where the latter *suddenly* turns s., whereas Line 9 sweeps along the s. declivity of the Cheviots in Nb. to the Cheviot Hill itself, and then proceeds to the ene. just s. of Wooler to fall into the sea by Bamborough.

10. The Lowland Border, distinguishing the Lowland Scotch from the Northern English dialects, and nearly but not quite agreeing with the political boundary between Scotland and England. Line 10 agrees with Line 9 from the w. to the Cheviot Hill, and then proceeds along the w. border of Nb. to the Tweed till it reaches the liberties of Berwick-upon-Tweed (which are in Bw., although the town itself belongs to neither England nor Scotland), and it skirts those liberties to the sea.

These 10 Transverse Lines give the principal divisions of English speech as now existing, though fast disappearing, and lead to the following

Six Divisions

according to which the present account will be arranged.

I. or S div.=the Southern Division, contains D 1 to 12, of which D 1 is in Ireland, and D 2 and 3 in Wales, and the rest lies south of Line 3.

II. or W. div.=the Western Division, containing D 13 and 14, lies between the Welsh part of the CB. and the western parts of Lines 1 and 3.

III. or E div.=the Eastern Division, containing D 15 to 19, lies between the eastern parts of Lines 1 and 3 and the sea.

IV. or M div.=the Midland Division, containing D 20 to 29, lies between Lines 1 and 5 right across England from sea to sea.

V. or N div.=the Northern Division, containing D 30 to 32, lies between Lines 5 and 10, also from sea to sea.

VI. or L div.=the Lowland Division, contains D 33 to 42, and lies in the Scottish Lowlands to the e. of the CB, including Orkney and Shetland.

For the further arrangement of these districts see the key to the map. The phonetic characters of each division, group, and district will be concisely given, and the last generally more or less exemplified in the following pages.

Standard for the Phonetic Comparison of English Dialects.

In order to compare all these 42 varieties of speech, it was necessary to have a standard to which they could be referred. Most dialect writers have selected the present received spelling, very indirectly recalling to the reader the present received pronunciation. This spelling is comparatively recent; and this pronunciation is not only still more recent, but is the modern development of the E. dialects which have very little in common with the other modes of speech. It seemed therefore advisable to go back to the language of the Saxon invaders, selecting the period of Alfred (d. A.D. 900) and his highly cultivated Wessex or West-Saxon speech (by abbreviation Ws.). This had its principal seat in D 4 and 5, but it also greatly affected the W. and E. div. The M. div. was very varied, and ancient records of these dialects fail. The N. div. was also specifically different, but its records are sparse in comparison with the Ws., and indeed it is the latter only which is generally understood by Anglo-Saxon. But many words in ordinary use which it is necessary to consider are not Ws. but Old Norse (by abbreviation N.), which is represented in writing, but not exactly in pronunciation, by modern Icelandic. There are also many words from miscellaneous or unknown sources, which may be classed as English, and must be referred to their present spelling. Then there are the numerous words that we owe to the Norman conquest. Here again the ancient form is too uncertain to use for the present purpose, and hence the modern French form is generally employed. The pronunciation of French is assumed to be known. The presumed pronunciation of Ws. is as follows, and for the present purpose it is sufficient to consider Old Norse to have been similarly pronounced, though there were most probably very marked differences. The Ws. letters are in capitals, the glossic in italic.

Probable Wessex Pronunciation.

A′ *ah·*, A *ah*, AW *aaw*, Æ′ *a·*, Æ *a*, ÆG *agyh·* falling into *ay* (which must be distinguished from *ai*).

B *b*.

C *k* in all cases, except CG *gg*, CW *kw*.

D *d*, possibly reverted as d^4. Ð *dh*, but often used for *th*.

E′ *e·*, or *e·*[3], E *e*, EA *e′ah*, EA′ *e′ah··*, EG *ey*, EI N *ey*, EO *e′oa*, EO′ *e′oa··*, in *e′ah*, *e′oa* the *e* is quite short, but has the stress; the *aa*, *oa* have no stress, but are short or long according to the accent mark.

F *v*, most probably in all native words, even when final.

G *g*, but possibly *gy*, falling into *y*, before *e*, *i*; also very commonly *gh*, *gyh*, of which the latter became *y*.

H *h*, *-h*, when final possibly *kh*, *kyh*, and in the combinations HL, HN, HR, HW it may anciently have been a prefixed guttural *kh*, but in Ws. literary times probably indicated the voiceless *lh*, *nh*, *rh*, *wh*.

I′ *ee·*, distinguished from *ei*. I *i*.

L *l*, or possibly reverted as l^4, HL *lh* or l^4h.

M *m*.

N *n*, but possibly reverted as n^4, HN *nh* or n^4h.

NG *ng*, *nyg*.

O′ *oa·*, or between that and *au·*, the open Italian 'o' = $o·^2$ or *ao·*.

O *o*, or between short *oa* and *au*, that is o^2 or *ao*.

P *p*.

R *r*, or most probably r^8, the reverted form, HR the voiceless form of *r* or r^8 as *rh* or r^8h.

S *z* when initial certainly, unless a voiceless consonant ended the preceding word, and very probably *s* when final, unless a vowel or voiced consonant began the following word.

T *t*, possibly reverted as t^4. Þ *th*, often also *dh*.

U′ *oo·*, neither *yoo* nor *ou*, U *uo*, not *u*; these pronunciations prevailed all over England till the xv th century, the *uo* still prevails in the M. div. (mostly in the transition form uo^2), and in many words as 'pull, push,' everywhere, the *oo·* is found n. of Line 6, almost universally; the very various treatment of U′ as forms of *ou* in the parts s. of Line 6 will be shewn hereafter, but are all comparatively recent.

W *w*, probably the same as the modern *w*. HW probably *wh*. WL probably a labialised *l*, that is, *l* and *w* pronounced at the same time, and it may be written *wl* or *lw*. WR probably a labialised *r*, and it might be written *wr* or *rw*, as still existing it is *wr* or *rr*.

Y′ *ue·*, the long French *u*, or something very like it, approximating to *eo*, but after the Norman times confused with I′ *ee·*. Y *ue*, was also subsequently confused with *i*.

Classified Word List referred to as cwl.

The original Word List in *Early English Pronunciation* contains 971 words, of which a large selection is here given to shew the nature of each set of words, and each has its number in the original list prefixed. There are three lists, I. Wessex and Norse, II. English, and III. Romance. The principal word is always in Roman type, and when it is Ws. it is followed by a comma, when Norse by two commas, when modern French by (..), when old French by (...), when Latin by (—), in each case followed by the meaning, also in Roman type, and by a period (.). When the word does not come from any of these sources, or is of unknown origin, it is followed by (.) simply.

The arrangement is by the Ws. Norse, or French vowel in the accented syllable, and then by the following consonants in strictly alphabetical order, reckoning each of the letters þ, ð, as the two *t* and *h*.

I. Wessex and Norse.

Each set of words is headed by the Wessex form of the vowel, with its sound in glossic, followed by the words selected, each preceded by its number in the full classified word list. By A- is meant A followed by no consonant, or else by a single consonant, that is immediately followed by another vowel. By A: is meant A followed by one or more consonants at the end of a word, or by two or more consonants in the middle of a word. These differences have sometimes an effect on the subsequent pronunciation.

A- *aa-* 1 swa, so (thus). 3 bacan, to bake. 4 tacan, to take. 5 macian, to make. 8 hafa, have thou. 17 lagu, the law. 20 lama, lame. 21 nama, name. 23 same, same, adv. 24 scamu, shame. 29 aron, (we you they) are. 30 caru, a care. 34 latost, last.

A: *aa*: 38 also, as. 39 cwam, (he) came. 42 and, and. 43 hand, hand. 49 hangan, to hang. 51 mann, a man. 54 wanta,, to want. 56 wascan, to wash.

A: *aa*: or O: *o*: 58 fram from, from. 60 lang long, long. 61 on gemang gemong, among. 64 wrang wrong, wrong.

A′- *aa·-* 67 ic gá, I go. 72 hwá, who interrogative only. 73 swá, so=like as. 74 twá, two. 76 tádo, a toad. 77 hláford, a lord. 79 ágen, (his) own. 81 láne lone, a lane. 82 ánes, once. 84 mára, more (in quantity). 86 áte, oats. 87 cláðas, clothes. 89 báðir,, both. 92 cnáwan, to know. 94 cráwan, to crow.

A′: *aa·*: 101 ác, an oak. 102 ácsian, to ask. 103 ácsóde, (he) asked. 104 rád, a road. 110 náht nát, not. 111 áhte, he ought. 113 hál, whole. 115 hám, a home. 117 án, one and a. 119 gán, to go. 120 ágán, ago=to pass by. 121 gegán, gone. 122 nán, none, no (adj.). 124 stán, a stone. 125 ánlice, only. 128 þás, those. 133 wrát, (I) wrote. 136 áwðer, either or (see also Æ′: 213). 137 náwðer, neither nor (see also Æ′: 213).

Æ- *a-* 138 fæder, father. 140 hægel, the hail. 141 nægel, a nail. 142 snægel, a snail. 143 tægel, a tail. 144 ongægen, again. 147 brægen, brain. 148 fæger, fair adj. 149 blæse, a blaze. 150 læsest, least. 152 wæter, water. 153 sæterdæg, Saturday.

Æ: *a*: 154 bæc, back. 155 þæc, the thatch. 158 æfter, after. 159 hæfð, (he) has. 161 dæg, a day. 162 tó dæg, to day. 164 mæg, he may. 165 sægde,

(he) said. 166 mægden, a maid. 169 hwænne, when. 172 gærs, grass. 173 wæs, (he) was. 176 æt, at. 177 þæt, that. 179 hwæt, what.

Æ' *a·* 182 sæ', the sea. 183 tæ'can, to teach. 190 cæ'ge, a key. 193 clæ'ne, clean. 194 æ'nig, any. 195 mæ'nig, many. 200 hwæ'te, wheat. 202 hæ'ta, heat.

Æ': *a·*: 203 spræ'c, speech. 205 þræ'd, thread. 207 mæ'dl, needle. 208 æ'fre, ever. 209 næ'fre, never. 211 græg, grey. 212 hwæ'g, whey. 213 æ'gðer, either (see also A': 136). 214 næ'gðer, neither (see also A': 137). 215 tæ'hte, (he) taught. 218 scæ'p, sheep. 220 scæ'phirðe, a shepherd. 223 þæ'r, there. 224 hwæ'r hwar, where. 226 mæ'st, most. 227 wæ't, wet.

E- *e-* 231 þe, the. 232 brecan, to break. 233 sprecan, to speak. 236 fefer, a fever. 238 hege, a hedge. 239 segel, a sail. 241 regen, rain. 243 plegian, to play. 244 wela, well (argumentative). 246 cwene cwén, queen queen. 248 mere, a mare. 250 swerian, to swear. 251 mete, meat. 252 cetel, a kettle.

E: *e*: 256 streccan, to stretch. 257 ecg, an edge. 259 wecg, a wedge. 261 secgan, to say. 262 weg, a way. 263 on weg, away. 264 eglan, to ail. 265 streht, straight. 266 wel, well (in a good manner). 269 self, self. 271 tellen, to tell. 273 men, men. 274 benc, a bench. 276 þencan, to think. 279 wended, (he) went. 281 lengð, length. 286 herwe, a harrow.

E'- *e·-* 290 hé, he. 292 mé, me. 293 wé, we. 294 fédan, to feed. 296 geléfan, to believe. 297 félagi,, a fellow. 299 gréne, green. 300 cépan, to keep. 301 gehéran, to hear. 302 gemétan, to meet. 304 bétel, a beetle (mallet).

E': *e·*: 305 héh heáh, high. 306 héhðe, height. 311 tén, ten. 312 hér, here. 313 hérenian, to hearken. 314 gehérde, (he) heard. 315 fét, feet. 316 néxt, next.

EA- *éaa-* (both vowels short) 318 hleahen, (has) laughed. 320 cearian, to care.

EA: *éaa*: (both vowels short) 321 geseah, (he) saw. 322 hleahhan, to laugh. 323 feaht, (has) fought. 324 eahta, eight. 326 eald, old. 328 ceald, cold. 330 healdan, to hold. 332 tealde, (he) told. 334 healf, half. 335 eall, all. 338 ceallian, to call. 339 eam, I am. 340 geard geord, a court yard. 341 mearh, marrow. 342 earm, an arm. 343 wearm, warm. 344 bearn, bairn. 346 geat, a gate (doorway).

EA'- *éaa··-* (*e* short with stress, *aa··* long without stress) 347 heáfod, the head. 348 eáge, the eye. 349 feáwa, few.

EA': *éaa··*: (*e* short with stress, *aa-* long without stress) 350 deád, dead. 351 leád, lead metal. 352 reád, red. 353 bréad, bread. 355 deáf, deaf. 357 þeáh, though. 359 neáhgebúr, neighbour. 360 teám, a team. 364 ceápman, a chap. 366 greát, great. 371 streáw streaw streu streá, straw.

EI- *ey-* (ȝ) 372 ei,, aye. 373 þei,, they.

EI: *ey*: (ȝ) 378 veikr,, weak. 380 þeim,, them. 382 þeirra,, their.

EO- *éoa-* (both vowels short, stress on *é*) 383 seofan, seven. 384 heofon, heaven. 386 eowe, a ewe. 387 neowe niwe, new.

EO: *éoa*: (both vowels short, stress on *é*) 388 meole, milk. 390 sceolde, should. 391 eom, (I) am. 392 geond, yon. 394 geonder, yonder. 396 weorc, work, sb., see Y: 694 for the vb. 399 beorht, bright. 402 leornian, to learn. 406 eorðe, the earth. 408 eneow, (he) knew.

EO'- *éoa··-* (first vowel short with stress, second long without stress) 410 heó, hoo (La. for she). 411 þreó (fem. and neut., þrî mas.), three. 412 seó, she. 419 eówer, your. 420 feówer, four. 421 feówertig, forty.

EO': *éoa··*: (first vowel short with stress, second long without stress) 422 seóc, sick, ill. 423 þeóh, thigh. 424 hreóh, rough. 425 leóht, light. 426 feóhtan,

to fight. 427 beón, to be. 428 seón, to see. 430 freónd, a friend. 432 feórðа, fourth. 433 breóst, breast. 435 eów, you. 436 treów, true. 437 treówð, truth.

EY- *ey-* (ɛ) 438 deyja,, to die.

EY: *ey*: (ɛ) 439 treysta,, to trust.

I- *i-* 440 wicu wice wuce, a week. 446 nigon, nine. 446* hine, him (acc. him is the dat. used in modern Eng. also for accu.). 447 hire, her. 448 þise, these. 449 gitan, to get, obtain.

I: *i*: 452 ic, I. 453 cwic, quick. 455 licgan, to lie down. 456 gif, if. 458 niht, the night. 459 riht, right. 460 wiht, a weight. 463 til,, till. 464 hwilc, which. 465 swilc, such. 466 cild, a child. 469 willan, to will. 470 him, him (properly dative, see I-). 470* in, in. 473 blind, blind. 475 wind, the wind. 476 bindan, to bind. 477 findan, to find. 478 grindan, to grind. 480 þing, a thing. 481 finger, a finger. 482 is, (it) is. 483 his, his. 484 þis, this. 485 þistel, a thistle. 488 git, yet. 489 hit, it.

I'- *ee·-* (not *ei*). 490 bí, by = near. 492 síde, a side. 494 tíma, time. 495 hwínan, to whine. 498 wrítan, to write. 499 bítel bétele betel, a beetle (insect).

I': *ee·*: (not *ei*) 500 gelíc, like. 501 wíd, wide. 502 fíf, five. 503 líf, life. 506 wífman, a woman. 507 wífmen, women. 509 hwíl, while. 510 mín, mine my. 511 wín, wine. 515 wís, wise.

O- *o-* 518 bodig, a body. 519 ofer, over. 522 open, open. 524 woruld, the world.

O: *o*: 525 of, of and off. 527 bohte, (he) bought. 528 þohte, (he) thought. 529 brohte, (he) brought. 530 wrohte, (he) wrought. 531 dohtor, a daughter. 532 col, a coal. 533 dol dwol dwal, dull. 535 folc, folk. 538 wolde, would. 541 wol nát, won't. 543 on, on. 544 þonne, than then. 546 for, for. 550 word, word. 551 storm, a storm. 552 corn, corn. 553 horn, horn. 554 kross,, a cross.

O'-, *oa-* (or *ao·-*) 555 scó, a shoe. 556, 557 tó, to and too. 558 lócian, to look. 560 scóla, a school. 561 blóma, a bloom = flower. 562 móna, the moon. 564 sóna, soon. 565 nósu, the nose. 567 þæt óþer, t'other.

O': *oa·*: (or *ao·*:) 569 bóc, a book. 570 tóc, (he) took. 571 gód, good. 572 blód, the blood. 573 flód, a flood. 578 plóg,, a plough. 579 genóg, enough. 581 sóhte, (he) sought. 586 dón, to do. 587 gedón, done. 588 nón, noon. 589 spón, a spoon. 592 swór, (he) swore. 594 bót, boot. 595 fót, foot. 597 sót, soot.

U- *uo-* 599 úbútan, above. 600 lufu, love. 601 fugol, a fowl. 602 sugu, a sow pig. 603 cuman, to come. 604 sumor, the summer. 605 sunu, a son. 606 duru, the door.

U: *uo*: 609 full, full. 610 wull, wool. 611 bulluca, a bullock. 612 sum, some. 613 druncen, has drunk. 614 hund, a hound. 615 pund, a pound weight. 616 grund, the ground. 617 gesund, sound in health. 618 wund, a wound. 619 funden, was found. 623 fundon, they found. 625 tunge, the tongue. 627 sunnandæg, Sunday. 629 sunne, the sun. 631 þunnresdæg, Thursday. 632 upp, up. 633 cuppa, cup. 634 þurh, through. 639 dust, dust.

U'- *oo·-* 640 cú, a cow. 641 hú, how. 642 þú, thou. 643 nú, now. 645 onbúfan, above. 648 úre, our. 650 úbútan, about. 651 wiðútan, without. 653 búton, but.

U': *oo·*: 655 fúl, foul dirty. 656 rúm, room. 657 brún, brown. 658 dún, down. 659 tún, town. 662 ús, us. 663 hús, house. 664 lús, a louse. 665 mús, a mouse. 666 húsbónda, husband. 667 út, out. 671 múð, mouth.

Y- *ue-* 673 mycel, much. 674 dyde, (he) did. 675 drygan, to dry. 679 cyrice, a church. 680 bysig, busy. 681 bysigu, business. 682 lytel, little.

Y: *ue*: 684 bryeg, a bridge. 685 hryeg, a ridge. 690 geeynd, a kind. 692 gyngest, the youngest. 692 gyngest, youngest. 693 synn, a sin. 694 wyrean wyrcean, to work (the subs. is 396 weore). 699 wyrhta, a wright. 700 wyrsa, worse. 701 fyrsta, first. 702 wyð, with.

Y'- *ue'*- 705 scy',, the sky. 706 hwy', why.

Y': *ue'*: 709 fy'r, a fire. 711 ly's, lice. 712 my's, mice.

II. English.

Of disputed, uncertain, or neither Saxon nor Romance origin.

A. 722 drain. 726 to talk. 732 happen. 736 a lass. 737 a mate. 738 to prate. 739 a mauther (=girl, East Anglian).

E. 744 measles. 746 to breathe. 749 left. 752 fret (a peevish fit).

I. *and* Y. 756 a shrimp. 758 a girl. 760 shrivelled.

O. 761 a load. 765 John. 767 a noise. 770 Thomas. 776 goodbye. 781 a bother. 791 a boy.

U. 797 squeaking. 798 queer. 799, 800 scull (of head, or of boat). 801, 802 rum (liquor or queer). 804 drunken (adj. accustomed to get drunk). 808 to put.

III. Romance.

Following a word (..) means modern, (...) old French, (—) Latin.

A·· 811 place.. a place. 813 bacon.. bacon. 815 facta— facts. 822 mai.. May. 824 chaiere... a (professor's) chair. 833 paire.. a pair. 834 chaise.. a chaise. 835 raison.. reason. 836 saison.. season. 839 balle.. a bale. 840 chambre.. a chamber. 841 chance.. a chance. 845 ancien.. ancient. 847 danger.. danger. 848 changer.. to change. 849 étranger.. a stranger. 850 danse.. a dance. 851 tante.. an aunt. 852 napperon.. an apron. 857 cas.. a case which happens. 862 sauf.. safe. 864 à cause.. because. 866 pauvre.. poor.

E·· 867 thé.. tea. 885 verai... very. 888 certain.. certain. 890 bête.. beast. 891 fête.. feast. 893 fleur.. a flower. 894 décevoir.. deceive. 895 recevoir.. receive.

I·· *and* Y·· 900 prier.. to pray. 901 fin.. fine. 910 gîte.. a joist.

O·· 916 ognon.. onion. 920 point.. point. 925 voix.. voice. 926 spolier.. to spoil. 928 once.. an ounce weight. 929 concombre.. cucumber. 935 contrée.. country. 936 fonts.. (baptismal) font. 938 cornière.. a corner. 939 close.. close. (adj. and adv.). 940 cotte.. coat. 941 fou.. fool. 947 bouillir.. to boil. 950 souper.. supper. 955 doute.. a doubt.

U·· 963 quietus— quiet. 965 huile.. oil. 968 huître.. oyster. 969 sûr.. sure. 970 juste.. just.

Further to facilitate comparison not only a Wordlist, something like the above, but also a "Comparative Specimen" and "Dialect Test" were written in ordinary English, and translations into the various dialect forms were obtained. From these and from words noted from native speakers, were obtained the materials for the drawing of the 10 Transverse Lines already explained, and for the separation of the dialects into the preceding divisions, and districts. As at least extracts from these will be frequently quoted, they are both given at length, with the division into paragraphs adopted for convenience of reference. The number underneath each word shews its position in the above list, and hence gives every information about the word.

COMPARATIVE SPECIMEN referred to as cs.

In my larger work this is usually given at length. Here for brevity much is usually omitted, but the paragraphs are numbered as here for ease of reference. The numbers below each word refer to the cwl. where the original forms are given.

0. Why John has no doubts.
706 765 159 122 955

1. Well, neighbour, you and he may both laugh at this news
244 359 435 42 290 164 89 322 176 484 387

of mine. Who cares? That is neither here nor there.
525 510 72 320 177 482 214 312 137 223.

2. Few men die because they are laughed at, we know, don't
349 273 438 864 373 29 318 176 293 92 586 110

we? What should make them? It is not very likely, is it?
293 179 390 5 380 489 482 110 885 500 482 489

3. Howsoever these are the facts of the case, so just hold your
641 1 208 448 29 231 815 525 231 857 73 970 330 419

noise, friend, and be quiet till I have done. Hearken.
767 430 42 427 963 463 452 8 587 313

4. I am certain I heard them say—some of those folks who
452 391 888 452 314 380 261 612 525 128 535 72

went through the whole thing from the first themselves—
279 634 231 113 480 58 231 701 380 269

that did I, safe enough,
177 674 452 862 579

5. that the youngest son himself, a great boy of nine, knew his
177 231 692 605 470 269 117 366 791 525 446 408 483

father's voice at once, though it was so queer and squeaking,
138 925 176 82 357 489 173 73 798 42 797

and I would trust him to speak the truth any day, aye
42 452 538 439 470 556 233 231 437 194 161 372

I would.
452 538

6. And the old woman herself will tell any of you that laugh
42 231 326 506 447 269 469 271 194 525 435 177 322

now, and tell you straight off, too, without much bother, if
643 42 271 435 265 525 557 651 673 781 456

you will only ask her, oh! won't she?
435 469 125 102 447 541 412

7. Leastways she told it me when I asked her, two or three
150 262 412 332 489 292 169 452 103 447 74 136 411

times over, did she, and she ought not to be wrong on
494 519 674 412 42 412 111 110 556 427 64 543

such a point as this, what do you think?
465 117 920 38 484 179 586 435 276

8. Well, as I was saying, she would tell you, how, where and
244 38 452 173 261 412 538 271 435 641 224 42

when she found the drunken beast that she calls her husband.
169 412 623 231 804 890 177 412 338 447 666

9. She swore she saw him with her own eyes, lying stretched
412 592 412 321 470 702 447 79 348 455 256

at full length on the ground, in his good Sunday coat,
176 609 281 543 231 616 470* 483 571 627 940

close by the door of the house, down at the corner of
939 490 231 606 525 231 663 658 176 231 938 525

yon lane.
392 81

10. He was whining away, says she, for all the world like
290 173 495 263 261 412 546 335 231 524 500

a sick child, or a little girl in a fret.
117 422 466 136 117 682 758 470* 117 752

11. And that happened, as she and her daughter-in-law came
42 177 732 38 412 42 447 531 470* 17 39

through the back yard from hanging out the wet clothes
634 231 154 340 58 49 667 231 227 87

to dry on a washing day,
556 675 543 117 56 161

12. while the kettle was boiling for tea, one fine bright summer
509 231 252 173 947 546 867 117 901 399 604

afternoon, only a week ago come next Thursday.
158 588 125 117 440 120 603 316 631

13. And, do you know? I never learned any more than this of
42 586 435 92 452 209 402 194 84 544 484 525

that business up to to-day, as sure as my name is John
177 681 632 556 162 38 969 38 510 21 482 765

Shepherd, and I don't want to either, there now!
220 42 452 586 110 54 556 213 223 643

14. And so I am going home to sup. Good night, and don't
42 1,73 452 391 67 115 556 950 571 458 42 581 110

be so quick to crow over a body again, when he talks of
427 73 453 556 94 519 117 518 144 169 290 726 525

this, that, or t'other.
484 177 136 567

15. It is a weak fool that prates without reason. And that is
489 482 117 378 941 177 738 651 835 42 177 482

my last word. Goodbye.
510 34 550 776

THE DIALECT TEST, referred to as dt.

1. So I say, mates, you see now, that I am right about that
73 452 261 341 737 435 428 643 177 452 391 459 650 177

little girl coming from the school yonder.
682 758 603 58 231 560 394

2. She is going down the road there through the red gate on
412 482 119 658 231 104 223 634 231 352 346 543

the left hand side of the way.
231 749 43 492 525 231 262

3. Sure enough the child has gone straight up to the door of
969 579 231 466 159 121 265 632 556 231 606 525

the wrong house,
231 64 663

4. where she will chance to find that drunken, deaf, shrivelled
224 412 469 841 556 477 177 804 355 760

fellow of the name of Thomas.
297 525 231 21 525 770

5. We all know him very well.
293 335 92 470 885 266

6. Won't the old chap soon teach her not to do it again,
541 231 326 364 564 183 447 110 556 586 489 144

poor thing!
866 480

7. Look! Isn't it true?
558 482 110 489 436

I.

THE SOUTHERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS.

D 1, 2, and 3 form the Celtic Southern group, and consist of the outlying forms in Wx. Ireland, and Pm. and Gm. Wales, being English on Celtic ground. They present remnants of a very old form of S. English said to be mixed with Flemish, but in the XIIth century, when the settlements took place, the differences between English and Flemish must have been so slight that they may be disregarded. At the present day nothing remains which is more like existent Flemish than existent S. English. As being the most ancient English, which, planted in a foreign soil, has preserved its Ws. form on the whole, like most emigrants, the Irish form has been put first, but it will not be well understood until the most developed S. form in D 4 has been treated.

D 1 = w.CS. = western Celtic Southern.

The baronies of Forth to the e. and Bargy to the w. form the se. corner of Ireland, bounded to the w. by a line from the head of Bannow Bay to Wexford, forming a peninsula easily defended, and cut off from the rest of Ireland. All we know of the old forms of speech is contained in Sir J. A. Picton's paper on them in 1866, and in the "Glossary of Forth and Bargy," collected by Mr. J. Poole, with all the specimens known, and edited by Rev. W. Barnes in 1867. Of the specimens there given, the oldest (except a few isolated words) are those written down by Dr. Vallancey in Dec. 1788, when the dialect was grievously mixed with Celtic, and was fast disappearing. It has now entirely vanished, the people speaking like those in the rest of the county. A very careful examination of the above glossary leads me to the following pronunciation of some of the words adduced. I give first the written form used by Barnes from Poole and Vallancey, in Roman letters, and if it occurs in the ewl. on p. 12, preceded by its number there. If it does not, then the groups which are the same as in that ewl. sufficiently shew the original form. This practice will be

repeated in all similar cases hereafter. Afterwards follows the conjectured pronunciation in glossic (and therefore in Italics), without going into the reasons for the same, and finally the meaning.

I. Wessex and Norse (EP. p. 30).

The reference (EP. p. —) in a parenthesis here and elsewhere, is to my "Existing Phonology of English Dialects."

*** Note *t, d, n, l, r* were probably always reverted t^4, d^4, l^4, n^4, r^3.

A- taake *taa·k taiŭk* take. Similarly for '5 maake, 6 maate, caake, taale, 21 naame, gaame gaume' = make, made, cake, tale, name, game. glade *glaad·* glade.

A: 43 hoan *hoan* hand. loan *loan* land.

A: *or* O: 58 vram *vraam·* from. amang *ŭmaang·* among.

A'- 73 zoo *zoa* so. 82 oanes *oaŭ·nes* once. 86 oates *oaŭts oa·ts* oats. drowe draugh *droa draau* throw.

A': 115 hime hyme *heim* home. bane *baa·n* bone. 124 sthoan *st.hoa·n* stone [the inserted aspirate being Celtic].

Æ- 138 vather *vaa·dhur* father. 141 niel *neiŭl* nail. 143 tyel *teiŭl* tail. 144 agyne *ŭgei·n* again. 147 bryne *brein* brain. 152 waudher *waa·d.hur* water (with Celtic post-aspirate *.h*).

Æ: 155 detch *dech* thatch. glaud *glaa·d* glad. 161 die dey daily *dei deili* day daily. 179 faude *faadt·* what.

Æ'- leache *laich* leach or physician. laave lea *laiŭv lai* leave. 194 aany *aan·i* any. 200 whet *whe·t* wheat.

Æ': 211 gray grey *grei* grey. meale *mai·l* a meal. earch *airch* ever-each. 218 zheep *zheep* sheep. 223 aar, thaare *aar, dhaar* there. 224 far *faar* where.

E- 238 hey hye *hei* hedge. 241 rhyne *rhein* rain. 242 twine twy *twein twei* twain. 251 maate *maiŭt* meat. vether *redh·ur* feather.

E: laaye *lei* lay. 262 wyo wyse *wei weiz* way ways. 263 awye *ŭwei·* away. zeen *zee·n* send. een *ee·n* end.

E'- 296 beleave *bŭlai·v* believe. 301 heereen heireen *hee·reen hei·reen* hearing [*hei·reen* is even now an old form in Wl.].

E': 305 heegh *hee* high.

EA: 324 ayght *eit* eight. ayghteen *ei·teen* eighteen. 326 yole yola *yoa·l yoa·lŭ* [or *oa·l*] old. 328 cole khoal *koal k.hoal* cold. 346 yeat *yai·t* (*yeeŭt*?) gate.

EA'- 348 een *ee·n* eyes.

EA': 350 deed *dee·d* dead. 351 leed *lee·d* lead (metal). 352 reed *ree·d* red. 353 breed *bree·d* bread. 359 nypores *nei·poares* neighbours. reem rhyme *ree·m rheim* cream.

EI- 373 thye *dhei* they. naay *nei* nay.

EI: haail *heil* hail! 380 aam *aim* them.

EO: 388 mulke *mulk* milk. hearth *heert.h* heart. 406 eart eard *ai·rt ai·rd* earth.

EO'- 411 dhree *d.hree* three. 412 shoo *shoo* she.

EO': 436 drue *droo* true.

EY- 438 dee *dee* die.

EY: 439 thrist *t.hrist* trust.

I- vreedie *vree·dei* friday.

I: 452 ich *ich* I [and in composition, cha cham chas chood chote chull *chaa*

chaam chaas chuod choa·t chuol I have, I am, I was, I would, I wot, I will]. 455 lee *lee* lie down. 458 neeght nieght *nee·t neit* night. 460 waaight *weit* weight. 475 weend *wee·nd* the wind. zhip *zhip* ship. dhurth *d.hurt.h* dirt.

I'- 492 zeide *zee·d* [supposing 'ei' to be a misprint for 'ee,' to agree with the following words] side. 493 dhreeve *d.hreev* drive. 494 deem *dee·m* time. peepeare *pee·pair* piper. eeren *ee·run* iron.

I': 502 veeve *vee·v* five. hye *hei* hay. leen *lee·n* line.

O: 531 doughtere *dou·tair* daughter. 552 coorn *koo·rn* corn. 553 hoorn *hoo·rn* horn.

O'- 555 shoon *shoo·n* shoes. 564 zoon *zoo·n* soon. 565 nize niz *neiz niz* nose. anoor *ŭnoo·r* another.

O': 571 gooude *gooŭd* good. 572 blooed *blooŭd* blood. 579 eenew *ineu·* enough. 597 zoot *zoo·t* soot.

U- 603 coome *koo·m* come. 605 zin *zin* a son. 606 dher *d.hur* the door.

U': 612 zim *zim* some. 629 zin *zin* the sun.

U'- 640 keow *kyou* cow [? *kyoo*, taking 'ou' as *oo*, and so on in other words]. 648 oor *oo·r* our. 650 about abut *ŭbyou·t ŭbuot.*

U': 658 deown *dyoun* down [? *dyoo·n*]. 663 heouse *hyous* house [? *hyoos*]. 667 outh udh *out.h ud.h* out.

Y- heeve *hee·v* hive. ree *ree* rye.

Y: 684 burge *burj* bridge. 690 keene *kee·n* a kind. 701 vurst *vurst* first.

Y'- keen *kee·n* kine. 705 skee *skee* sky. theene tine *t.hee·n tein* tine.

Y': breede *bree·d* bride.

II. English.

A. kaayle *keil* kail.

E. lear *lair* empty. skeine skyne *skein* skein.

O. poul *poul* the poll (head).

III. Romance.

A·· face fauce *faa·s* [*faa·ŭs* ?]. laace *laa·s* [*laa·ŭs* ?] 813 bawcoon *baakoo·n* bacon. gaaye *gei* gay. gryne *grein* grain. 835 rauison *reizoo·n* reason.

E·· 885 veree *veree* very. feyer *feiŭr* a fair. 890 besthès *bai·st.hes* beasts.

I·· *and* Y·· poe *pee* a [mag-]pie. 900 pry *prei* pray. gimlie *jim·lei* chimney.

O·· faaighe fythe *fei feith* faith. geint *jeint* a joint. 925 vice *veis* the voyce. 947 bile *beil* boil. 956 kiver *kiv·ur* cover.

U·· kie *kei* a quay. waaite *weit* wait.

Here the *v*, *z* initial for *f*, *s* and the *ei* for *ai* as in *teil* tail, are strongly S. The *ee* for long I', as *vee·v* five, is much more ancient than the present English S. It sometimes becomes *ei*. In the same way U' sometimes remains as *oo·d.h* out, but more often becomes *you* or *yoo*. The post-aspirations are of course Celtic.

This is the only dialect in which I have had to trust to a printed authority, having found it impossible to get information from private sources.

D 2 = m.CS. = mid Celtic Southern.

This district is also a peninsula, or rather two peninsulas, at the sw. of Pm. The character is decidedly S. *dr* for *thr* in three, through, throw, threaten, *v* for *f* in fair farm fast feed fiddle four fox flail from furrow, and *z* for *s* in say self seven sick six soon son Sunday; but *f* often remains (though not regularly as some of the words are not French) in face fail fall *r*. false far fat fault friend, and *s* remains still less regularly in sad sand saw so such sweet swallow swine. Then for AEG we have *ei* or *aay* in *sneil teil maayd* snail tail maid. The following Dialect Test (p. 18) was dictated by a native, and has variants from a resident (EP. p. 32).

(1) *zoa ey zaay, buyz* [*boiz*], *yu zee new* [*nyou*] *az ey)m reyt ŭbew·t* [*ŭbow·t*] *dhat lidl maayd kuomin* [*guomin*] *vrom dhu skoo·l* [*skoo·ld*] *ewt dhair.* (2) *shee·)z ŭ gwaayn dewn* [*dyoun*] *dhu roaŭd* [*rhooŭd*] *dhair dhroo* [*dryou*] *dhu rid gaa·t* [*gaiŭt*] *pon dhu lift hand* [*han*] *zeyd u dhu waay.* (3) *shoor enew·* [*ŭnow·*] *dhŭ cheyl* [*cheyld*] *huv ŭgon· straayt uop* [*up*] *tŭ dhŭ door ŭ dhŭ roq hews* [*hous*], (4) *wair* [*waar*] *shee)ŭl leykli feyn dhat druongkŭn* [*druqkin*] *dif* [*deef*] *skruoqk* [*srivlt*] *felŭ bey* [*bi*] *dhŭ naiŭm ŭ Tomas.* (5) *wi aw·l* [*oaŭl*] *naw·z een veri wel.* (6) *woa·nt* [*wuont*] *dhu aaŭl* [*aw·l*] *chap soo·n laarn ur not tŭ doo·)t ŭgen·, pooŭr dhing!* (7) *loo·k* [*luok*], *baint it tryoo?*

There is here substantial agreement, except in the treatment of U, which is *uo* from one and *u* from the other. From other inquiries it would seem that both sounds are heard, and that *uo*, the older form, still remains constantly in a few words as: full, cup, dust, up, Sunday. The analysis of *ou* differs, one giving *you* another *ew*. Probably it varies. The *r* is reverted = r^s, according to one good authority.

D 3 = e.CS. = eastern Celtic Southern.

The peninsula of Gowerland in Gm. is also a very old English colony, consisting of 17 English parishes. The information received is very scant. Reverted r^s is inferred from *drou* through, occasional *z* initial for *s*, and *ŭn* unaccented for 'him,' are distinctly S, but the dialect seems to have been much worn out. The following are a few words obtained (EP. p. 35).

I. A'- 67 *ŭgwain* going. 73 *zoa* so. AE: 166 *maayd* maid. E: 261 *zaay* [or ?*zai*] say. EA: 326 *au·ld* old. EA': 355 *dee·f* deaf. EO': 427 *baint* be not = is not. 428 *zee* see. I- 446* *ŭn* him [for 'hine' acc.]. I'- 492 *zeyd* side. U- 606 *du·r* door [asserted to to be *doe·r*]. U: 634 *drou* through. Y- 682 *lidl* little.—III. A: *graasheo·z* gracious. E: *presheo·z* precious.

D 4 & 5 = MS. = Mid Southern.

Contains Wl., Do, n. and e.Sm., a small corner of Dv., Gl., a small part of se.He., most of Be., Ha., Wi. and w.Ss. General character most fully developed in D 4, reverted r^6 strong, *z*, *v* initial for *s*, *f* in Ws. words as opposed to Romance words, ÆG, EG = *aay*, while I', U' are *uy uw*, with a very broad u^2 or u^4; use of 'I be' for 'I am,' the periphrastic form 'I do love,' the *ŭ* prefixed to past participle and the use of the old acc. form 'hine' as *ŭn*, for 'him,' etc. In juxtaposition to reverted r^8, and probably originally in all cases, reverted t^4 d^4 n^4 l^4, ch^2 j^2. None of these reversions will be marked, but must be borne in mind. These characters fade out towards the e., and alter in many respects towards the w.

D 4 = w.MS. = western Mid Southern.

Contains all Wl. and Do., most of Sm. and Gl., se.He., extreme se.Dv., small parts of w.Be., w.Ha. and w.Ox.; and is the most typical region of S. speech. There are of course varieties over this large region, but they are comparatively slight. The main characters are those just given for the group of D 4 and 5.

A- is regularly represented by *eeŭ* reduced to *ee* in the n. and in towns especially, and becomes *aiŭ* in the s., and especially in rural districts, as in 'name,' called *neeŭm neem*, and *naiŭm naim*.

A: varies from a^1 to a^2 a^3, that is, in the direction of *aa*, which it does not quite reach, and will be simply written as *a*.

A' is normally *ooŭ oaŭ*, as *tooŭd toaŭd* toad, but varies.

ÆG, EG are normally *aay* (not *uy*), as *taay·l* tail, which falls locally into *a·y aey ae·*, and sometimes *ai*, but only in certain words.

I' is *uy*, sometimes broadened to u^2y, u^3y, u^4y, but never becomes *aay*.

O is generally *o* (or *ao*), but it often becomes *a* or *aa*.

O' is properly *oo*, but occasionally u^2, and rarely u^5.

U is regularly u^2, and occasionally u^5, but in Gl. and as far south at least as Purton in n.Wl., the M. *uo* form is either frequently or occasionally heard.

U' is regularly *uw* or rather u^2w u^3w, but not *aaw*.

R is regularly and strongly reverted $= r^8$.

I have collected slightly different examples for (1) the Wl. typical form in Christian Malford, Chippenham, Tilshead, (2) the Gl. form in the Vale and town of Gloucester, Tetbury, and the Forest of Dean, (3) the e.Hc. form in Ledbury, Much Cowarn and Eggleton, the Do. form in Hanford and Cranbourne, both near Blandford, and Winterborne Came, (5) the 'Land of Utch' from Montacute Sm., remarkable as the sole place where *uch* is preserved for I., (6) the Axe-Yarty district on the borders of Sm. Do. and Dv. and containing the land of Utch (which forms an island) and representing Sm. generally. These are of great interest to those who wish to investigate varieties, but the differences are so slight that it will be sufficient here to give the first and a very brief specimen of the fifth forms.

THE COMPARATIVE SPECIMEN FOR CHRISTIAN MALFORD (EP. p. 44).

This was so altered by my kind and very competent informant to make it better agree with the habits of speech of the district, and the forms of the words are so strange, that it seems best to annex the translation. For convenience *r* is used for r^3, and *e u*, for e^2 u^2, but u^3 is retained. Exceptionally the whole specimen is given, because of its typical character. It was written and revised by myself from my informant's dictation.

0. *wuy Jon aŭrz nor)ŭ duwt. z)dhii want d)naau wuy Jon bee zi zaart'n buwt dhuk)ŭr dheng, wuy dhen uy)l tel)ee.*

0. Why John has ne'er a doubt. do'st)thee want to)know why John be so certain about that)ere thing, why then I'll tell)ye.

1. *wel, wot bi laf·in [le²·fin] ŭt ·uy rur, dhŭ gurt ziliz? aa! ŭ)mŭd) laŭf booŭdh on)ee, if)ee)muyn)tuo, ŭt wat uy dŭ)tel·)ee. ·uy duo)ŭnt keer! t)ee)ŭnt no odz tŭ ·uy, nŭr naa·bŭdi iŭls ŭz)ŭ)naawz on.*

1. well, what be (ye) laughing at I for, the great sillies? ah! ye)mote (=may) laugh both of)ye, if)ye)mind)to, at what I do)tell)ye. I do)n't care! it)is)not no odds to I, nor nobody else as)I)know on (of).

2. *t)woo)ŭnt kil ŭ chap bin [kai·z] ŭ)dŭ)laŭf at)ŭn, uy) dŭ)lot)ŭn! t)eeŭ)nt luyklĕĕ.*

2. it)will)not kill)a chap being [because] ye)do)laugh at)him, I do allot) it! it)is)'nt likely.

3. *wat uy bi gwoing tŭ)tel)ee, ŭwee·ur, bii troo·)ŭz evŭr uy wur baaŭrnd. dhur [dheeŭr] naw! zŭ juz buyd kwuy·ŭt ŭn let ·uy spaiŭk.*

3. what I be going to)tell)ye, however, be [as] true)as ever I was born. there now! so just bide quiet and let ·I speak!

4. *wel, uy huy·ŭrd)ŭm zaay, ŭwee·ur, ŭn zum)ŭ dhuay vu·ri*

4. wel, I heard)them say, however, and some)of they very folk too, as

vaa·k tuo, ŭz)zeed·)it vrŭm dhŭ vus dheŭrzel·vz, aay)haay! ·dhat)ee did troo nuf.

see'd)it from the first theirselves, I)hi! ·that)I)did true 'nough.

5. *dhut)dhŭ yung·gist zun izel·f, ŭ gurt bwoi ŭ)nuyn, naawd)iz ve²·dhurz vwois ŭz)zoo·nd)ŭz evur ĕĕ)huyŭrd)ŭn, dhaaw (dhuw) t)wur zŭ)kom·ikŭl)luyk. laa bles)ee, t)wŭr)z skwai·kee ŭn ba·ŭlee ŭz)evur) kŭd)bi, bŭt ·ee· naawd)ŭn, ŭn ee·)ŭl spaik dhu troo·th aar)ŭ de·y [daay], uy)l waarn)in! [warnd)ŭn!]*

5. that)the youngest son himself, a great boy of)nine, knowed)his father's voice as)soon)as ever he)heard)it, though it)were so)comical)like. Lord bless)ye, it)were)as squeaky and bawly as)ever)could)be, but ·he knowed)it, and he)'ll speak the truth e'er)a day, I)'ll warrant) him!

6. *ŭn dh)uwl)d)uomŭn ŭzel·f, ŭl)tel en·ee on)ee, ŭz straeyt vor·ŭd ŭz en·ee dheq, uy)l waarnd)ŭr, if)ŭl aks)ŭr.*

6. and the old)woman herself, 'l tel any of)ye, az straightforward as anything, I)'ll warrant)her, if) [you]'ll ask)her.

7. *liŭstwuyz ur teld ·uy wen uy akst)ur too·)ŭr)dree tuymz aa·vŭr, ŭr)diŭ·d, ŭn ·zhee·)d naaw, if ar)ŭn ooŭl, uy dŭ)lot)ŭr! wat dŭ)dhengk on)t, aay?*

7. leastways her telled ·I when I asked)her, two)or)three times over, her) did, and ·she)would know, if e'er)one will, I do)allot [warrant] her! what do)think of)it, eh?

8. *wel, ŭz)uy)wer)ŭ)zaay·in [zay·in] ŭr)d)tel)ee wŭr)ŭr vuen dhik)ŭr dru³ngkŭn beeŭs ŭz)ur dee) ka·ŭl ŭr)uzbŭn.*

8. well, as)I)were)a)saying, her) would tell)ye where)her found that)ere drunken beast as)her do)call her)husband.

9. *dald)if)ŭr did)ŭnt tel uy ŭz ŭr)zee·d)ŭn ŭrzel·f. "·dhur)ee wur," ŭr zed, "led duwn ee)wur, wee)iz bes klaa·z on, ŭz tipsi ŭz evŭr)ŭ) kŭd)bee, ŭ)kuod)ŭnt wag izel·f noa uw. ŭ)wŭr) klaas· up ŭgin dhŭ dooŭr)ŭ)dhŭ uws, ŭt)dhi) kaa·rnŭr ŭ)dhi) liŭn.*

9. dashed)if)her did)'nt tel I az her) see'd)him herself. "there he)were," her said, "laid down he)were, with his best clothes on, as tipsy as ever he)could)be, he)could)'nt wag himself no how. he)were)close up against the door)o')the house, at)the)corner o')the) lane.

10. *"ŭ)wŭr)ŭ)ba·lin ŭn) ŭ) skwa·lin, bles)ee, vŭr)al) dhi wurl luyk)ŭ zik chuyld ŭr)ŭ)kat ŭ) myaaw·ŭtin." ŭn)ŭr)akst too·)ŭr) dree· on)ŭm, ŭr zed, ŭz)wurd)ŭnt vur·ee vur aa·f, "ŭn dhai elpt uy vaat·)ŭn uoŭm," ŭr)zed, "ŭn dhaay*

10. "he)were)a)bawling and)a) squalling, bless)ye, for)all)the world like)a sick child or)a)cat a)mewing." and)her)asked two)or)three of)them, her said, as)were)nt very far off, "and they helped I fetch)him home," she said, "and they brought(him all athwart asquint [diagonally across]

braa·t)ŭn al ŭdhur·t) ŭskwin·t vaa·r-mur Puyks viŭl," ŭr zed, "wur aay dŭ)buyd, ŭn dhur dhŭ) liŭf)ŭn."

farmer Pike's field," her said, "where I do)bide, and there they left)him."

11. *an dhat [dhek] wur d)ne·ŭ? ŭz zhee)ŭn)ŭr) dat·ŭrle·· kumd in droo dhi bak yŭaard, wur)ur bin ŭ)ang·in uwt dhi klaa·z tŭ druy.*

11. and that were, do)know? as she and)her)daughter[in]-law came in through the back yard, where)her [had] been a)hanging out the clothes to dry.

12. *ŭn)ŭr wanted tŭ bwuyl dhi kitl vŭr tai. "it gid uy al)ŭr)ŭ turn," ŭr zed, "ŭn miŭd uy zwet ŭmuoŭs· al aa·vŭr." Bil Juoŭnz, dhur, ŭ)ŭd)ŭ joo·bilus dhaa·t on)in vŭr ŭ teld uy ŭz)ee zeed)ŭn ŭbuw·t vuwŭr ŭklo·k in dh)at·urnuoŭn, ŭn) he)wur maayn vor·ŭdish dhen. ŭ)d waa·kt purti nuy zebŭm muyŭl ŭlong dhi rhaa·d ŭn)ee)wŭr) ŭz duwsti) ŭz evŭr en·ee dheng. uy nev ŭr zee·d noa zich dheng ŭruoŭr. Laa· bles)ee, t)wŭr) ŭ wi·ŭk ŭguoŭ kum neks dhurzdi, ŭn)ŭ) vuyn zu⁵m·ŭr at·ŭr-nooŭn, too, t)wur.*

12. and)her) wanted to boil the kettle for tea. "it gived I all)of)a turn," her said, "and made I sweat almost all over." Bill Jones, there, he)had) a dubious thought of)him, for) he telled I as)he) see'd him about four o'clock in the afternoon, and he were main forwardish then. he)had walked pretty nigh seven mile along the road, and)he) were)as dusty as ever anything. I never see'd no such thing afore. Lord bless)ye, it)were) a week ago come next Thursday, and)a)fine summer afternoon, too, it were.

13. *ŭn), tel)ee waat! uy nevur huyŭrd noa muoŭr)ŭ)dhiŭs)i·ŭr job til tŭde·y, ŭn)ŭ)duo)ŭnt keeŭr wur)ŭ doo· ŭr naa, aa)luk)ĕ!*

13. and, tell)ye what! I never heard no more)of) this)here job till today, and)I)do)n't care whether)I do or no, ah)look)ye!

14. *ŭn)dhur) uy bee gwoin uoŭm tŭ hai)ŭ bit ŭ zu⁵p·pŭr, zŭ guod nuyt, ŭn)doo)n)ee bee zŭ kwik tŭ la·uf)ŭt)ŭ chap ŭgiŭn·, wen)ŭ)dŭ tel)ee)ŭ en·ee dheng.*

14. and there I be going home to have a bit of supper, so good night, and)do)'nt)ye be so quick to laugh)at) a chap again, when)he)do tel)ye) of anything.

15. *ŭn)dhat)s al uy got tŭ)zaay tuo)t. guod buy.*

15. and)that)is all I [have] got to say to it. good-bye.

The Hornet and the Beetle (EP. p. 51).

Original by Akerman, written by an informant from the dictation of an elderly Chippenham lady. The writer considered that the reverted r^3 was merely retracted or r^2, and all the letters *t d n l* were also always retracted as t^3 d^3 n^3 l^3. He also thought that the retracted r^2 was never trilled. These and other little points are disregarded in the present glossic version, but should be borne in mind. Akerman's original dialectal spelling is given in a second column, in which the superiors refer to the following notes.

dhu aa·rnut un dhu bitl.	The hornet and the bittle.[1]
dhu aa·rnut zaat·in)u ol·ŭ tree—	A harnet zet in)a hollar tree—
ŭ propŭr spahytful toaŭd wur ee;	a proper spiteful twoad[2] was he;
un)ŭ meruli zung wahyl ee did zet	and)a merrily zung while he did set
iz steng az shaarp uz)ŭ bagunet:	his stinge[3] as sharp as a bagganet:
"oa, oo zu vahyn ŭn buwld uz ahy	"oh, who so vine and bowld as I!
ahy beŭnt ŭfiŭrd ŭ wops nar vlahy."	I vears not[4] bee, nor wopse nor vly."
ŭ bitl up dhek trii did klim,	a bittle up thuck tree did clim,
un skaa·rnvuli did luok at ee·;	and scarnvully did look at him;
zed ee: "zur aa·rnut, oo· gid dhee,	zays he, "zur harnet, who giv thee
ŭ rahyt tu zet in dhik dhur tree?	a right to zet in thuck there tree?
vaar a·l dhee zengz zu neeshun vahyn	vor ael you zengs zo nation[5] vine,
ahy tel dhe, t)iz ŭ uws ŭ mahyn."	I tel 'e 'tis a house o' mine."
dhu aa·rnuts konshuns veeld u twinj,	the harnet's conscience velt a twinge,
but graa·in buwld wi iz long steng.	but grawing bowld wi his long stinge,[3]
zed ee, "pŭzesh·un)z dhu best laa,	zays he: "possession's the best lااw,[6]
zoa ·yur dhee shat)nt put ŭ kle·;	zo here th' sha'sn't put a clااw;[6]
bi ah·f, un liŭv dhŭ tree tŭ ahy!	be off, and leave the tree to me!
dhŭ muk·sun)z guod ŭnuf· vur dhu!"	the mixen's[7] good enough for thee!"
jis then ŭ yuw·kl pa·sin bahy	just then a yuckel[8] passin' by,
wuz akst bi dhem dhŭ kai·z tŭ trahy,	was axed by them the cause to try.
"ae! ae! ahy zee uw t)iz!" zed ee·,	"ha! ha! I see how 'tis!" says he,
"dhi)ŭl mee·k u vee·mus munsh vur ahy!"	"they'll mak a vemous [famous] nunsh[9] vor me!"
hiz bil wuz shaarp, iz stumik liŭr,	his bill was shearp, his stomach lear
zoa up ŭ snapt dhŭ kadlin pur!	zo up a snapped the caddlin[10] pair.

a·l yoo uz bee tu laa inklahynd
dhiŭs litl stahri bur in mahyn,
vor if tu laa· yoo aymz tu goaŭ
yoo·l vahynd dhay a·lwuz zaar) ee zoa;
yoo·)l meet dhŭ veet ŭ dhee·z iŭr too,
dhu)l teek dhi koaŭt ŭn kaa·rkus too.

ael you as be to lāāw inclined,
this leetle stwory bear in mind;
vor if to lāāw you aims to gwo,
you)'l vind they'll allus zar[11] 'e zo;
you)'ll meet the vate o these here two,
they)'l take your cwoat and carcase too.

[1] *litl* was the first pronunciation, afterwards changed to *beedl*, a Londonism.

[2] *twoad* dialect writers constantly use *w* in this position, where an accented *oo·*, *oa·* is used followed by *ŭ*.

[3] 'stingo' seems to have been invented by Akerman for the rhyme.

[4] since 'vears not' is literary and not dialectal, the lady who dictated used *beŭnt iŭiŭrd*, making the line too long, and hence *bee* had to be omitted.

[5] *neeshun* = nation = damnation = very.

[6] 'laaw,' Mr. A.'s spelling is unintelligible. The old sounds were *laa· klaa·*, the new are *le· kle·* broader than *lai· klai·*.

[7] 'mixen,' dunghill.

[8] 'yuckel,' one of the Wl. names for a woodpecker.

[9] 'munsh,' in the phonetic version is a verb used by mistake for nunsh = lunch, a substantive, correct in Akerman.

[10] 'caddlin,' usual Wl. for quarrelling.

[11] 'zar' for serve, also used for to earn.

Utch Joke (EP. p. 85),

As repeated to me by a native of the land of Utch. The spelling in the second column is that of Miss Ham, of Clifton, a native of Sm., in a letter to Jennings, 30th Jan. 1825, and printed by him in his glossary.

bred)n cheez uch)uv)ŭ)ad
un)wot uch)ad uch)uv)ŭ)ait,
ŭn moor uch)·uod, if uch)ŭd)ŭ)ad.

bread and cheese 'c' have a had,
that 'c' had 'c' have a eat,
more 'ch wou'd 'c' had it.

Translation.

bread and cheese I have a-had,
and what I had I have a-eaten,
and more I would if I had a-had.

The villages which use *uch* for I, lie in the angular space between the two railways which have their vertex at Yeovil, Sm., on the border of Do., East Coker, East Mid and West Chinnock, Merriot, Chisselborough, Montacute, Martock, Norton, South Petherton, and possibly Kingsbury. These are the only places which preserve a trace of *ich* found in D 1, and common in all early writers, to represent country speech. Compare Shakspere's King Lear, Act 4, sc. 6, line 240, p. 304 of the folio 1623, here followed, where the speech is supposed to be that of a Kentish peasant. "Chill not let go Zir,

without vurther 'casion . . . and 'chud ha' bin zwaggerd out of my life, twould not ha' bin zo long as 'tis, by a vortnight . . . keepe out che vor'ye or ice [=I shall] try, etc." It is also found so late as in the Exmoor Scolding. The form *uchee·* also occurs in the above villages as an emphatic term. The *us* also found seems to be an alteration of *uch*. Jennings's *ees* for 'I' is unknown, and his *eis* can also not be found. Both have been diligently sought for.

D 5 = e.MS. = eastern Mid Southern.

Contains all but the extreme s. of Be., all but the extreme w. of Ha., all Wi., s.Sr., w.Ss., and the extreme ne. of Ke.

The general character is that of a fading D 4. The reverted r^s remains strongly, the initial z, v, for *s*, *f*, die out eastward, and *aay* for ÆG, EG is uncertain. *I be* remains, but the *ŭ-* before the past participle is lost.

Dialect Test from Witney, w.Ox. (EP. p. 92),

taken by an informant, from dictation of a native.

(1) *soa uy saay, mai·ts, yu siz nuw uz uy bi ruyt ŭbuw·t dhat dhur litl gyurl* [*gyaal·*] *ŭkum·in fraam dhŭ skoŏŭl yaan·dur.* (2) *ur)z ŭgwaay·in* [*ŭgwai·in*] *duwn dhŭ roa·d* [*raawd*] *dhur, throo dhu red gyet ŭ dhŭ lift and suyd u)dhu waay.* (3) *shoŏŭr ŭnuof· dhu chuyŭl)z gau·n straayt uop tu dhu doŏŭr u)dhu rong uws.* (4) *wur ur)l muust luykli fuynd dhaat dhur druongkŭn def srivŭld fel·ŭ ŭ)dhŭ nai·m ŭ Tom·us.* (5) *wee au·l noa·z* [*naawz*] *ee veri wel.* (6) *wunt dhŭ owld chaa·p suon laarn ur naat· tŭ duo)t ugyen·, pooŭr thing.* (7) *luk! yent it troo·?*

Some of the following words were taken from a very old man at Witney, and others from another very old man at Leafield, (EP. p. 93):

A- 21 *nai·m* name. 23 *sai·m* same. — *re·dhur* rather. A: or O: 58 *frŭm* from. 64 *rong* wrong. A'- *lai·n* lane. *naaw*, know. A': 104 *roa·d* road. 115 *oa·m* home. Æ- 138 *faa·dhur* father. Æ: 154 *baak·* back. 161 *daay* day. Æ'- *mai n* mean. *cheez* cheese. 200 *wai·t* wheat. Æ: 223 *dhiŭr* there. 226 *muust* most. E- 233 *spaik* speak. 241 *rai·n* rain. — *liŭzin* leasing = gleaning. E: 261 *saay* say [*sai·y*, new form]. 262 *waay* way. 265 *straeyt* [*straayt*, older form] straight. E'- 299 *green* green. E': 314 *iŭrd* heard. EA: 324 *aayt* eight. 326 *owld* old. 346 *gyet* gate. EA': 350 *jed* dead. — *byem* beam. 364 *chap* chap. 371 *straa* [new form *strau*] straw. EI- 373 *dhaay* they. EO: 396 *wurk* work. EY- 438 *duy* die. I- 440 *wik* week. I: 459 *ruyt* right. 466 *chuyld* child. 468 *childurn* children. 488 *yit* yet. I'- 494 *tuym*. O- 524 *wurld* world. O: 531 *daa·tur* daughter.

538 *uod* would. 543 *aan* on. *aa·s* horse. O'- 562 *moo·n* moon. 564 *suon* soon. U- 603 *kum* come. 605 *sun suon* son. 606 *doo·ur* door U: 613 *druo²ngk* drunk. 623 *fuo²n* found. *sun suo²n* sun. *uo²p* up. *fur·dur* further. U'- 642 *nuw* now. 650 *ŭbuw·t* about. U': 658 *duwn* down. 659 *tuwn* town. 663 *uws* house. 667 *uwt* out.

Be. The differences in Be. are too slight to notice here.

Ha. The dialect deteriorates from the action probably of the large towns, as Winchester and Southampton. The following are extracts from a 'comparative specimen,' which was given me as the dialect of the district between these last-named towns. It is much worn out. The *uy* and *uw* were fully *u²y*, *w²w*. The *r* reverted as *r*ˢ. The *ŭ* is generally not distinguished from *u*=*u*² in writing, except in fractures.

Southampton to Winchester (EP. p. 97).

(1) *wel, naay·bur, dhee un him med booŭth la²·f. hoo· keŭrz?* (2) *wee noa·z, dooŭnt) us? ut bai·nt veri luykli, bee)ut?* (3) *jest dhee hoa·ld dhi nuyz, vrend, til uy)v ŭdun·.* (4) *uy bee saartn uy hiŭrd um zai·, dhat did uy, zai·f eenuf·,* (5) *dhut dhu yung·gust zun hissel·f, u gurt bwoi oa nuyn, naw·d hiz veeŭdhurz vuys ut wuns, und uy uod trust ·hee tu spai·k dhu troo·th en·i daay, ee·s, ·dhat uy ·uod.* (6) *un dh)oa·l) d)uom·un hurzel·f ŭl tel eni on)ee, if yoo·)l wun·li a·sk ur—oa·! wunt shi?* (7) *too· ur dree tuymz wu·vur,* (8) *huw, waiŭr, ŭn wen shee vuwnd dhi drungkŭn beeŭst shi kaul·z hŭr huz·bund.* (9) *shi saw· ŭn wi ŭr oa·n uyz ŭlaay·ing strecht on dhŭ gruwnd, in iz guod zun·di kwooŭt, kloas bi dhu dooŭr oa dhu huws, duwn ut dhi ka·rnur oa dhu lai·n ya·ndur.* (11) *ŭn dhat hap·nd, uz shee un ar da·tur in lau kum droo dhu bak kooŭrt frum hang·un uwt dhu wet kloa·z tu druy on u woshun daay,* (12) *wuyl dhu kit·l woz ubuy·lun fur tai.* (13) *and dust dhee naw·? uy nevur laarnt noa mooŭr nur dhis heeŭr, un uy dooŭnt wau·nt tŭ ai·dhur, zoa dhaiŭr!* (14) *ŭn zoa· uy bi gwuy·un whauŭm tu zup·ur. guod nuyt.*

Wi. The Isle of Wight is politically a part of Ha., and it seems to have even more dialect, from the absence of large ports probably. Initial *z* is not frequent, but occurs in *zam·ut* somewhat, and some other words, and initial *v* is also found in *vurlong* furlong, and *vog* fog. Initial *thr-*, according to one authority, becomes *dr-*. The *r* is strongly reverted as *r*ˢ, but not transposed. 'I be, we'm goin', 'don't us, I've a-walked, I do know,' are usual constructions, and a national schoolmaster, a native of n.Sm., remarked that the Wi. speech struck him as closely resembling n.Sm. (EP. p. 107).

Sr. & Ss. The n. of Sr. belongs to D 8. The s. of Sr. and w.Ss. belong to the Ha. type. The *uy* has such a broad *u*², that it is written 'oy' by my informants. The s.Sr. and n.Ss. are said to be more mincing than s.Ss. In the former they say *hew much u pewnd iz dhat rewnd uv beef?* how much a pound is that round of beef? in which there is a change of the *uw* diphthong which we often meet with, found also in London and Ke., but where the change begins I do not know. A Sr. man talks of a *reb·it* rabbit, a regular Londonism, but a s.Ss. man says *ee)v u-got u raa·but in ee·z pau·kut* he has got a rabbit in his pocket, or rather did so fifty years ago, according to my informant (EP. p. 108). The commencement of the boundary at the river Adur was assigned by M. A. Lower; and was determined by my informants to lie between Bolney (12 nnw.Lewes) and Cuckfield. The northern part is rather conjectural. Within this line *I be* is regularly used.

D 6, 7, 8 = BS. = Border Southern,

Or the border-land between Southern and Midland on the n., and Southern and Eastern on the e.

These BS. districts embrace extreme n.Gl., most of Wo., w. and s.Wa. and s Np., most of Ox., probably extreme se.Be., n.Sr. and extreme nw.Ke. They were long a field of continued conflict between Wessex and Mercia (or the M. kingdoms) on the one hand, and Wessex and East Anglia on the other. The forms of speech are by no means homogeneous, but have on the whole a S. character, and at the s. part of the group they are nearly overwhelmed by the mixed populations of the Metropolitan area.

D 6 = n.BS. = northern Border Southern,

Is bounded on the n. and e. by the reverted *ur* line 3, on the w. by the s. *suom* line 2, and on the s. approximatively by a straight line running from w. to e. from about Paintley (8 nnw.Gloucester), through Tewkesbury and Moreton-in-Marsh, to Aynho, Np. (6 se.Banbury). The s. boundary is only approximative, for D 4 fades into D 6 imperceptibly.

This complicated district is by no means well marked, but four varieties seem vaguely to present themselves for Wo., s.Wa., Banbury, and sw.Np. Except at Eldersfield (6 s.Tewkesbury), close on the border of Gl., initial *z*, *v*, for *s*, *f*, seem to be lost, the reverted *r*⁸ is inclined

to fall into the buzzed r^7, the fracture forms *eŭ*, *iŭ*, or *aiŭ*, *eeŭ* for A- become gradually lost; those for A′ appear as *wu* in place of *ooŭ*, as *stwun* for *stooŭn*, 'I be' remains, with 'her' for 'she,' and 'I, she, we,' as emphatic objective forms. The parts of the district not n. of the n. *sum* line 1 lie in the mixed *sum*, *suom*, *suo²m*, or *som* region, between lines 1 and 2. It will suffice to give two dialect tests, both taken down *viva voce*, from the dictation of natives, one from Worcester on the w., and the other from Shenington (6½ w.Banbury) on the e., which give the general characters of this interesting district. Here and elsewhere unaccented *u* is frequently written for *ŭ*.

WORCESTER (EP. p. 112).

1. *ahy se·y, chaps, yu see ahy)m ruyt ŭbuw·t dhaat· litl wensh kumin frum dhŭ skoo·l yondur.*

2. *ur)z gŏŏin duwn dhu roa d dhur throo· dhu red gyeyt on dhu left aan· suyd ŭ dhŭ roa·d.*

3. *look dhur!* [*shooŭr vnuo²f·*] *ur)z gaw·n straeyt uo²p tu dhu doaŭr u dhu rong uws.*

4. *wur ur)l veri lahykli drop ŏălt* [=hold] *ŭ dhăăt owld druo²ngk·n def ringk·ld Tom.*

5. *yoo ah·l noa·)im veri wel.*

6. *woa)nt· dhu oa·ld chaap soo·n tel)ur not tu kum ŭgyen·, pooŭ thing!*

7. *look dhur! ai)nt)it troo·?*

SHENINGTON (EP. p. 117).

1. *soa uy saey, buo²tiz, yu si· nuw dhut uy bi ruyt ubuw·t dhaat· litl gurl ŭkuo²m·in frum dhu skoo·l yaan·dur.*

2. *shee)z u gŏŏin duwn dhu ruoŭd dhur throo dhu red geŭt on dhu left aand suyd u dhu waey.*

3. *shoor ŭnuw· dhu chuyld)z gon straeyt uo²p tu dhu dooŭr u dhu rong uws.*

4. *wiŭr shee)l aap·n tŭ fuynd dhaat druo²ngkn def felur u dhu niĕm u Tuo²m·us.*

5. *wee au·l noa·)un veri wel.*

6. *wuo²)nt dhu oa·l chaap· soon laarn ur năăt tu doo·)t ugen·, pooŭr thing!*

7. *look yiŭr! ui)nt)it troo?*

D 7 = m.BS. = mid Border Southern.

This contains that part of Ox. which lies s. of the s. boundary of D 6, and e. of the e. boundary of D 5, together with the extreme ne. horn of Be., which projects into Ox. between Abingdon and Oxford. The borders against Bu. and Be. being generally very ill defined are taken, with the exception just pointed out, as those of the county. As against Bu. this is by no means likely to be quite correct. But the information obtained is not sufficient to determine a better border. Such a border, however, must lie somewhere between a line on the w.

passing through Blackthorn, Islip, Holton, and Henley-on-Thames, and another on the e., passing through Buckingham, Aylesbury, and High Wycombe. There is no natural boundary between Ox. and Bu., and the Chiltern Hills pass through both. Towards the s. of Ox. the dialect forms become indistinct, and are practically lost. Upon the whole D 7 as distinguished from D 6 is very homogeneous, yet three regions have been distinguished, the Handborough, the Blackthorn, and the Southern.

In the Handborough region you hear *byent*, *gwai·n*, *wuts*, *byenz*, *kwut*, *dwunt*, be'nt, going, oats, beans, coat, don't, but in the Blackthorn *biŭnt*, *goo·in*, *ooŭts*, *beeŭnz*, *kooŭt*, *dooŭnt*. These are, however, mere varieties of the same original fractured vowels for each pair, thus Ws. áte, oats, became *ooďŭts* or *ŏŏaats*, and hence developed *ooŭts* or *wuts*, and so for the rest. The Southern variety is mostly only more degraded, but I obtained in a dialect test from Sonning (4 nw.Henley-on-Thames), *maiŭts*, *skoo·ld*, *yen·dur*, *roaŭd*, *geeŭt*, *straiŭt*, *mooŭst*, *naiŭm*, *wunt*, mates, school, yonder, road, gate, straight, most, name, won't, which have quite the S. character. The *r* was reverted r^8, or rather retracted r^9 in Handborough and Blackthorn, but I could obtain no information about it from the s. With these observations it will suffice to give the following extracts from the comparative specimen for

Handborough (EP. p. 123).

(1) *wel, maa·stur, dhee un ee med bwuth ŭn ee laa·f, oo keeŭrz?* (2) *us noa·z, dwu)nt)us? chent* [=*it yai·nt*] *vaar laykli, iz it?* (3) *bee kwuyut til uy u dun.* (4) *uy bee saart·n shooŭr uy yurd)um sai—dhaat·) ee)did, sai·f unuf·—* (5) *dhut dhŭ lit·ŭlest bwoy izsel·f, ŭ gret bwoy ŭ nuyn, noa·d iz faa·dhurz vwauys dhurek·li* [=directly], *un uy)d trust ·ee tu spai k dhu troo·th en·ee dai·, aa·, ·dhat)ee)·uod.* (6) *un dhu oa·l)d) uomŭn ursel·f uol tel en·ee)ŭn)ee, if yoo)l un·li aks)ur, jest wunt)ur?* (7) *oa·vur un oa·vur,* (8) *waa·r, wen, un uw ur fuwnd dhŭ drung·kn byest uz ur kalz ur uzbŭn.* (9) *ur sin· ee wee ur oa·n uyz, lai·in spraa·ld au·l ŭlong·, in iz guod sun·di kwut, kloa·s buy dhŭ uws dooŭr, duwn ut dhu kaa·rnur ŭ dhaat· lai·n yan·dur.* (11) *ŭn dhaat· aap·nd ŭz ·ur ŭn ŭr Tomz wuyf kum throo dhŭ baak· yaard frŭm aang·in uwt dhu wet kloa·z tŭ druy, an u wosh·n dai·,* (12) *wuyl dhu kyit·l wuz ŭbwuy·lin fur tai·.* (13) *aan duost noa·? uy nevur yurd nu mooŭr nur dhis, un uy dwunt waa·nt too nee·dhur, sŭ dhaa·r!* (14) *un nuw uy bee u gwain oa·m tu aa· muy sup·ur, guod nuyt!*

D 8 = s.BS. = southern Border Southern,

containing extreme se.Be. n.Sr. and extreme nw. Ke.

The composite nature of a constantly shifting population renders the growth of any dialect proper impossible. Yet the stamp of S. remains still recognisable. At Wargrave (6 ne.Reading) I obtained *rirâ roce* a distinct reverted r^8. I also obtained A- *taiŭk* take, *naiŭm* name. A′ *roaŭd* road, ÆG *snaeyl taeyl dai·* snail tail day. EA: *gaiŭt*. I′ *su²yd* side. Usages, 'I be, her be, I am, I are, we knows-un.' And similarly from neighbouring Hurley and Hurst, enough to shew that S. still existed in this district (EP. p. 129).

In Sr. however the traces were very small. From Chobham and Chertsey clergymen who had known the places fifty years or more had noticed nothing. From Leatherhead I got the usage 'I be.' In Croydon I got 'I be a-goin,' but 'I am, I are' are also used. From nw.Ke. I could get nothing, and I only infer that it follows the same lines (EP. p. 130).

Hence in D 8 dialect proper has been almost banished under town influence. The district forms the s. part of the metropolitan area, or that lying s. of the Thames. But the speech even of the town districts is S. when compared with the n. part of the metropolitan area, which is distinctly E. in its character.

D 9 = ES. = East Southern,

Contains the whole of Ke. (except the extreme nw.) and e.Ss., e. of the boundary of D 5.

The reverted r^8 prevails throughout the whole district, but in the neighbourhood of London and on the e. coast it becomes the usual r^1, r^2, r^3. This gives the dialect a strictly S. character, but it is dashed with eastern habits, of which the most remarkable is the regular use of *w* in place of *v*, a practice that obtains up to the n. of Nf. Whether the converse use of *v* for *w* occurs, I have not been able satisfactorily to determine. The Folkestone fishermen are credited with using *v* for *w*, but careful inquiry from good sources has not confirmed the report (EP. p. 131).

The peculiar character which sharply separates D 9 from any other in England is the use of *d* for *dh* in *dis*, *dat*, *dŭ* (or *dĭ*), *de·r*, *de·rz*, *dem*, *den*, *dee·z*, *doa·z*, *dai·*, this, that, the, there and their, theirs, them, then, these, those, they. We should have therefore expected the same in 'than, thou, thee, thy, thine, though, thus,' but these words

are not used in the dialect, 'than' becoming 'nor,' 'thou, thee, thy, thine,' you, your, yours, and 'though, thus,' not being required. In the middle of words *d* is found in far*th*ing, fur*th*er, fa*th*er, ano*th*er, and in wi*th* before a vowel, as *wid)it* with it, *udin·* within, *udew·t* without. This use of *d* for *dh* is in so far modern that it was unknown to Dan Michel A.D. 1340, although he had plenty of *z*, *v* initial for *s*, *f*. In 1736 John Lewis declares the use of *d* to be universal in the Isle of Thanet. Perhaps the development of Margate, Ramsgate, and Broadstairs have quite exterminated it, for it is now unknown there. It is also unknown at Folkestone. Hence the practice has grown up, and is dying out or dead within five centuries (EP. p. 131–2).

This dialect is tolerably uniform. The long I′ is properly u^2y with a very broad u^2, but most of my informants take it as *oy*. The U′ is apparently *aew* in e.Ss., and *ew* or *aiw* in Ke., the diphthong being very fine as in London.

As a contrast I give the e.Ss. and e.Ke. (Folkestone fishermen's) form of the dialect test in parallel columns.

MARKLYE′ (EP. p. 133).	FOLKESTONE (EP. p. 143).
(15 n.Eastbourne, agricultural.)	(Fishermen's speech.)
1. *soa oy sai, meŭts, yu see naew dut)ŭ bee royt ŭbaew t dat)eŭr lee·tl gal ŭkum·in from dat)eŭr skooŭl aewt yondur.*	1. *soaw oy saay, ma²yts, yue see new dhut oy m royt ubew·t dhet lit·l⁴ gyurl⁴, kom·in from dhu skue·l yandur.*
2. *shee·)z u gŏŏ·en daewn dat)eŭr rooŭd deŭr throo du red geŭt on t)udhur soyd u)du rooŭd.*	2. *shee·)z goaw·in dewn dhu roawd dhaiyŭ thrue dhu red ga²yt an dhu left end soyd or dhu waay.*
3. *shooŭr unuf· du choyld bee gaw·n royt ŭgin· du dooŭr u)du rong aews.*	3. *shue·ŭr ŭnof· dhŭ choyl⁴d⁴ [chah·l⁴d⁴] uz gaw·n straayt op tue dhu doaw·ŭr ov dhu rahng· [raang·] ews.*
4. *wiŭr shee`ŭl ap tŭ foyn dat)eŭr drunqk deth [=deaf] srivŭld chap u)du naiŭm u Tom.*	4. *waiy·ŭ shee wiŭl⁴ chaans tu foynd [shee)l⁴ preps kum ŭkraa·s] dhet drongk·n def skin·i chep ov dhŭ na²ym or Tahm·us [Taam·us].*
5. *wee au·l noa·z im veri [weri] weŭl [waa·l].*	5. *wee au·l⁴ noaw im weri weŭl⁴.*
6. *wooŭnt dn oaŭld chap sooŭn laurn ŭr nevur tu doo ut noa· moŭr, pooŭr thing!*	6. *wooŭnt dhu oa·ld chep sue·n tee·ch ur naat· tue due· it ŭgaay·n, pooŭ thing.*
7. *luok)ee deŭr! biŭnt ut troo?*	7. *luek·! iz·nt it true·?*

This is the greatest contrast which the dialect offers. The Folkestone fishermen are considered to have almost developed a dialect of their own. Observe the French *ue*, which is possibly *ue*². In the Marklye version *deth* for *def* is remarkable, and *weri* had not established itself, that variant was from Selmeston, Ss. (6 esc.Lewes). The reverted *l*¹ in Folkestone is very remarkable.

The following, taken down *viva voce*, represents the ordinary mid Ke. speech.

FAVERSHAM (8 nw.Canterbury) abridged cs. (EP. p. 137).

(1) *waa, miŭts, yoo un ee mŭ boŭth laf, oo sets en·i stooŭr bi ·dat?* (2) *dur ai·nt* [*bai·nt*] *turbl meni duy kewnt u beein la·ft at. wee nau· dat din* [=within] *ŭ lit·l dooŭnt wee? dat ai·nt* [*bai·nt*] *tur·bl loy·kli, iz it?* (3) *soa jest au d yur tong un kee·p wist til uy ŭ dun.* (4) *uy)ŭr saar·tin shooŭr uy iŭrd ŭm saay,—dat uy saar·tinli di·d—* (5) *dat dŭ yung·gest boy izsaa·f, u greet chap nuyn yiŭr oa·ld, noa·d iz faa·durz woys direk·li min·it, ŭn ee·)l taa·)ee dŭ treuth dewt* [and he'll tell)you the truth without] *en·i roaman·sin en·i daay, ee saar·tinli ·wuo d.* (6) *un d)oa l uom·ŭn ursaa·f ŭl taa en·i an yee, ef yoo·)l oa ni aa·st)ur, woa·nt shee?* (7) *and kee·p aa·l on tel·in· an yoo* (8) *ew shee kum upon· dis iŭr drungk·in chap wot shee)z got marid tuo.* (9) *shee kecht u²y an im ŭrsaa·f lai in aw·l long dŭ grewn in iz best kwoŭt, tloaŭs ugin· du dooŭr u)du hews, ut du fur·dur eend u dat)eŭr ruoŭd.* (11) *dis iŭr hapt wŭ·yl d)uom·ŭn ŭn ŭr daa·tŭr-in-laa kum treŭsin* [=tracing, tracking, running] *kras du bak yaard, weŭr dai·)d bin hang·in ewt du tloŭz tu drŭ·y on ŭ wosh·in daay,* (12) *wu²yl du ket·l wuz ubu²y·lin fur tee.* (13) *an, bŭ-hoa·ljee!* [=behold you] *u²y nevur iŭrd taal noa· moŭr, un, unud·ur thing, u²y dooŭnt wont tuo it, deŭr new!* (14) *new u²y)l nip aw·f woŭm tu sup·ur. guod nu²yt.*

D 10, 11 & 12 = WS. = West Southern.

This group embraces the whole of the sw. of England, w. of the w. boundary of D 4, comprising w.Sm., all but the extreme se. of Dv., all Co. and the Scilly Isles. The ancient border of the West Saxons against the Celts was the river Parret in Sm., but it shifted to the Quantock hills, reaching from the sea to Taunton, and thence continued to the mouth of the Axe. All w. of this line is a comparatively recent encroachment of English on Celtic, and is in fact English acquired by foreigners from West Saxons and their descendants.

The Celts were subsequently driven back to a line just within Co., so that Dv. was English for a longer time than Co. English gradually extended over e.Co. as far as Truro, keeping the Dv. character, but w. of Truro Celtic was spoken till about 200 years ago, and the Dv. character does not prevail in that district. In Scilly no dialect at all seems to be now spoken.

D 10 = n.WS. = northern West Southern.

The boundary begins at Comtisbury (14 ene.Ilfracombe, Dv.), skirts Exmoor, and then runs in a s. direction to Tiverton and Collumpton, down to about 7 ese.Taunton, when it turns ne. to join the boundary of D 4 at 7 s.Taunton, which it pursues to the sea. It contains therefore w.Sm. and a very small portion of n.Dv.

The fractures *eŭ* for A-, and *ooŭ*, *oaŭ* for A′, as well as *aa·y* for ÆG, EG, are the same as in D 4. The A: is more a^2 than a^1, but *a* will be written. The peculiarities are I: often u^6, I′ a^2y, for which *ei* will be used, O′ ue^2, eo^2, U u^2, *au*, and U′ *aew*. Of these, the u^6, ue^2, eo^2, are the most peculiar, and distinguish the dialect. Here u^6 will be written, to draw attention to the sound (which must be distinguished from both *u* and *i*, between which however it seems to lie, though it is apparently a descendant of *i*), but *ue*, *eo* will be used for ue^2, eo^2. I found the sounds u^6, ue^2, eo^2 difficult even to appreciate, but to say tue^2 beo^2·*ts* two boots, like a native, is a great feat, which I could not accomplish. The *r* is fully reverted as r^8, but *t*, *d*, *n*, *l* are apparently not so, so that they may be uttered, as in received speech, t^2, d^2, n^2, l^2, though the effect to my ear was different. The *e*, *u* are really broad e^2, u^2, except the short unaccented *u*, which is u^3 as usual. This dialect has been thoroughly explored by Mr. Elworthy for the English Dialect Society, so that the following abridged comparative specimen must suffice.

Wellington, Sm. (EP. p. 148).

(1) *wel faar·mur Ur·chŭt, ei tul)ee aa·t t)ai·z. yue un ee, booŭdh oa)ee mid laa·fi. ·ue dŭ kiŭr vur dhat?* (2) *wee due noa· dhat doa·n)ees? t)ed)n veri leik* u^6z u^6t. (3) *jis stap dhee rat·l oaŭl fel·ur, gin ei)v ŭfu*^{6}*nish.* (4) *ei bee saar·tin shooŭr ei yurd)ŭm zai·—dhat ei ded saa·f ŭnuf·*—(5) *aew dhat dhee yung·gees zu*^{6}*n* u^6*zel·, ŭ gurt bwoy ŭ nein yiŭr oa·l noa·d dhu vays u dhu faa·dhur oa)ŭn* [=of him] *turak·lëĕ* [=directly], *un ei)d waurn ·ee vur tŭ spai·k true·* u^6*n·ee dai· u)dhu wik, ee·s, un ·dhat ei wu*^{6}*d.* (6) *ŭn dh)oa·l)d)um·ŭn urzul·,*

·ur ŭl tul u⁶n·ee oa)ee, n)if ee)ŭl un·ee taaks· oa)ur, [=and)if ye)will only ask of)her] *oa! aay! oa·n)ur? dhat)s au·ŭl,* (7) *tue· ur dree teimz oa·rur,* (8) *aew un weŭr un wai·n ur vuwn dhik·i drungk·een tooŭd wau·t ur due kau·l ur meŭn.* (9) *ur zeed·)n wai ur oa·n eiz ŭlaayd pun taap· oa)dhu graewnd wai) u⁶z geo·d zu⁶n·dee kooŭt on, ju⁶s aup· ugin· oa)dhu dooŭr oa)dhu aewz, daewn dhur tu)dhu kaw·ndur ŏŭ dhik·i dheŭr leŭn.* (11) *ŭn dhat dhur apt dhu veri seŭm teim)z ·ur ŭn ŭr daa·rturlau wuz ŭkaum·een een drue· dhŭ baak· koaŭrt, aa·dur* [=after] *dhai·)d ŭbin· ŭ)ang·een dhu wet kloaŭz vur tu druw·ee pun ŭ waw·rsheen dai·,* (12) *seŭm teim dhu ku⁶tl wuz u bwoy·leen pun dhŭ veiŭr vŭr tai·.* (13) *un, du⁶z dhee noa·? ei nu⁶v·ur laarn waun maur·sl bee·t mooŭr)n dhish)yur, ŭn waut)s mooŭr, ei doa·)ŭn waunt tue nudhur, dheŭr naew!* (14) *ŭn zoa· ei bee gwai·n oaŭm vur tu a·ŭ mee sup·ŭr. geod neit)ee·.*

D 11 = s.WS. = southern West Southern.

Boundary on the e., the boundary of D 10 and the w. boundary of D 4. To the n. and s. the sea, to the w. most probably the following line, the result of much inquiry. Begin at the Black Rock in the entrance of Falmouth Harbour, and take the centre of the water way to Truro. Then pass by land to the e. of Kenwyn, St. Allen, and Perranzabulo, but w. of St. Erme, Newlyn (8 n.Truro), and Cubert, to reach the sea in Perran Bay. The district therefore contains almost all Dv. and Co., and the line just described is properly the w. limit of dialect in England (EP. p. 156).

The Dv. characters seem to prevail distinctly as far as the old line between Saxon and Celt just within the Co. border, but then, so far as I have been able to collect, they deteriorate towards the boundary just described. One effect of this is that the boundary is esteemed by some to be a line further e. as from St. Austell on the s. to Padstow on the n., passing through St. Colomb Major.

The character is nearly the same as D 10, the *r* is strongly reverted as r^8, and superinduces reverted t^4, d^4, n^4, l^4, which sometimes occur by themselves; we find u^6, ue^2, of which the latter is generally the most conspicuous feature to strange ears. The u^6, though occasionally recognised, sounded to me sometimes as i^3, and sometimes as u^3, and has been hence often written *i* or *u*, requiring examination. I′ has become always *aay* to the exclusion of the a^2y of D 10 and the form *uy*, properly u^3y or u^4y of D 4. In this case then ÆG, EG could not be *aay* as in D 4, and in fact they become *e·*, *ae·*, generally followed by a more or less conspicuous *i* as *e·y*, *ae·y*. The form of U′ is the

most curious, being *u*⁴*ŭĕ*³, as near as I can analyse it. The first element is generally taken as French *oe*, which requires the mouth to be partially closed, whereas careful observation convinced me that the mouth was wide open for the first element, but then the lips suddenly close as for *ue*, and are also rapidly and greatly projected, as *ue*³, so that the whole effect is *u*⁴*ŭĕ*³. Singularly enough this is heard at first as simple *uw*, and hence for simplicity it will here be represented as *uw*², distinguishing the ordinary diphthong where necessary by *uw*¹.

I have not been able to find any marks of different pronunciation in n. and s., e. and w. Dv., and hence as these are generally taken as distinct varieties, I suppose that this depends upon vocabulary and construction rather than pronunciation. But a little way within the Co. border, as at Camelford (14 w.Launceston), from which I saw a native, the *ue*² seemed to be lost, and I could not distinguish the *uw*² from ordinary *uw*¹. The information I received from Cardynham and St. Colomb Major, conveyed by letter, was too indistinct to be serviceable. Under these circumstances it will, I think, suffice to give the abridged form of the comparative specimen for m.Dv. taken from the lips of a native servant nearly fresh from the place.

Iddesleigh (16 s.Barnstaple), Dv. (EP. p. 157.)

(1) *wel Jau·rj yue mai boa·dh laa·f, if ee wil. ·ue keŭrth fur dhat?* (2) *vue*² *men daay koa z dhe)m* [=they am] *laa·ft at, us nau·, doaŭnt) us? t)id)'n veri laay·kly, iz)ut?* (3) *zoa jes oa·ld dhee nauyz, Jau·rj, voar aay)v duen)ŭt.* (4) *aay bee zur·ten aay yeeŭrd um zai· it—dhat aay did seŭv ŭnuf·,*—(5) *dhut dhu yung·ges zu*⁶*n, izsel·, ŭ gurt boy ŭ naayn, nau·d)z faa·dhŭrz vauys ŭt wans, ŭn aay)d tru*⁶*s)n vŭr spai k dhu true·th an·i dae·y, ees, aay wed.* (6) *un dh)oa·l wuom·un wzel· wud tel)ee dhu zaiŭm an i o)ee, ef yue·)l on·li aks ur, oa·w! waa·nt)ur?* (7) *tue· ur dree taaymz ov·ur* (8) *uw*² *ur vuw*²*nd ŭn, we·n ur vuw*²*nd ŭn an we·ŭr ur vuw*²*nd ŭn, dhu drungk·n peg ur kaa·lth ur man.* (9) *ur zeed)ŭn wai ur o·n aayz, laay·in strecht uw*²*t on dhu gruw*²*n, wai iz best koa·t on, kloa·s tu dhu doovŭr, duw*²*n in dhu kau·rndur, o dhu leŭn.* (11) *un dhat ap·nd uz ·ur ŭn ŭr daa·turlai, kum drue dhu bak koaŭ·rtlej frum ang·een uw*²*t dhu wet tloa·dhz on dhŭ wash·een dai·.* (12) *waaylst dhu tai·kitl wuz boyleen fur tai.* (13) *un due)ee nau? aay nev·ur yurd nau·rt moaŭr buw*²*t it, ŭn aay doa·nt wont tŭ*⁴*ue*³ [=too, with the stress and a rising inflection on *ue*³, and thus distinct from *tuw*², which has the same elements, but with the stress on *u*⁴] *udhur, dhur nuw*². (14) *un zoa aay bee gwai·een aa·m tu a· u bit ŭ sup·ur. guod naiŭrt.*

D 12 = w.WS. = western West Southern.

The e. boundary is the w. boundary of D 11. This district comprises the w. extremities of Co. and the Scilly Isles (24 wsw.Land's End). There is no real dialect in the whole of this district, but a great deal of very queer language on the mainland. In the Isles all dialect has been educated out, and Mr. Dorrien Smith, the Proprietor of the Isles, says that he does not know of any part of the British Isles in which 'the Queen's English' is less murdered. No attention therefore need be paid to them (EP. p. 174). Numerous tales have been written in the speeches (for they are numerous and varied) of w.Co. The following adaptation of part of my Comparative Specimen, introducing some well-known jokes, was made by a gentleman well acquainted with the people of the particular locality, and was written down from his dictation.

MARAZION OR MARKET JEW (3 e.Penzance). (EP. p. 172.)

1. *Jak·ee Tuzaayz sed: Oa! ·hee la·f! hee did)nt la·f wen ŭ rund uwai· leŭst krez·mus frum dhu gee·z-deŭnsŭz, un sed too Un Mal·ĕĕ Puolgrai·n, dhut hee)d see·d ŭ pis·kĕĕ. ·hee ed)nt wuth u snuf!*

1. John Tresise said: Oh! ·he laugh! he didn't laugh when he ran away last Christmas from the guise-dancers, and said to Aunt Molly Polgrain, that he)d seen a pixy. ·he isn't worth a snuff!

2. *seed·)n, ·did)shee? drungk, aay spoa·z? kraay·in too? zak·li laay·k)ŭn! naaw aay)l tel)ee, Jeŭmz, aay nev·u laayk)ŭn. au·lez kraayd in dhu rong plai·s.*

2. saw)him, did)she? drunk, I suppose? crying too? exactly like) him! now I'll tell)ye, James, I never liked)him. always cried in the wrong place.

3. *aay wuz daawn too Midh·iŭn mit·ŭn leŭst Sun·dai, un Ungk·l Tom Ves·nt preecht ŭbaawt dhu pooŭ Sŭmar·itun. (Wee had ŭ klub feest dhŭ dai ŭfoaŭ·, un sum)uv)uz eet unuf fŭ jen·tlmen) un dhu wuz)nt u draay aay en dhu mit·ŭn, sept ·heez.*

3. I was down at Mithian meeting last Sunday, and Uncle Tom Vincent preached about the poor Samaritan. (We had a club feast the day afore, and some)of)us ate enough for gentlemen.) and there wasn't a dry eye in the meeting, except his.

4. *soa· aay sed too)ŭn: "haaw ar)ee soa· unkŭnsaa·nd?"*

4. so I said to)him: "how are)ye so unconcerned?"

5. *un sez hee: "Jak·ee, u doŭnt kŭnsaa·n ·mee, kau·z aay doŭnt liv in yoŭ par·ish. aay oa·nlee stai·d aaf·tu dhu klub feest kau·z aay wuz u lit·l fuod·ld wi beeŭ."*

5. and says he: "Jacky, he doesn't concern me, because I don't live in your parish. I only stayed after the club feast because I was a little fuddled with beer."

6. *as tu see·ŭn ob)m, hĕĕ wuod·nt kum in·tu ·maay haaws un not bee see·d! aaw·ŭr Me·ri taawld mee oa·nli Mun·dai ee·bmin, heeŭrin ubaaw·t dhŭ tan·trumz ŭ kikt up daawn tŭ church taawn.*

6. as to seeing of)him, he would not come into ·my house and not be seen! our Mary told me only Monday evening, hearing about the tantrums he kicked up down to Church Town.

7. *"ez)nt ha·f u man," sez shee, "hee)l guz·l au·l dhu lik·u hee kŭn hich und skrai·p un u du pai noa·bŭdi. sum du sai hee ed)nt paatik·lu ubaaw·t tai·kin whot ed)nt ez oan. dhu kloa·z u had on u nev·u pai·d dhu pak·man fau. and aay wuod)nt," sez shee, "trus)n in aawr ai·l chai·mbu baay usel·f."*

7. "is)not half a man," says she, "he)ll guzzle all the liquor he can hitch and scrape, and he do pay nobody. some do say he is)not particular about taking what is)not his own. the clothes he had on he never paid the packman for. and I would)not," says she, "trust)him in our hall chamber by himself."

8. *"aay bleev if hee·)d noth·in ee·tin au dringk·in, hee)d tai·k u lump u shuog·u aawt u dhu niŭriz kai·j. aay nev·u seed u fel·u laayk) un fur ee·tin, sept dringk·in. aay bleev hee·)z laayk u kloa·men kat, hee·)z hol·ŭ daawn tŭ hiz toa·z."*

8. "I believe if he)had nothing eating or drinking, he)would take a lump of sugar out of the canary's cage. I never saw a fellow like)him for eating, except drinking. I believe he)is like an earthenware cat, he)s hollow down to his toes."

It is evident that there is no dialect here. Except for a word here and there, and the absence of Easternisms, the whole might have come from a low Cockney.

II.

THE WESTERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS.

D 13 & 14 = W. = Western.

This consists of parts of those western counties of England lying s. or w. of the Northern *sum* line 1 and w. of the reverted *ur* line 3, which were for a long time purely Celtic, and then came under the domination of the West Saxons and Mercians. It includes also those parts of Wales where English has been very recently introduced. These older and newer encroachments of English on Welsh are not sufficiently separate to allow of any definite line being drawn. The e. side is more distinctly dialectal English, and the w. side book-English spoken by foreigners with an occasional slight dialectal colouring. The most recently acquired English shews no dialectal marks.

D 13 = SW. = South Western.

This comprises He. (except the se. portions about Ross, Ledbury, and Much Cowarne, which belong to D 4) with the e. part of Mo., and a narrow slip of Sh., and in Wales, e.Br. and almost all Rd. In He. the character is that of a mutilated D 4. The initial *z*, *v*, being rarely if ever used for *s*, *f*, and the initial *dr* for *thr* altogether lost. The reverted r^3 is scarcely perceptible, but has been traced as far as Ludlow, Sh. The use of *aay* for ÆG, EG is uncertain. The fractured forms *eü* for A and *oü* for A′ remain. A: is *a*, approaching oftener to a^2, a^3 and sometimes nearly reaching *aa*. The use of *u* for U, O′, has developed itself more than in D 4. The diphthongs for I′, U′, are of the mild form *uy*, *uw*, although *ahy*, nearly *oy*, and *ahw* occasionally occur. The use of *uth*, *uoth* for with, and *frum* for ripe, forward, generally strikes a stranger.

The following dialect test was dictated at Lower Bache Farm (3½ enc.Leominster). (EP. p. 176.)

(1) ***Nuw uy saay, meüts, yoo see nuw uy bee ruyt übuw·t dhat litl***

wensh kumin frum dhu skoo·l yaan·dur. (2) *ur)z ugwaayn duwn dhu roa·d dheŭr thruw dhu red geeŭt o)dhu)lift ond suyd o)dhŭ)waay.* (3) *shooŭr unuf·, ur)z gaun strahyt tu)dhu) rong uwn,* (4) *weŭr luyk unuf· ur)l fuynd dhat druqkn dun·i ahwld Tum.* (5) *wi aw· noaw un wel unuf·* (6) *uy)l bak ee)l lurn ur bet·ur)n doo)it ŭgyun·, pooŭr wensh!* (7) *lŏŏk! yunt)it troo.*

The following specimen was obtained from the neighbouring Docklow (EP. p. 177):—

Pleez, misis, dhu meeŭstur teld mi tu aks yoo tu send Tum·us un Jeeŭmz duwn tu im in dhu aay fild, uz soon uz dhaay uv dun mag·itin dhu ship.† Un Bil iz tu tai·k u ok·shut uw weŭtur‡ in·tu dhu sidz‖ fur dhu kaw·vz un fil dhur traw·§ fur um, ŭn dhen bring dhu wag·in tu dhu aay fild. Ee must puot dhu fil·ur aus** in, uz Daw·rbi ud bee too res·tiv fu dhu bwany tu druyv up dhu aw·rchit,†† uz praps i wod run uwaay· un spwayl‡‡ izself, ur sum·ut.*

Notes.—* hayfield. † they have done maggotting the sheep. ‡ hogshead of water. ‖ seeds. § trough. ** shaft horse. †† orchard. ‡‡ spoil, hurt.

The English of Mo. is in general merely a book English spoken with a Welsh lilt, and some peculiarities of grammar, but on the e. border the Southern forms are more used. In e.Br. and in w.He. A-, ÆG, EG, and other cases, where received speech has *ai·*, *ai·y*, are fractured to *eŭ*, *iŭ*, with an excessively short first element, as *beŭk* bake, *teŭk* take, *sneŭl* snail, and words in A′- with O′ and other words pronounced *oa·*, *oa·w* in received speech, have *uoŭ* with an excessively short *uo*, as *guoŭ* go, *tuoŭd* toad, *kuoŭl*, coal, *nuoŭs* nose (EP. p. 179).

From Rd. I have no proper information except that the English is very "free from provincialisms," and probably it does not differ materially from mid and w.Mo. already described.

D 14 = NW. = North Western.

Comprises all the rest of Sh. in this district, with a small part of Mg. Sh. is much cut up, nw.Sh. is in D 28, and in the ne. and se. Sh. are in D 29, and the s. belongs rather to D 13. The greater portion belongs to D 14, and is a remarkable mixture of Southern and Midland habits. The pronunciation is mainly S, though initial *z*, *v*, for *s*, *f*, and reverted r^s, have entirely disappeared. The U and O′ become more frequently *u* than in received speech, as 609 *ful* full, *ful·ur* a fuller. 615 *pund* pound, *bund* bound. 611 *bul·uk* bullock,

bruk brook, *stud* stood, *ruf* roof, *tuth* tooth. 595 *fut* foot. 597 *sut* soot, but of course not consistently. *Aay* occurs in 161 *daay* day. 241 *raayn* rain. 243 *plaay* to play. The form *thee bist* thou art is quite S., and so is *be* for 'are' in the plural. But here the Midland character comes out strongly by the universal use of the verbal plural ending in *n* or *en*, thus *wi bin* we be-n, *wi wun* we were-n, *wi shan* we shall-en, *wi dun* we do-n, *wee)n* we have-n, *wi had·n* we had-en. The S. reverted r^3 is replaced by r^1, or almost r^4, as in Wales, well trilled even when not preceding a vowel, better than the Midland *r*, evidently Welsh in its origin. The intonation, too, has a Welsh character. The formation of the verbal negatives is remarkable, *am·nu* am not, *bin·u* be not, *wun·ŭ* were-n not, *an·ŭ* have-n not. The real form is *nud* not, with the *d* dropped and the *n* coalescing with preceding *n*. But the *d* reappears when a vowel follows, as *am·nŭd ei* am not I? *wun·ŭdŭ* were-n not they? *uon·ŭdŭ bee* will-en not they be? Initial *d* is sometimes changed to *j*, as in *jel* deal, Ws. dæ'l. 350 *jed* dead, *jeth* death, *jaarn* darn, *jyuw* dew, probably from an inserted *y*, which we find independently in 347 *yed* head, *yep* heap, *yaar* hair, *yuwl* howl, while similar changes occur in *chem* team, *choo·n* tune, *choo·zdi* Tuesday, and *shoot* suit, *shoo·it* suet, *kunshoo·m* consume. The combination *shr-* presents a difficulty, and *sr-* or *s-* is used, thus *sringk* shrink, *srub* shrub, *shroa·zbri* "classical and well educated," *sroa·zbri* "semi-refined," *soa·zbri* "country" pronunciation of Shrewsbury. For full particulars of grammar, idiom, and pronunciation, see Miss Jackson's *Shropshire Word Book*, one of the best, if not the best, of our existing county glossaries, and full of illustrations. From this I select the following, there (p. xcv) printed in both approximative and the fullest analytical Glossic. It relates how one Betty Andrews told the story of her son's falling into the water and her rescue of him—no pause, no stops, continued high pitched voice, and rapid utterance.

Original (EP. p. 183).	Translation.
ei eeŭrd ŭ shreik mŭm ŭn ei run ŭn dheeŭr ei sid Frangk ŭd pekt i dhŭ bruk ŭn doukt undŭr ŭn wuz droundin,	I heard a shriek, ma'am, and I ran and there I seed (saw) Frank had pitched in the brook, and ducked under, and was drowning,
ŭn ei jumpt aftŭr im ŭn got out on im ŭn lugd im on tŭ dhŭ bongk aul slej,	and I jumped after him, and got hold of him and lugged him on to the bank all sludge,
ŭn ei got im woem ŭfoaŭr ouŭr Sam kumun in—	and I got him home afore our Sam (had) come in—

ŭ guod job it wuz fur Sam uz ee wun·ŭ dheeŭr ŭn uz Frangk wun·ŭ droundid fur if i ad bin, ei shud u toaŭr ouŭr Sam aul tu windŭr ragz,

a good job it was for Sam as he wasn't there, and as Frank wasn't drowned, for if he had been, I should have torn our Sam all to window rags,

un dhen ee)d ŭ bin jed un Frangk droundid un ei shud u bin angd.

and then he)would have been dead, and Frank drowned, and I should have been hanged.

ei toud Sam wen i tuok dhŭ ous ŭz ei did·nu leik it.

I told Sam when he took the house as (that) I didn't like it.

'bles dhu wensh,' i sed, 'wo)d)n)i want? dheeŭz u teidi ous un a u guod gardin, un u run fur dhu pig.' 'aay!' ei sed, 'un u good bruk fur dhu childern tu pek in.'

'bless the wench,' he said, 'what-do-n-ye want? there's a tidy house and a good garden, and a run for the pig.' 'aye,' I said, 'and a good brook for the children to pitch in.'

soa if Frangk ad bin droundid ai shud u bin dhu jeth u ouŭr Sam.

so if Frank had been drowned, I should have been the death of our Sam.

ei wuz dhat frit·nd mŭm dhŭt ei did·nŭ spai·k fur ŭ nour aftur ei got woem, ŭn Sam sed ŭz i ad·nŭ sid mi kwei·ut soa lung sens wi wuor mar·id an dhat wuz aay·teen eeŭr.

I was that frightened, ma'am, that I didn't speak for an hour after I got home, and Sam said as (that) he hadn't see'd (seen) me quiet so long, since were-n married, and that was eighteen year.

The following is a short cwl. :—

A- 3 *baik·* bake. 4 *tak·* take. 5 *mak* make. 21 *naim·* name.

A: 43 *ond* hand. *uont* a want, i.e. the animal mole. 51 *mon* man. 54 *want* to want. 56 *wesh* wash.

A: *or* O: 60 *lung* long. *strung* strong. 64 *rung* wrong. 66 *thung* thong.

A'- 67 *gooŭ* go. *gwun* gone. *gwi·in* going. *tooŭ* toe. 76 *tooŭd* toad. 86 *ooŭts* oats. 92 *noa·* know.

A': 101 *wuk* oak. *loaf* loaf. 115 *wum woa·m* home. 117 *won* one. *bwun* bone. 124 *stwun* stone. *wuth ooŭth* oath.

Æ- *ai·ch* ache. 138 *fai·dhur* father. *ladhur* ladder. *staarz* stairs (but *stairz* stars). 150 *lai·st* least. *sai·t* seat. *wai·tur* water.

Æ: 154 *bak* back. 155 *thech* thatch. 161 *daay* day. *ar·est* harvest. *op·l* apple (s.Sh). 179 *wod* what.

Æ'- *lai·d* to lead. *ree·d* to read. *sprai·d* to spread. *lai·v* to leave. 190 *kai·* a key. *mai·n* to mean. 200 *wiŭt* wheat. *yiŭt* to heat. *at* heated.

AE': *sprai·d* spread. *yiŭth* heath.

E- 232 *brai·k* break. 233 *spai·k* speak. *trai·d* tread. 236 *fai·var* fever. 241 *raayn* rain. *wai·n* to wean. *baar* to bear. *maar* a mare. *eet* to eat. *yet* ate. *fidh·ur* feather.

E: *fach* fetch. *rach* wretch. 259 *waaj·* wedge. 261 *saay* say. *sil·dum* seldom. 276 *thengk* think. *pin* a pen. *throsh* thresh. *nist* nee·st nest. *nee·zn* nests.

E'- 290 *ee* he. 292 *mee* me. 296 *bilif* belief. 301 *eeŭr* to hear.

E′: 305 *ei* high. *brei·ur* brier.

EA: *laf* laugh. 324 *eyt* eight. 326 *oud* old. *boud* bold. 330 *out* hold. *mau·t* malt. *sau·t* salt. *fyaarn* fern.

EA′- 347 *yed* head. 348 *ein* eyes. 349 *fyou feu* few.

EA′: 350 *jed* dead. 355 *jef* deaf. 356 *liŭf lef* leaf. 359 *naay·bur* neighbour. *beeŭm* beam. *krai·m* cream. 361 *beeŭn* bean.

EO: 394 *yantur* yonder. *daark* dark. 402 *laarn* learn. *fai·r* far. *stai·r* star [it is well known that in Sh. they go up the *staarz* to see the *stai·rz*]. 401 *yaarth* earth.

I- 440 *wik* week. *siv* sieve. *iv·i* ivy. *is* or *yaa·s* yes.

I: *meit* might. 460 *weit weyt* weight. 473 *bleind* blind. 485 *fis·l* thistle. 488 *it* yet. *sens* since.

I′- *seik* to sigh. 498 *reit* to write.

I′: *deich* a dyke. 502 *feiv* five. 506 *uom·un* woman.

O- *bou* a bow, weapon. *throoŭt* throat.

O: *truf troa* a trough. 527 *baut·* bought. *goud* gold. *bwurd* board.

O′- 555 *shoo* shoe. *oo·* to woo. 562 *muon* moon. 564 *suon* soon. *udh·ur* other. *brudh·ur* brother.

O′: 569 *buok* book. *bruk* brook. 571 *guod* good. 573 *flud* flood. 575 *stud* stood. *flur* floor. *tuth* tooth. 595 *fut* foot.

U- *uod* wood. *lov* love. *puon* to pound. 606 *dur doaŭr* a door.

U: *shuodh·ur* shoulder. 600 *ful* full. *poo·l* pull. 615 *pund* a pound.

U′- 640 *kou* cow. 643 *nou* now. *suk* suck. *kuod* could. 653 *but* but.

U′: 656 *ruom* room. 665 *mous* mouse. 667 *out* out. *proud* proud.

Y- 673 *much* much. 675 *drei* dry. 679 *church* church.

Y: *bei* buy. *bild* build. 694 *waarch* work = throb. *berin* a burying. 701 *furst* first. *shet* shut. *uoth uth* with.

III.

THE EASTERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS.

D 15 to 19 embrace the greater part of the eleven eastern counties, Bd., Bu., Cb., Es., Ht., Hu., Mi., Nf., Np., Rt., Sf. The n. border runs nearly over the n. of Np., Rt., Cb., and Nf. The other boundaries are the reverted *ur* line 3. The general character is a closer resemblance to received speech than can be found in any other division. Received speech was certainly formed from the habits of that prevalent in these counties. East London or Cockney habits of speech have some of the strongest marks of Easternism. The n. part of this div. is intersected by the n. *sum* line 1, and s. *suom* line 2, but this does not produce a difference of dialect, as we see by the prevalence in the n. part of other habits of speech heard in the s. The fact is that as our received speech grew up U was always *uo* throughout both the S. and E. div., and it is only in comparatively recent times that the *u* sound has in most cases prevailed over the *uo*. There are about 64 words which have the sound of *uo* in received speech. But of these the following are the only ones which had Ws. U: wolf (with derived wolfish wolverine), wood, wool with woolly, full with fulfil, fuller, pull, cushat, Fulham. The following words which have *uo* are not found in Ws.: bull, bulfinch, bullace, bulwark, puss, pudding, hussar, huzza, hurray, bush, ambush, put. The following are French mostly (1) with 'ou': courier, caoutchouc, bullet bulletin, pullet, pulley, butcher, cushion, cuckoo, push, bushel, or (2) with 'u,' pulpit, sugar. Some even educated people still say *buchü*, *kushün*, *push*, *put*, part of an unsuccessful attempt to carry out the change into *u*. Others use *uo* in *pulse*, *fulsome*, *fulminate*. The following, which have *uo* in received speech, are unconnected with the above, as they had Ws. O′: book, cook, hook, shook, look, rook, brook, crook, took, good, hood, stood, foot, soot, of which 'soot' is often *sut*, while 'brook' is *bruk* in Sh., and 'foot' is *fut* in many places. The words: woman, would, should, could, worsted, Worcester, have various origins, and that of 'nook' is unknown.

Now we occasionally find a reversion of the use of *u*, *uo*, as *duol bul* for *dul buol* dull bull, and in these E. counties there is sometimes considerable uncertainty in usage. Also where O′ is *u* in received speech, as in mother, monday, other, brother, blood, flood, enough, tough, done, the sound generally, not always, becomes *uo*, when U remains *uo*. But there is no proper connection between this case and some=*sum*. In the O′ words the vowel first became *oo·*, and was then shortened to *uo*, and that by a mistaken analogy became *u*.[1] In the U words the vowel was originally *uo* and became *u*. In examining the change, attention should therefore be confined to original U words; as love, come, summer, son, butter, ugly, some, drunk, under, tongue, hunger, Sunday, nun, sun, up, cup, tusk, dust; and 'u' words of list 2 in the cwl., which we cannot trace to a Ws. form, should be disregarded, as: hug, jug, shrug, scull, rum, jump, fuss, for although they are generally 'levelled up' to the Ws. words, they do not indicate the law of change with certainty.

No reverted r^9 has been found in the E. div. Before a vowel 'r' is either a gentle convex r^1, or the imperfect untrilled 'point rise' r^7. When not before a vowel it is entirely resolved into the vowel *u* in one of the forms u^1, u^2, u^3, u^4, according to circumstances. The permissive r^2 is really artificial, and merely tolerated as a 'refinement,' or attempt to accommodate pronunciation to orthography. After *aa·*, *au·*, *ŭ*, 'r' is absolutely and entirely lost, unless a vowel follows, and then it reappears. But this is felt to be for the sake of euphony, so that when there was no original *r* it is inserted as 'euphonic' *r*, to avoid an hiatus. Thus in received speech *ab-hau·* abhor, but *ab-haw·ring* (but *ab-hor*^{1}*·ŭnt*), and then *sau·* saw, and *sau·ring* sawing; *taa·* tar, *taa·ring* tarring, and *solfaa·*, *solfaa·ring*, solfa, solfaing; *faa·* far, but *faa·r ŭn weid*, and hence *pŭpaa·r)ŭn mŭmaa·* papa and mamma; 'draws, drawers' are confused as *draw·z*, and 'drawing' becomes *draw·ring*. The words 'laud, lord' both become *law·d*, 'farther, father,' both fall into *faa·dhŭ*. This is very general over all the E., any exceptions are due to education, and even the educated, when not particularly on the alert, fall into these habits. Such a rule as 'never insert *r* unless written,' of course, could not apply to speech used without reference to reading. To many persons of high education 'ar,

[1] In the same way *roo·m* from Ws. rúm, was first shortened into *ruom*, a pron. still very prevalent, and then lengthened into *roo·m*. The proper modern form would otherwise have been *roum*, as the German 'raum' *raawm*. More closely resembling this case are Ws. búton *but*, and Ws. ús *us*, which must have been shortened to *buot*, *uos*, before passing to *but*, *us*, and have thus been saved from becoming *bout*, *ous*, as would have been regular.

or' are merely symbols for *aa·*, *au·*, and under these circumstances they believe that they pronounce 'r,' because if the 'r' were not written, they would say *ai·*, *oa·*, or *aiy*, *oaw*. Informants have actually written the sounds of 'all water, amen,' as 'orl worter, rmen,' meaning *au·l waw·tŭ*, *aa·men*.

This treatment of *r* is not quite peculiar to the E. div., but so far as vocalisation or omission is concerned (leaving the euphonic insertion undetermined), extends along the whole e. coast of England, at least as far as North Shields, Nb.

D 15 = WE. = West Eastern,

Comprises all Bu. except the extreme s. below the Chiltern Hills. Bu. mainly differs from Ox. by the absence of reverted or retracted r^8 or r^9. A- remains from the S. as *eŭ* in 20 *leŭm*, 23 *seŭm*, lame, same, etc., and A'- as *uoŭ*, 76 *tuoŭd* tood, with the usual variants. ÆG may also be *eŭ*, as 166 *meŭd* maid, 142 *sneŭl* snail, or be recognised as *aey*, thus *maeyd*, *snaeyl*. I' is usually *ahy*, approaching very closely to *auy*, with which it is usually identified by my informants, but I rarely heard *auy* myself. U is avowedly u^1, u^2, and was so found at Wendover (5 e.Aylesbury), but at Buckingham and further n. of course *uo*, or some mixture of *uo*, *u*, as uo^2, prevails. In the s. at Aylesbury I got *luov*, *kuom*, *buotŭ*, *uogli*, *druongk*, *uondŭ*, *tong*, *onggŭ*, *uop*, *thuorŭ*, *duov*, love, come, butter, ugly, drunk, under, tongue, hunger, up, thorough, shewing the indeterminacy even in this neighbourhood. U' is rather uncertain, but *aew* seems to prevail. The consonants are as in received speech. The *z*, *v* initial have become always *s*, *f*. The most important feature for the division of the districts is the treatment of the A- words as *eŭ*, which seems to prevail in country districts, although in Buckingham and Towcester town districts *ey* is occasionally found.

The following example was dictated to me at Aylesbury. The *e*, *u* are rather e^3, u^2 (EP. p. 190).

1. *auy bi* [*auy ŭr*] *ŭguoin tŭ see im sooŭn, auy tel)i.*

2. *buot auy sai, fadh·ŭr* [*feeŭdhŭr*] *ŭnd mudhŭr ŭ buoŭth an)ŭm turŭbl laiŭm wi)dhŭ roomŭtiz tŭdai·.*

3. *auy bi* [*auy)ŭr*] *ŭmooŭst ŭfeeŭd dhe wunt bi ŭget·in ŭbaewt ŭt)aul fŭr)ŭ long wauylst tŭ kum.*

4. *ŭn dooŭnt yŭ noa? dhai uol bi auf ŭgin ŭfuoŭ· wintŭr, un laiv mi uloo·ŭ·n i)dhŭ oa·l aews.*

5. *weeŭr ŭl dhe goo tŭ?*

6. *auy doaŭnt tŭzakli noa: sum waiŭz daewn i)dhŭ saewt, auy blai·v.*
7. *dhai·)l bi hevŭ sŭ long ŭwaiy·.*
8. *us eeŭd ŭ dhat yiŭstŭdai·.*
9. *did)yŭ naew? oo tuwld yŭ?*
10. *muoch guod mai it doo·)ŭm.*
11. *yu shŭl eeŭ drek·li us noa dhai bi ŭkum·in oaŭm [wum] ŭgin·.*
12. *soa guod nauyt.*

Notes.—1. 'I are' is more common than 'I be,' the *r* is euphonic before following vowel here and elsewhere. 2. I heard *faadh·ŭ* from the labourers. 4. *noa* distinctly not *noaw*; *oa·l*=old; the *aews* inclined to *aaws*. 6. *tŭzakli* is the common form, *hegzakli* exactly is emphatic. 7. *hervŭ* ever, the *h* is mere emphasis. 9. *tuwd* told, the *uw* quite distinct from *aew* in *saewt* south (*t* for *th*).

D 16 = ME. = Mid Eastern.

This contains most of Es. and Ht., all Bd. and Hu., and m.Np. It is a long straggling district, but very uniform, if we do not take into account the change of *u* to *uo* in n.Hu. and Np.

A- remains as *eŭ* or *ai* among old people, especially men; but in the younger generation, and even among old women, *eŭ* has become *ey* or *aey*. Thus a woman of 73 at Ardeley or Yardley, Ht. (8 e.Hitchin), said *aeyprŭn* apron, but reported that her grandmother called it *eŭprŭn*; two men of 77 and 73 at the same place said *mai·t* mate, but their wives of about the same age said *meyt*, *maeyt*. This treatment of A- is now the great character of D 16 or ME., and thus appears merely as the change of *ŭ* into *ĭ*, as *ey* is the equivalent of *eĭ*.

A′ as an old form is still *ooŭ*, *uoŭ*, but degenerates into *oaŭ*, and that into *oaŭŏ* or *oaw·*, although *oa·* occasionally remains.

I′, apparently to prevent confusion with A-, is now quite *auy*, which is the alphabetic name of 'i,' while 'a' is called *aey* or even *aay*.

U′, apparently to be distinguished from A′ (which, as just stated, has become nearly *uw*, or *ahw*), is changed to *aew*, *ew*, which are the general forms.

The received *ai·*, *oa*, *a²y*, *a²w*, thus become *aey·*, *oaw·*, *auy·*, *aew·*. [The permissible *ai·y*, *oa·w* which occur at the end of a phrase, at least, as *wot d)yoo sai·y? noa·w*, seem to have another origin, and must be distinguished from the dialectal *aey·*, *oaw·*.] These four shifts or changes form the main characteristic of ME. or D 16, which will be illustrated by examples from Ht., Bd., Hu., Np., and finally Es., the last being immediately connected with D 17 or SE.

i. Hertfordshire.

Ware, abbreviated cs. from dictation of a native (EP. p. 197).

The *e*, *u* were usually e^3, u^2. The (,) indicates a nasal pronunciation of the preceding vowel, heard when the specimen was dictated, but apparently not general in the dialect.

(1) *weŭl, neeŭbŭ, yeew ŭn ee· mŭ buo·ŭth lĕaa·f. eew keeŭz?* (2) *feew men dauy kŭz dhai ŭ lĕaa·ft ŭt. wee nuo·ŭz, duoănt)ŭs? t)ee·)nt weri loykli, is)t?* (3) *jist oaw·d yŭ rew, meŭt.* (4) *oy)m sut·n oy eeŭd ŭm syai,y, dhaat· oy deed, seeŭf ŭnyu·f,* (5) *dhaat dhŭ yunggest sun imsel·f, u greeŭt boy ŭ noyn, neew iz fĕaa,dhŭz voyŭs ŭt wu·ns, ŭn oy ŭd trust ŭm tŭ speeŭk dhŭ treewth eni dyai·y, aa·, oy ·wuod.* (6) *ŭn dh)oaw·d wuomŭn ŭsel·f, ŭl tel eni ŭv yŭ, ef yeew)l oa·ni aks)ŭ, oo·ŭ! wuoŭnt shi?* (7) *teeu ŭ threeŭ toymz uoŭrŭ!* (8) *ew·, weeŭr, ŭn wen shi fyewnt dhŭ drungkŭn beeŭst shŭ kaw·lz ŭr uzbŭn* [*oaw·d man*]. (9) *shŭ sii·d)ŭm wi ŭr oa·ŭn oyz ŭloyŭn streeŭcht o·n dhu gryewnd in iz guoŭd sundŭ kuo·ŭt, kluo·ŭs boy dhŭ duo·ŭr ŭ)dhŭ yew·s, dyew n ŭt th)kuo·ŭnŭr ŭ)dhŭ leeŭn indŭ.* (11) *ŭn dhaat aap·ŭnd ŭz shee· ŭn ŭr duo·ŭtŭr in laa· keeŭm threew dhŭ byakyĭaa,d frŭ ang·ŭn yew·t dhŭ weeŭt kluo·ŭz teew droy on ŭ wosh·ŭn de·y,* (12) *woyl dhu kitĕl wŭz ŭ baayl·ŭn fŭ tee.* (13) *ŭn d)yu nuo·ŭ? oy nevŭ laa·nt eni muo·ŭ dhŭn dheeŭs, ŭn ŭ duo·ŭnt wo·nt teew nudhŭ, dheeŭ nyew.* (14) *ŭn so· oy)m guo·ŭn uo·ŭm teew su·pŭ. guo)noyŭt.*

Ardeley or Yardley Wood End, Ht. (8 e.Hitchin) dt. (EP. p. 200).

(1) *soa oy sai·yz, me·ŭts, yeew see ne·w, dhaat· oy bee royt, tŭgidhŭr, ŭbe·wt dhaat· eŭ leetl gaal· ŭkum·in from dhu skeewl yaan·dŭ.* (2) *shee·)z ŭgoa·in de·wn dhŭ roa·ŭd dhe·ŭ threew dhŭ re·ŭd geeŭt on dhŭ left aan·d soyd ŭ)dhŭ we·y loyk.* (3) *sheewŭ nuf dhŭ choyld ŭ gau·n stroyt up teew dhŭ dooŭr ŭ)dhŭ rong e·ws,* (4) *we·ŭ shee·)ŭl moa·st ŭn ce·u foynd dhaat· drungkn de·ŭf see·ŭd chaap· neŭm ŭ Tau·mus.* (5) *wi aa·l noa·ŭz ŭn veri wel.* (6) *wunt dh)au l chaap seewn laa·n ŭ not tŭ deew ŭt ŭgeeŭn noydhŭ? puo·ŭ thing!* (7) *leewk! e·ŭ)nt ŭt treew!*

Notes.—Very drawled speech. 1. *together*, common mode of address to two or three people, in E. 4. *most on end*, a local phrase for generally, surely. *seared*, shrivelled. 5. *him*, this use of the S. form *ŭn* has not been confirmed, and is very doubtful.

ii. Bedfordshire.

T. Batchelor, in his "Orthoepical Analysis of the English Language," to which is added a minute and copious analysis of the dialect of Bd., 1809, has used a systematic orthography. He refers everything to the usual spelling, and hence each of his 17 rules refers to many original sounds, partly pointed out by prefixing the numbers of the ewl. As shewing pronunciation at the beginning of the xix th century, these rules will be given here very briefly (EP. p. 204).

1. 'ow' is generally *ew*, as 643 *new·* now. 640 *kew·* cow. 357 *dhew·* though. 601 *few·l* foul. *ew·l* owl. 578 *plew·* plough. *vew* vow. *ŭlew·* allow.

2. long 'u' is generally *eew·*, as 436 *treew·* true. *treew·s* truce. *meew·z* muse. *reew·in* ruin. *neewzŭns* nuisance. *kreew·il* cruel. *sleew·s* sluice.

3. 'ai ay' are *e·y*, as 161 *de·y* day. 262 *we·y* way. 261 *se·y* say. 141 *ne·yl* nail. *re·yl* rail. *pe·y* pay. *pe·yl* pail. But 'a' followed by a consonant and final 'e' is *eŭ*, *e·ŭ*, *ai·ŭ*, as *seŭl se·yl* sale sail. *teŭl te·yl* tale tail. *meŭl me·yl* male mail. *peŭl pe·yl* pale pail. Also *we·ŭr* wear. *teŭr* to tear. 346 *ge·ŭt* gate. *gre·ŭs* grace. 811 *ple·ŭs* place. *spe·ŭs* space. 833 *pe·ŭr* pear pair, and *ne·ŭshŭn* nation. *ste·ŭshŭn* station.

4. 'ea' and long 'e' before 'r' = *eeŭ*, as: 202 *heeŭt* heat. *meeŭt* meat. *sweeŭt* sweat. *beeŭt* beat. *feeŭr* fear. *Jeeŭmz* James. *peeŭr* pear. *beeŭr* bear. [The final *r* is really not pronounced except euphonically. The words are very variously derived, and the 'ea' spelling recent.]

5. 'oa' and 'o' before a consonant followed by 'e' = *ooŭ*, as: *mooŭn* moan. *grooŭn* groan. *throoŭt* throat. *booŭt* boat. *tooŭn* tone. *sŭpooŭz* suppose. *befooŭr* before. *mooŭr* more. *flooŭr* floor [same remarks as to 4]. But not in: hope home rope spoke oak told mould sold soul roll, and final no though doe crow, in all of which, I think, he used *oa·w*, he has no sign for any other long *oa·*.

6. 'o' short before *k*, *g*, *ng* is *oa* quite short, and run on to the consonant, as: *broak·* broke. *stroak·* stroke. *spoak·* spoke. *foak·* folk. *doag·* dog. *hoag·* hog. *roag·* rogue. *soang·* song. *loang·* long. *roang·* wrong.

7. *ung ungk* of rec. sp. become *uong·*, *uongk·*, as *suong·* sung. *duong·* dung, *huong* hung. *druongk·* drunk. *truongk·* trunk. *suongk·* sunk. *buong·* bung. *muong·gril* mongrel. *ŭmuong·* among.

8. 'oi, oy' become *uy*, in *bruyl* broil. 926 *spuyl* spoil. *fuyl* foil. 947 *buyl* boil. *suyl* soil. 965 *uyl* oil. *uynt·ment* ointment. *nuyz* noise. *tur·muyl* turmoil [here his *ur* is only long *u*']. *ruyŭl* royal, but is *oy* in enjoy, voice, choice, toys, boys. [This is really a xvii th century distinction.]

9. 'r' is not pronounced before 's' followed by 'e,' or by a consonant, as: 701 *fust* first. *dust* durst. *wust* worst. *kooŭs* course. *fooŭs* force [in the last two *ŭ* replaces the *r* as now]. 663 *au·s* horse. *bau·dŭr* border. *buth* birth. *wuth* worth. *wuos·tid* worsted.

10. 'ow' final is often *ŭ*, as: *elbŭ* elbow. *melŭ* mellow. *narŭ* narrow. *win·dŭ* window. Also *uydee·ŭ* idea. *pŭtai·ytŭ* potato. *Af·rikŭ* Africa. *chai·yni* china-ware.

11. '-nge' final = *nzh*, not *nj*, as: 849 *strai·ynzh* strange. *rai·ynzh* range. *mai·ynzh* mange. *sprinzh* springe. *sinzh* singe. *swinzh* swinge.

12. '-ing' of participles = *in*, as: *sing·in* singing. *gooin* going.

13. 'wh' initial is simple *w*, as: *wot* what.

14. 'h' initial generally omitted, as: 290 *ee* he. 483 *iz* his. 470 *im* him, but sometimes inserted in the wrong place, as: 335 *hau·l* all. *hew·l* owl. *hau·dŭr* order [really no *r* final]. *haks* axes. *hand·uy·ŭn* andiron.

15. '-aw' final generally *-aa·*, but the custom is disappearing, as: 17 *laa·* law. *saa·* saw. *klaa·* claw.

16. 'er ir' followed by a consonant is *ur* [*ur*[10] at most, generally *u·* accented, and *ŭ* unaccented, as here written]. *pŭhap·s* perhaps. *pŭswai·ŭd* persuade. *pu·rt* pert. *mus·ifuol* merciful. *pu·sŭn* person.

17. unaccented 'o' and even 'a' are replaced by *ŭ*, as: *in·ŭsŭns* innocence. *ŭku·* occur. *ŭfen·d* offend. *ŭlooŭ·n* alone. *ŭkew·nt* account.

Note.—'I are' for 'I am' is common, and 'he'm she'm we'm yon'm they'm' are used by a few. On the borders of Bu. 'I be' may be heard.

To compare this old form with one 70 years later, take the following abridged cs. written from dictation.

MID BD. (EP. p. 206).

(1) *wel, neŭ·bŭ, yeew ŭn ee mŭ booŭth la·f. eew keeŭz?* (2) *feew men doy koz dhŭ bi laa·ft ŭt. wi noa·, doa·nt wi? it iz·ŭnt vuri loykli, iz it?* (3) *jist oa·ld yŭ noyz, frind.* (4) *oy)m saa·tŭn oy u·d)ŭm se·,—dhat did oy seŭf [seeŭf] ŭnuf·—*(5) *dhŭt dhŭ yuong·gist sun izsel·f, ŭ gu·t booy ŭ noyn, noa·d eez fadh·ŭz voys ŭt wuns, ŭn oy ŭd trust ·im tŭ spe·k dhu treewth ani de·, aa, oy ·uod.* (6) *ŭn dhŭ oa·l)d)uom·ŭn ŭsel·f ŭl tel ani ŭ yeew, if soa bee ŭz yeew)l oa·ni aks)ŭ, oa·, wunt shi?* (7) *teew ŭ three· toymz oa·vŭ.* (8) *ew·, weeŭr, ŭn wen shi fun dhŭ druongkŭn beeŭst ŭz shi kau·lz ŭr uzbŭn.* (9) *she seed im wi ŭr ooŭn oyz, le·in strecht an dhŭ grew·nd in eez guod sundi kooŭt, kloa·s bi dhŭ dooŭr ŭ)dhŭ ew·s, dew·n ŭt dhŭ kau·nŭr ŭ dhat dheŭ leŭn.* (11) *ŭn dhaat· aap·ŭnd ŭz shee ŭn ŭ dau·tŭr in lau·ŭ kum threew dhŭ bak yaa·d from ŭ aang·ŭn ew·t dhŭ wet klooŭz tŭ droy aan ŭ woshin de·,* (12) *woyl dhŭ kitl wur ŭ buylin fu tee·.* (13) *ŭn dŭ yeew noa·? oy nirŭ laa·nt aan·i mooŭ nŭ dhis, ŭn oy do·nt wo·nt teew udh·ŭ, dheeŭ new·!* (14) *ŭn soa· oy bi ŭgŏŏ·in hum tŭ aa· mi supŭ. guod noyt.*

And to compare the specimen of Bd. speech with the others, exemplified by a dt., take the following as dictated by a native.

RIDGMONT (9 ssw.Bedford) dt. (EP. p. 206).

(1) *soa· oy se·y, mai·yts, yoo see naew· au)ŭ royt ŭbaew·t dhaat· litl gel [gal] kum·in from dhŭ skuol yon·dŭ.* (2) *ur)ŭ goa·in daew·n dhŭ rooŭd dhe·ŭ throo dhŭ red ge·ŭt on dhŭ left aan·d soyd ev dhŭ wai·y.*

(3) *shu·r ŭnuf· dhŭ choyld)z gaun· strai·ŭt up tŭ dhŭ dooŭr ŭ)dhŭ rong aews,* (4) *wu· shi)l loykli foynd dhaat· drungk·n def sringk ld fel·ŭr) ŭv dhŭ nai·ŭm ŭv Tum·us.* (5) *wi au·l noa·z ŭm veri wel.* (6) *wunt dh)oa·ld chaap· suon tai·ch [laa·n] ŭ not tŭ doo·)t ŭgin·, peew·ŭ thing!* (7) *luok)ee, ai·nt it treew [truew]?*

iii. Huntingdonshire.

In that part of Hu. which is s. of the n. *sum* line 1 the difference from Bd. is very slight, and there being no mixed *som* region, the change from *sum* to *suom* or *suo²m* is very sudden somewhere between Gt. Stukeley (2 nnw.Huntingdon) and Sawtry, only 6 or 7 miles further n.

Great Stukeley dt. (EP. p. 211).

(1) *soa·w oy saey, maeyts, yuo see naew dhŭt oy)m royt ŭbaew·t dhŭt litl gyal kum·in frŭm dhu skoo·l yin·dŭ.* (2) *shee)z guoin daew·n dhŭ rooŭd dhe·ŭ, threew dhŭ red gyaeyt on dhŭ left aan·d soyd ŭ)dhŭ waey.* (3) *shooŭ ŭnuf· dhŭ choyld)z gaun· straiyt up teew dhŭ do·ŭ ŭ)dhŭ rong aew·s,* (4) *weeŭ shi)l chaa·ns teew foynd dhaat drungk·n deth sriv·ŭld fel·ŭ ŭ)dhŭ naeym ŭ Tum·us.* (5) *wi au·l on us noa·w·z im veri wel.* (6) *wunt dhŭ oa·wld chaap· soo·n tee·ch)ŭ not tŭ deew it ŭgen·, po·ŭ thing!* (7) *luok! aiynt it treew?*

Now if in this dt. we change *kum·in ŭnuf· up Tum·us wunt* into *kuo²m·in ŭnuo²f· uo²p Tuo²m·us wuo²nt*, the dt. will do for Sawtry, but *kum·in* is a word which does not regularly change. All n. of Sawtry, as Holme (2 n.Sawtry) *uo*, in the form *uo²* as in the M. div., replaces *u*. Hence we have a convincing proof that this change does not necessarily affect dialectal speech in any other respect. Although it has the transitional M. *uo²*, yet the speech of n.Hu. is certainly not M. in other respects.

iv. Northamptonshire.

The change in passing to m.Np. is almost imperceptible, as is shewn by the following dt.

Lower Benefield (3 w.Oundle) (EP. p. 218).

(1) *sow· aay saey, chaap·s, yŭ see· naew ŭz aayŭ [aay)m] rahyt ŭbaew·t dhaat litl wench kum·in frŭm dhŭ skoo·l dhe·ŭ.* (2) *shee·)z guo·in daew·n dhŭ roa·wd dhe·ŭ throo· dhŭ red gyaayt on dhŭ left aan·d*

saayd ŭ)dhŭ waay. (3) *bi aang·d, if dhŭ chaayld ai·nt gau·n strayt wo²p tŭ)dhŭ rong doaw·ŭ* [*aew·s*], (4) *wae·ŭ shee)l veri laayk fahynd dhaat· druo²ngk·n def skyin·i chaap·* [*fel·ŭ*] *ŭ)dhŭ ne·ym ŭ Tom.* (5) *wo²s au·l naaw im veri wel.* (6) *wuo²nt dhŭ oaw·ld chaap· soo·n laaŭn)ŭ not tŭ doo· it ŭgyen·, poa·ŭ thing* [*wench*]. (7) *look· yŭ! ai·nt it treew?*

The long 'i' was here uncertainly dictated as *aay ahy*, and probably *oy* is the correct form, as this was obtained from most places in the neighbourhood.

v. Essex.

After this journey n. we start again from Ht. and go e. to Es., where all the ME. forms are intensified.

A- becomes *ey*, *aey*, *aay*, and the first letter of the alphabet is often called *aay*.

A′- is often *o·* or *u*, as 115 *o·m um* home. 86 *o·ts uts* oats, but in a few words is *oa·w*, as 92 *noa·w* know.

I′- varies, as *ahy oy auy*, and is hence kept clear of A-, as *taeym* tame. *toym* time.

U′- is generally *aew*.

V is replaced by *w*, an e. coast habit in Ke., Es., Nf. When in isolated cases *v* is heard to replace *w*, it seems to be only a 'refinement,' the speaker having acquired the power of saying *v*, and knowing that he ought to use it in most cases, but not having any natural guide, carries the correction too far, and intrudes *v* into words which should have *w*. I have never personally met with, or heard of others meeting with, a natural substitution of *v* for *w*, although it is commonly assumed in literature that where *v*=*w*, there also *w*=*v*. I got the following *w* words from Es.: *witl* victual. *winŭgŭ* vinegar. *weri* very. *woys* voice. *wes·lz* vessels.

Maldon (9 e.Chelmsford) dt. (EP. p. 223).

(1) *soaw· oy say, mayts, yaew· see nyaew· dhŭt oy)m royt ŭbaew·t dhat· lit·l gel* [*gal*] *ŭkum·in from dhŭ skoo·l yon·dŭ.* (2) *ŭt bee ŭgeeŭn daew·n dhŭ rooŭd dheeŭ throo dhŭ red gayt on dhŭ left an·d soyd ŭ)dhŭ way.* (3) *shooŭr ŭnuf· dhŭ choyld ŭz gau·n strayt up tŭ dhŭ dooŭr ŭ dhŭ rong aew·s,* (4) *weeŭ shee)ŭl loykli foynd dhat· drungk·n def sriv·ld fel·ŭr ŭ dhŭ naym ŭv Tom·us.* (5) *us au·l noa· im weri wel.* (6) *oa·nt dhŭ oa·ld chaap· soon tai·ch* [*laa·n*] *ŭ not tŭ duu it ŭgin·, poa·ŭ thing!* (7) *luok! ai·nt it treew?*

D 17 = SE. = South Eastern.

This contains all Mi., se. of Bu., s. of Ht., and sw. of Es, and hence all London n. of the Thames, together with its n., ne. and nw. suburbs. It is essentially a place where dialect could not grow up, because of the large mass of changing, and more or less educated population. But under the whole lies a ME. substratum which influences all above it. In the rural districts all the information I have been able to obtain, slight and unsatisfactory as it is, tends in this direction, and shews the speech to be a worn-out ME. dialect. But in North and East London, within the last 50 years apparently, especially Es. forms have obtained more and more root, and, if we may judge by what has happened in previous centuries, will perhaps in another 50 or 100 years give the tone to our speech. It is remarkable that in the American Colonies, afterwards the United States, a distinctly East Anglian character (see D 19) was introduced, and that in the Australian Colonies the whole speech is modelled upon the n. and e. London, or so-called Cockney habits, which are essentially ME., and especially Es., rather exaggerated than obliterated. Two of the most distinctive modern marks of Cockney pronunciation are asserted to be *bout reis* (leaving the diphthongs unanalysed) for *boa·t rai·s* boat race. I think that the real sounds seldom go beyond *boaw·t rae·ys*, which literary men delight to write as 'bout rice.' Both of these are ME. Neither of them were known to the compiler of 'Errors of Pronunciation,' 1817, and neither appear in Dickens's 'Pickwick,' where they would have made prime fun, nor in the early volumes of 'Punch.' Although I was myself born and passed my early life in the north of London, it is only of late years that they have forced themselves on my attention. They however now take the form of changing modern *ai· oa·* (or Ws. short open A and long A′) into *ei ou*, just as the XIVth century *ee oo* (or Ws. I′, U′) have become *ei*, *ou* in received speech. Of course it would lead to all manner of ambiguities if *ei*, *ou* were now used in both senses. Hence the tendency, well shewn in ME., but not so strongly developed in London, is to develope I′, U′ further into *oi*, *aew*. The last *aew* reduced to *ew* is already very prevalent, even among persons of considerable education, but *oi* seldom reaches further than *aay*, *ahy*. Thus, 'now I see the boat race,' which in received speech is *nou ei see· dhŭ boa·t rai·s*, has a tendency to become *naew· oy see· dhŭ bout reis*. Thus stated, the ME. relations are self-evident. Beyond this the treatment

of 'r, h, v' are considered strong marks. The 'r' is strictly ME., omitted after *aa·*, *au*, *u·*, *ŭ*, but euphonically introduced before a following vowel, even when there was no original *r*, and otherwise merely *ŭ*. This we have seen abundance of. The r^7 was a degradation of S. r^8, but becomes now a purism when not before a vowel, and otherwise a mere imperfection of speech. The permissive r^2 must also be considered as a convenient but little used purism, that is, an attempt to revive the written 'r' to the ear. The 'h' generally vanishes, or is used where not written, where the speaker is emphatic. This is common in all dialects, and is not at all distinctive of Cockney speech. The *w* for *v* seems to be a general east coast habit (pp. 35, 56). There is a peculiar thinness about *a* and *u*, which prevails in the best circles, but is odious to people from other parts of England, to whom *ma¹n* sounds as *me²n*, and *su¹m* almost as *se²m*, and in the 'Kaukneigh Awlmineck,' 1883, both sounds are represented by 'e,' as 'bed men' bad man, 'sem kezzins' some cousins. It is true I occasionally, but very rarely, hear *ke²b*, *be²ngk* cab, bank, but cannot recall other words. It seems that *ma¹n*, *su¹m*, are modern refinements, the real E. dialectal forms being *ma²n*, *ma³n*, and *su²m*, for which *man*, *sum* are here written as sufficiently approximate forms. The M. forms are *maan·*, *suo²m*, which are quite different, and sufficiently disagreeable to Southerners. It would be impossible to illustrate this mode of speech by any system of approximative writing, and hence the above remarks must suffice.

D 18 = NE. = North Eastern.

This district contains the whole of Cb. and Rt., and the intervening ne. part of Np.

The main distinction is in the A- words, which become *ai·* without any vanish or tendency to *ey*, thus *lai·m* lame, and neither *laiŭm* nor *lai·ym*, *ley·m*, except just at the borders of Hu., Bd., Ht., Es. The A′ words have also rather *oa·* than *oaw*, *oa·w*. The U′ words have however generally *aew*. Through the n. of Cb. runs the n. *sum* line 1, and hence north of this we always have *suom* or *suo²*m in Cb., Np. and Rt.

This form of speech may be illustrated by a dt. from the extreme s. and another from the extreme n., both from dictation of natives. The intermediate Np. was carefully explored, but only wl. obtained. The character is essentially the same as that of the others.

WOOD DITTON, Cb. (13c.Cambridge) dt. (EP. p. 250).

(1) *naew oy deew se·, tŭgedh·ŭ, yuw see naew, oy bi royt ŭbaew·t dhat eŭ litl gel* [*mau dhŭ*] *kum·ŭn frŭm dhat eŭ skeewl* [*dhŭ skeewl yundŭ, hin·dŭ*]. (2) *shee bi goa·in daewn dhŭ rod dheŭ, threew dhŭ red gaayt on dhŭ left han soyd ŭ)dhŭ rod.* (3) *sheewŭ ŭnaew· dhat choyld)z gon stroyt up tŭ dhŭ doa·ŭ ŭ)dhŭ rong haew·s,* (4) *weŭ shee)l hap·n foynd dhat drungk·n dif wiz·nd fel·ŭ, ŭ)dhŭ naiŭm ŭ Tumus.* (5) *wee au·l noa· ŭm wel enaew·* [*weri wel*]. (6) *oa·nt dhŭ oa·l chap seewn tai·ch* [*laa·n*] *shee not tŭ deew dhat ŭgin·, poa·ŭ thing!* (7) *luok, tŭgedh·ŭ, be·nt it treew?*

Notes.—(1) *mau·dhŭ* belongs properly to D 19, on which Wood Ditton borders. (4) *naiŭm* was *nai·m* at Cambridge.

COTTESMORE, Rt. (4 nne.Oakham) dt. (EP. p. 255).

(1) *soa· oy sai·, buot·iz, yŭ sey nuw dhŭt oy)m royt ŭbuwt dhaat· lit·l gel kuom·ŭn frŭm yon* [*yen*] *skeewl.* (2) *shey)z goaŭn duw·n dhŭ roa·d dheŭ throo dhŭ red gai·t on dhŭ left aan·d soyd ŭ)dhŭ wai·.* (3) *sheewŭr ŭnuof· dhŭ choyld ŭz gon strai·t uop tŭ dhŭ duo·ŭr ŭ)dhŭ rong aew·s,* (4) *weeŭ shey)l chans tŭ foyn dhat druongk·n def sriv·ld felŭ, ŭ)dhŭ nai·m ŭ Tom·us.* (5) *wee au·l noa· im weri wel.* (6) *woo·nt dhe oa·ld chaap· seewn tee·ch ŭ not tŭ doo it ŭgin·* [*ŭgen·*], *poa·ŭ thingk!* (7) *loo·k, ai·nt it troo?*

Notes.—(1) *·soa· sai·* with no vanish. (1) *sey* and (2) *shey* for *see, shee,* are M. encroachments. (5) *weri,* at least inclined that way, but not quite certain; *wit·lz* victuals was the only *w* word about which my informant was sure.

D 19 = EE. = East Eastern.

This district contains the whole of the two counties of Nf. and Sf., generally known collectively as East Anglia. In intonation, the 'drant' of Nf. and the 'whine' of Sf. are well known, but like other intonations, they are difficult to understand, and practically impossible to symbolise. Nall (*Glossary*, p. 488) calls them "a shrill whining recitative, commonly called 'the Nf. drant' and 'the Sf. whine' (the latter the broader and more drawling intonation), the speaker's voice running up and down a half octave of sharp notes, with now and then a most querulous cadence." This gives very little information of any sort, and the exact meaning of the words is difficult to seize. This must therefore be left undescribed.

The transformation of O′ into French *ue* is, next to the intonation, usually considered as characteristic of EE. Thus we expect to hear 555 *shue·* shoe. 556 *tue·* too. 560 *skue·l* school. 561 *blue·m* bloom.

562 *mue·n* moon. 564 *sue·n* soon. *kue·l* cool. *tue·l* tool. *stue·l* stool. 556 & 586 *tue due·* to do. 588 *nue·n* noon. 589 *spue·n* spoon. *mue·ŭ* moor. 594 *bue·t* boot. *rue·t* root. When the vowel has been previously shortened, as in look, mother, Monday, book, took, good, blood, flood, stood, done, foot, soot, this change does not occur. Even the long vowel is occasionally unchanged, as in nose, floor. Now this change, whatever it may really be, is certainly very recent. The oldest English Latin Dictionary, the 'Promptorium Parvulorum,' 1440, avowedly written in the English of this region, spells: schoo, scole, blome, mone, sone, brode (which does duty for both 'brood' and 'broad') coolynge, tool, stool, doon (inf. of *do*), noone, spone, moore, bote, rote, where it must be remembered that '*oo*' at that time meant glossic *oa·* or *ao·*, that is, long 'ō,' and not the glossic *oo*. The writer therefore clearly pronounced all these words with long *oa·*, and it was not till the end of the xv th and during the xvi th century that these words came to have *oo·*. In pronouncing this vowel many persons begin with an open mouth, producing *oo*², which commences with a sound vaguely like *ue* and ends with *oo*. This may possibly be the origin of the use of *eew* in Cb. and w.Sf., and some sound like *ue* in e.Nf. and e.Sf. There is no doubt that those on whom I relied for Nf. and Sf. pron., with one exception, did use some variety of *ue*, and even began *ue* occasionally with the mouth open, producing a kind of *ĕĕue* (written briefly *ue*⁴) not unlike *eew*. The exception was a gardener, native of, but long absent from, Kimberley (10 wsw.Norwich), who said *treoŭth* truth, *teew* two, *truw* through, *sheewŭ* sure, *fyeowl* fool, *feow·* few, or something which I so appreciated. It is remarkable that when Mr. Hallam was exploring the boundaries of the s. *suom* line 2 in nw. Nf., and even when he had long passed it, he never found any *ue* to record. But he found *shoo shoo*² shoe, *teew too*¹ too, *skoo·l skoa·wl* school, *moo·n moa·wn* moon, *soo·n* soon, *deew doo*² do, *duon* done, *noo*²*n* noon. This is certainly very remarkable. My w.Sf. authority also repudiated *ue*, although he admitted it to be a Nf. sound, and said *teew* too, *noon·* noon, *truoŭth* truth. Now this *truoŭth* and the gardener's *treoŭth* may really have been *troo*²*th*, and his *fyeowl*, *feow·*, with which analysis I was not satisfied at the time, may have been *foo*²*l*, *foo*², with which, when I wrote from his dictation, I was not well acquainted. As this is a point which cannot be settled without a peregrination among the peasants of Nf. and Sf., to ascertain whether they say *ue*, *ue*⁴, *eew*, or *oo*², the question must for the present be left undecided; but in the meantime there is a suspicion that *ue*, *ue*⁴ are frequently mishearings of ears accustomed to French sounds or their English appreciation. There is, however, a possibility

of their being developments of *oo*², of which *eew* is almost certainly a form, and is prevalent in Cb. and w.Sf.

A- words have *e·* *ae·*, as *lae·*m lame, and ÆG, EG words have *ey·* *ae·y*, at least in ne.Nf., as *nae·yl* nail.

A′ words have *oa·* without the vanish, as *boa·t* boat.

Many of the E- words have *e·*, as *spe·k* speak.

Long I′ words vary, as *uy*, *ahy*.

Long U′ words also vary as *uw aew*, but the latter is most general.

R is treated as usual in the E. div., and 'v' is regularly *w*, at least in Nf. It is disputed in Sf., but as it exists in Nf. and Es., it cannot well be absent in Sf.

There are some peculiar words and uses. *Mau·dhŭ+r*, or *mau·+r* is applied to women of all ages, the contracted form being chiefly for young girls. It seems to be the same word as 'mother,' often called *modh·ŭ* here (not *mudh·ŭ* as usual), and is spelled 'moder' in both senses in the 'Promptorium.' *Bau·* is applied to men of all ages, and even to women, but the word is not found in the 'Promptorium,' and its origin is uncertain. 'Together,' is used as the plural of *bau·* in addressing several persons. This is also the case in Cb., where also *mau·dhŭ* is sometimes used. 'Come to mine,' i.e. my house, 'he LIVE there, he DO,' are usages throughout the E. div.

i. The nw. variety is entirely in the mixed *som* region, both *sum* and *suo*²*m* are used. But the inhabitants are scarcely aware which is said. A woman of Middleton (5 se.King's Lynn) said *ku*²*p*, and her husband from Narborough (10 se.King's Lynn) said *kuo*²*p*, but they were not at all aware that they pronounced differently, till Mr. Hallam, with some difficulty, made them perceive it. In the following dt. from the last place named, *u* and not *uo*² is employed.

NARBOROUGH, Nf. (10 se.King's Lynn) dt. from a native. (EP. p. 263).

(1) *soa· uy sai·, tŭgidh·ŭ, look· e·ŭ, yoo see nuw dhŭt uy)m ruyt ŭbuw·t dhaat· lit·l mau·dhŭ kum·ăn frŭm skoo·l yun·dŭ.* (2) *shee)z goa·ŭn duwn dhŭ roa·d dhe·ŭ troo² dhŭ red gyai·t on dhŭ left and suyd ŭ dhŭ wae·y.* (3) *uy)l bi bloa·wd, dhŭ lit·l mau·dhŭr ŭz gaun· straeyt up tŭ)dhŭ)rong doo·ŭ* [*uwz*], (4) *we·ŭ shee)l verŭ luykli fuynd dhat drungk·n def fel·ŭ ŭz wi au·l kau·l oaw·ld Tom, ee)z gyet·n luyk ŭ skyel·itn, tŭgidh·ŭ.* (5) *wi au·l noa·w him ver·u we·l.* (6) *wo·nt dhŭ oaw·ld chap soo·n tee·ch ŭ fŭ not tŭ doo· it en·i mo·ŭ, poo·ŭ mau·dhŭ!* (7) *look· e·ŭ! it)s troo² wot uy se·d.*

Notes.—The following omitted words were pronounced afterwards: *mai·ts* mates, *gel* girl, *shoo²ŭ* sure, *chuyld* child, *chaa·ns* chance, *shrimps shruwd*, *nai·m* name, *thing*. The *uy* (or *u²y*) tended at times to *a²y* or *a³y*.

ii. ne.Nf. variety. Here and in s Nf. no *suom* or *suo²m* occurs, but only *sum*, so that the separation is very sharp. My information came from Stanhoe (8 sw. Wells-next-the-Sea), where only *sum* is used, but *suo²m* is found at Snettisham, only 8 w.Stanhoe, and at Hunstanton, only 8 nw. Stanhoe. The Nf. treatment of 'ou, ow' is peculiar, and Forby (East Anglian Glossary) recognises three forms, which he does not describe intelligibly. My informant recognised only two, apparently *u²w*, *u³w*, of these *u²w* is regular for A'W, and *u³w* for U', EOW, EA'W, thus: *shi sat oa·vŭ dhi fu³yr ŭ su³w·in ŭ pok·ut-hangkŭchŭ, ŭn dhi faa·dhŭ, ·hee went u³wt tŭ su²w dhi koaŭn*, she sat over the fire a sewing a pocket-handkerchief, and the father, ·he went out to sow the corn. The *u³w* approaches in sound to a faint *ew*, but I often found it difficult to distinguish it from *u²w*, though my informant never failed to feel and know the difference (EP. p. 268).

There were also two forms of I', the regular *u³y* and an occasional *aay*, *u²y*, which I could not classify, thus: *u³y* I, *chu³yld* child, *blu²ynd* blind, *gru²ynd* grind, *fu²ynd* find, *tu³ym* time (EP. p. 266).

O' was regularly *ue²*, *ue⁴* in my informant's pronunciation, yet Mr. Hallam heard *oo²* at Stanhoe.

ÆG was regularly *ae·y*, as *nae·yl* nail.

'Thr-' became *tr*, as *tree· trip·ŭni tridz*, three threepenny threads.

W was always used for *v*, but not conversely.

The following especial words, besides a complete wl. and phrases, were dictated by my informant (EP. p. 264):

wu²n, *tue²*, *tree*, *fu²w·ŭ*, *fu³yv*, *sik* (not *siks*), *sav·n*, *ae·t*, *nu³yn*, *tan*, *lav·n*, *twalv*, *thu²t·i*, *hu²ndrŭd*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 30, 100.

hee u²ld ŭ stuon at)ŭm, he hurled a stone at them.

fae·t lit·l mau·dhŭ, fete (pretty) little girl.

lat·ŭ, *noavam·bŭ*, *disam·bŭ*, *tam·pŭ*, *brad ŭn chee·z*, letter, November, December, temper, bread and cheese.

u³w d)yŭ fe·ŭ tŭ due²? how do you fare to do? This 'fare,' the same word as in 'farewell,' is in very common use in a variety of senses.

ŭ re·ŭ fantee·g, *ŭ fu³w brau·th*, a rare state of mind, a few (some) broth.

ru²f, *a hau·n ŭ beeŭ—kmaa·dhŭ*, *wae·yz*, roof, a horn of beer—(to horses) come-hither, (go) ways.

chach·mŭn, *ŭ lai·s ŭ baa·dz*, *ŭ lai·sh ŭ hu³wndz*, churchmen, a leash of birds, a leash of hounds.

To which may be added the following dt.

STANHOE (*Stan·ŭ*) dt. (EP. p. 264).

(1) *soa aay sae·y, mae·ts, yu²w see nu³w dhŭt aay)m ru³yt ŭbu³wt dhaat· lit·l maw·dhŭ ku²m·ŭn from dhŭ skue⁴l yon·dŭ.* (2) *shee·)z ŭgoa·ŭn du³un dhŭ roa·wd dhai·ŭ, true² dhŭ red gyet on dhu left haan·d su³yd ŭv dhŭ waey·.* (3) *sue²ŭr ŭnu²f· dhŭ mau·dhŭ hŭ gon straey·t u²p tŭ dhŭ doo·ŭr ŭ dhŭ rong u³ws,* (4) *wai·ŭ shee)l chaa,ns tŭ faaynd dhat dru²ngk·n def shriv·ld fu²l·ŭ ŭ dhŭ ne·ym a Tom·us.* (5) *wee au·l nu²w im wer·i wel.* (6) *woa·nt dhŭ oaw·ld chap sue²n tai·ch ŭ not tŭ due²)it ŭgen·, puo·ŭ thing!* (7) *luok)ŭ, ai·nt it true⁴?*

iii. s.Nf. variety. The differences between this and the last are almost none. I give examples which were dictated to me in and about Norwich in 1868. I was unable to hear the distinctions *aay u²y u³y, u²w u³w*, and write simply *uy, uw*, and also *ue* for *ue²* (EP. p. 276).

1. *uy sai·, bau, due yue see dhat dhŭ mai·vish nap·in dhat dhŭ dodmŭn on ŭ ston·?* I say, mate, do you see that there thrush napping that there snail on a stone? *Yue* should probably be *yuw*.
2. A. *doa·n)sŭn hul·in!* don't stand (go on) hurling (i.e. throwing, the word commonly used).
   B. *hue·)z ŭ hul·in?* who is a-hurling?
   A. *·yuw wŭz ŭ hul·in,* ·you was a-hurling.
   B. *·uy wau·nt ŭ hul·in,* ·I was)not a-hurling.
   A. *tel yuw yŭ ·wuz, fau yuw hit mŭ in dhŭ uy widh ŭ gue·zbŭri,* tell you you was, for you hit me in the eye with a gooseberry. [The *ue·* in the last word extra long.]
3. *wau·t ŭ yŭ goa·in tŭ dhŭ faa· fau, bau, widh dhem dhŭ ship?* What are you going to the fair for, mate, with them there sheep?
4. *dhŭ ship iz plan·yan wen it fe·ŭ tue bee kaaynd ŭ duz·i.* The sheep is 'plaignant' when it fares to be kind of dizzy. This *kaaynd ŭ*, usually written 'kinder,' is the origin of the American word so written.
5. *uy wau·nt yŭ, hee ka³nt du)t.* I warrant you, he can't do)it.
6. *doo·t raa,n, bau? yes, it due·.* Does it rain, mate? yes, it does.
7. A. *waay dao·nt yŭ paa·)mee dhat)dhŭ tue· paew·nd yŭ ao·)mee fŭ dhem dhŭ tue· ship?* Why don't you pay)me that there two pound you owe)me for them there two sheep?

B. *·uy dao·nt ao· yuw nao· tue· paew·nd.* I don't owe you no two pound.

A. *yuu due·*, you do. [Goes on smoking.]

B. *uy)d nok dhut dhŭ puyp aew·t ŭ yo·ŭ maew·th, if uy daa·ŭ!* I'd knock that there pipe out of your mouth, if I dare.

A. *aa·! yuw)ŭ daa·k ŭnuf·, Hin·dri, bau, yuw)ŭ blak ŭnuf·, yuw ·wuod, ai· yuw daa·ŭ, but yuw daa·sŭnt.* Ah! you are dark enough, Andrew, mate, you are black enough, you ·would if you dare, but you durst'nt. [Bangs down his fist, upsets table and breaks glasses.]

B. *dou·, bau, yuw)v dun·)it naew·, ai·nt)yŭ? yuw'l hav tŭ pae· fŭ dhat naew·, bau.* There, mate, you've done it now, haven't you? you'll have to pay for that now, mate. [Fierce altercation, during which my informant said that he escaped.]

8. Street cries heard repeatedly at Norwich: *naiŭĕ blao·tŭz eeŭ, fahyn bloat·ŭz, yaa·mŭth bloaytŭz.* New bloaters here, fine bloaters, Yarmouth bloaters. There were three different vendors, and each pronounced 'bloaters' differently. *meeŭlk! muŭlk foyn!* milk, milk fine.

iv. e.Sf. variety. The difference from Nf. is here very slight. The following was dictated to me:

FRAMLINGHAM (9 nne.Woodbridge), WOODBRIDGE, AND STOWMARKET (16 ne.Woodbridge). (EP. p. 279.)

(1) *wel, naa·bŭ, yuw ŭn hee mŭ buoth laa·f, hue⁴ ke·ŭ?* (2) *fue⁴ men daay koz dhe·ŭ laa·ft ŭt, wee· nao·, daoŭnt wee?* (3) *jes hoa·d yŭ noyz, bau·ŭ.* (4) *ŭ)m saa·tin aay heeŭd ŭm sai·ŭ, dhat ŭ did, sue⁴ŭr ŭnuw·,* (5) *dhŭt dhŭ yung·gist sun hizself, ŭ greŭt buoy ŭ naayŭn, nue⁴)z faa·dhŭz voays dheeŭr ŭn dhen, ŭn aa)d trust)ŭm tŭ speŭk dhŭ true⁴th en·i de·y, ·dhat a ·wuod.* (6) *ŭn dh)ao·d wuom·ŭn asel·f ŭl tel en·i on)yŭ, ef yoŭ)ŭl oan·i ask)ŭ, oa·nt shee?* (7) *tue⁴ ŭ three taaymz uov·ŭ,* (8) *haew·, we·ŭr ŭn wen she faew·nd dhŭ drungk·n bee·st shee kau·l ŭ huz·bŭnd.* (9) *shee see· im ŭdh ŭr ao·n aayz ŭle·ŭn strecht on dhŭ graew·nd in iz Sun·di kloo·z, kloos· bi dhŭ doo·ŭr ŭ dhŭ aew·s daew·n ŭgin· dhŭ kau·nŭr ŭ dhŭ le·ŭn hin·dŭ.* (11) *un dhat dhe·ŭ hap·nd jes ŭz shee ŭn ŭ daa·tŭr in law· kum thruw dhŭ bakyaad aa·tŭ dhai·)d hung aew·t dhŭ wet kluo·z, wun wosh·ŭn de·ŭ,* (12) *waayl dhŭ kit·l wŭz ŭ baaylŭn fŭ tee.* (13) *ŭn dii yŭ noa·w? aay niv·ŭ hee·ŭd noa moo·ŭr, ŭn aay dao·nt wont nudh·ŭ, dhe·ŭ naew·!* (14) *ŭn soaw· ŭ)m ŭ goa·ŭn huom tŭ sup·ŭ. guod naayt.*

The following brief examples were dictated to me, together with a full wl. from Southwold (12 sw.Lowestoft on the coast) (EP. p. 284).

1. *mul·ŭ pe·ŭz, gue·zbrez, rau·sbrez*, mellow (always used for ripe) pears, gooseberries, raspberries.
2. *aa· yuw ŭgau·n tŭ chuch tŭde·y?* are you a-going to church to-day?
3. *wue·z dhat? dhŭ ne·ŭshŭnŭl skue·l te·ŭchŭ*, who's that? the National School teacher.
4. *ŭ ge·ŭl frŭm dhŭ suthe·ŭst, shey)z drip·ŭn wat, ey waw·nt*, a gale from the South-East, she's dripping wet, I warrant.
5. *ha· yuw sin maay yung)ŭn? hey)ŭ bin ŭ plai·yŭn ŭn troo·ntŭn is mau·nŭn*, have you seen my young 'un? he has been a-playing and truanting this morning.
6. *list, wuol)yŭ, put dhis kil·ŭ in dhŭ wesh·ŭs, ŭn git dhŭ big baaylŭ fŭ dhŭ sue·p*, listen, will you, put this cooler (washtub) in the washhouse, and get the big boiler for the soup.
7. *ey uld ŭ stuon ŭgin· dhu baw·z ŭn mau·z*, he hurled a stone against the boys and girls.
8. *aay)m ŭgau·n ŭmaa·ketŭn tŭnaay·t wi maay oaw·d man, ey)z ut iz le·g*, I'm a going a-marketing to night with my old man, he)z hurt his leg.
9. *maay mudh·ŭ kap mey t)uom tŭ nus dhŭ be·ŭbi*, my mother kept me at)home to nurse the baby.
10. *wus ŭn ·at, t)e·nt noa· foa·t ŭ maayn, git ŭ trip·ŭni trid, ŭn doa·nt tred oa·vŭ dhŭ trosh·ŭl*, worse than that, it is not no fault of mine, get a threepenny thread, and don't tread over the threshold.

v. w.Sf. The following abridged cs. is from dictation:

PAKENHAM (5 e.ne. Bury St. Edmund's) (EP. p. 287).

(1) *wel, bau, yuw ŭn hii mŭ bao·th ŭn yŭ la³f. heew ke·ŭ?* (2) *feew fao·ks dahy threew bin la³·ft a³t, wee noa· dhat doa·nt us, tŭgidh·ŭ? laaykli bee)ŭt?* (3) *jest huw·d yŭ nahyz, tŭgidh·ŭ.* (4) *ahy)m saa·tin ŭ heeŭd ŭm sa·, ·dhat ŭ ded, seew·ŭ ŭnuw·*, (5) *dhŭt dhŭ yung·es sun iz·sel·f ŭ grit boy ŭ nahyn yŭr uwd, noa·d iz faa·dhŭz tung ŭt wunst, ŭn ahy)d trust ·hee tŭ spe·k dhŭ truoŭth en·i daay, ·dhaat ŭ wuod.* (6) *ŭn dhŭ uwd uom·ŭn hŭsel·f ŭl tel en·i on yŭ, ef yuw)l oan·i aks)ŭ, see ef shŭ doa·nt*, (7) *teew ŭ three tahymz ov·ŭ*, (8) *haew· we·ŭ ŭn wen shee faew·n dhaat· drungk·n be·st she kau·l ŭ ma·n.* (9) *shu see· him ov ŭr ao·n ahyz le·in strecht ŭ dhŭ graew·n in ŭz guod Sun·di koa·t, kloo·s ŭgin· dhŭ dau·r ŭ dhŭ haew·s, daew·n ŭ dhŭ kau·nŭr ŭ hin laayn.* (11) *ŭn dhaat· hap·n ŭz shee· ŭn ŭ duw·tŭluw kum threew dhŭ bak yaa·d*

früm hang·in aew·t dhü wet kloa·z ŭv ŭ wau·shin daay, (12) *taaym dhü kit·l wür ŭ baaylin fü te·*. (13) *ŭn ahy oa·nt tel noa· lahyz, ŭ niv·ŭ laa·nt nü mau· nü dhis, ŭn ŭ doa·nt wont teew nudh·ŭ, dhe·ŭ naew·!* (14) *ŭn soa· ahy)m ŭgoo·in hoa·m tü git mü sup·ŭ. guod nahyt, tügidh·ŭ.*

The great difference between this and the e.Sf. was recognised by my informant. In the first place there is no *ue*, at most *eew*, as *teew* two, *heew* who, or only *oo* as *noon·* noon for *nue·n*. In the case of *truo·üth* truth, Southwold had *troa·üth*. *duw·tüluw*, for daughter-in-law, is a very singular formation. The conversion of Southwold *le·ün ne·üm*, lane name, into *laay·n naay·m*, although exactly what happens in Ht., is remarkable, because Cb., which lies between, has no such change. The e.Sf. A′ words *huom huol*, home whole, are now *hao·m hoal·*. The e.Sf. EA words *oa·d*, old hold, and *toa·d* told, become *uw·d, huw·d, tuw·d*. The w.Sf. *sa· ŭwa·* say away, seems to be a narrowing of the older form *saa· ŭwaa·*, on the way to *sai· ŭwai·* as in rec. sp. The constructions 'don't us, trust he, be it,' are S. usages, for which it is difficult to account. My informant had no knowledge of S. usages.

IV.

THE MIDLAND DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS.

This comprises D 20 to D 29, all the country lying between the n. b. of the W., S. and E. div. and the northern *dheeth* line 5, stretching right across England from sea to sea. The M. counties, which occupy this large tract of country, are first Li., which is quite distinct in character from the rest (see D 20 below); secondly, the NM. (North Midland) group, s. and m.La., n.Db., s. and sw.Yo., D 21, 22, 23, and 24; thirdly, the MM. (Mid Midland) group, Ch., n.St., s.Db. and Nt., D 25, 26, 27; and fourthly, the SM. (South Midland) counties, containing portions of Fl. and Dn. in Wales, e.Sh., m. and s.St., n.Wo., w.Wa., Le., D 28, 29. The last three sections are closely related, yet there is no one positive character by which even these can be distinguished. Negatively all four sections are marked by the absence of the characters which distinguish the S., W., E., and N. divisions, so that in passing from any one of these divisions into any part of the M., the traveller feels that he has come among a new race of people.

There are some peculiar vowels and vowel fractures which are of great importance, excluding D 20, Li., where the vowel fractures are numerous, but of another character altogether. The vowel *ù* or *uo*[2] we have already met with, but it is peculiarly characteristic of the M. div., and the only peculiarity common to all the counties. But as it extends s.-wards to line 2, into parts of S. and E. div., and n.-wards into the N. div., it cannot be esteemed a mark of M., as against them. But beyond the n.b. of M. in D 30, it is replaced by *uo*[1], the common received 'u' in 'pull' *puol.* Indeed the change probably occurs in the n.m. parts of D. 24, but as *uo*[1] *uo*[2] are so commonly confused, I am not able to speak with certainty. We find *uo*[2] occurring in the w. and s. of D 24, and *uo*[1] in the EN. or D 30.

The vowel fractures are *ée* or *ee*[3], and *óo* or *oo*[2], and their varieties, and the varieties of the diphthongs *aay*, *aaw*. The fracture *ée* or *ee*[3] consists in beginning with *i* and passing on to *ee*, so that fully written

it would be *i·ĕĕ*, and might also be written *iy*, which will here be used. When the speaker has once begun the sound too deep, he or those who learn from him are ready to take it deeper, and thus the series *iy*, *ey*, *aey*, *ay*, *a'y*=*a³y*, *aay*, *ahy*, *auy*, is generated with numerous intermediates. All these forms exist in M. speech, as substitutes for an original I′. But that is not all. As in the E. we found *ey* generated from *e·ŭ*, so here we have the reverse, and *aay* generates *aaŭ*, and then the *ŭ* being worn away, simple *aa·* results, and this may become *au·*. We have therefore the extraordinary result of *aa* or *au* representing I′, see D 22.

The Ws. E′=*ai*, *e·* produced *ee*, possibly by a process like *e· eŭ ey iy ee*, of which we find no trace, though we know that the change of *ai·* or *e·* to *ee* was constantly going on in the xv th century, and the use of both *ai·* and *ee·* in neighbouring forms of speech, in such a word as 'speak' *spai·k spee·k*, is constantly found in the M. div. From *ee* then we get *iy*, *ey*, *aey*, beyond which the evolution does not go. But in *aey* we have reached a form of E′ which is also a form of I′, as in *graeyn*, *waeyf*, green, wife, both common in M.

One of the most striking M. changes is limited to D 25, 26, 29. The A- naturally produces *ai·*, but in a great part of Ch. this *ai·* passes into *ee*. On the other hand ÆG, EG, very commonly pass over to *ee*, although some *ai·* remains. Thus in some parts of Ch. 'tale, tail' are distinguished as *tai·l*, *tee·l* respectively, in other parts they are confused as *tee·l*, as in received speech they are confused as *tai·l* or *tai·yl*. Taken in conjunction with the change of E′, EO′, into *ey*, or *aey*, this produces to a Londoner the effect of 'saying' with the eyes and 'seeing' with the lips, instead of the reverse.

The intermediate forms of the change of Ws. U′ to *aaw* are preserved in the N. div., and will be there considered. But beginning with *aaw* we find many changes. First *aa* may undergo a change to *a'*, and next *aa*, *a'* may be 'narrowed' to *uu*, *u*, so that we have *aaw*, *a'w*, *uuw*, *uw*. Of these *aaw* and *uuw* are very provincial forms, coexisting in D 21, and *a'w*, *uw* are both common received pronunciations. Then the *ŏŏ* (=the diphthongal *w*) may be worn to *ŭ*, so that *aaw* produces *aaŭ* with the finer forms *a'ŭ*, *aeŭ*, *eŭ*, all found. After this the *ŭ* may be entirely dropped, and *aa·*, *a·*, *ae·*, result. Thus 'house' may become *aa·s*, as in Leeds, D 24, or *a·s*, *ae·s*, in s.La., D 22. We have therefore U′ and I′ both falling into *aa·* in existent varieties, in which transformation nothing but observation would make us believe. Instead, however, of *ŭ* being dropped, it may fall into *ĭ* (written *y* in diphthongs), so that *aaĭ*, *aay*, results, and one of the common forms of I′ becomes the common form of U in Ch. and n.St., D 25. To hear

house called *aa·s* in D 24, *a·s* or *ae·s* in D 22, and *aays* in D 25, without the slightest trace of the original U′=*oo*, is strikingly strange. But these are every-day habits not thought strange at all on the spot.

The O short is apt to develope into *aoŭ*, and this to become *aoy*, so that 'coalhole' occasionally in D 22 and frequently in D 24 becomes *kaoyl-haoyl*, generally confused with *kauyl-hauyl*, but really not so broad. This is very characteristic of the clothing districts of s.Yo. in D 24.

But some of the most remarkable changes arise from O′ as in 'moon, spoon.' We have to take it in the form *oo·*, which it generally reached in the xv th and xvi th centuries, and like as the changes of E′, after becoming *ee*, differ from those of I′, which was originally *ee*, so the changes of this *oo·* representing O′ differ from those due to U′, which was originally *oo·*. A few words, such as 'two, who,' becoming *oo·* from original A′=*aa·*, follow the same changes. The origin of all the changes also lies in an incorrect beginning of the vowel. But this time it is begun too high, instead of too low. Just as in D 19, which the reader should consult (p. 60), the mouth is too wide open for *oo*, and hence a strange sound not unlike *eo* at first hearing is produced, which I here write *oe*², rapidly falling into *oo*. The result, written *óo* or *oo*², is a very unstable combination, striking the ear at different times as *ĕŏoo*, *ĭoo*, *uŏŏ*, *uuŏŏ*, and actually so taken and appropriated in neighbouring districts, and by different speakers in the same district. In D 19 we found the confusion was rather with *eew*, *ue·*. The last confusion does not seem to occur in the M. districts. The word for 'she' in s.La., Db., Ch., is generally written 'hoo.' There is of course no *h*, and the *oo* is rare. The common form is *oo*² in s.La., n.Db. and Ch. But *uw* is the form in s.Db., and *iw* in Le., thus 'hoo, moon' become *oo·*, *oo*², *uw*, *iw*, and *moo·n*, *moo*²*n*, *muwn*, *miwn*.

The aspirate, continually peserved by dialect writers used to the received 'hour, honour,' is as much ignored in all words by dialect speakers, as it is in these two by all 'polite' speakers. There is no sign of its being left out. It is merely treated as non-existent. And this absence of aspirate extends into non-dialect speaking classes in the M. div. A few put the aspirate in wrongly, but this is comparatively rare. Of course 'wh' is called *w*. This penetrates everywhere, being quite received speech in the S. This, however, is not the omission of an aspirate, but the use of a 'voiced' for a 'voiceless' letter, as *v* for *f*, thought so strange in D 4.

The letter R before a vowel is very slightly trilled, but when it does not precede a vowel, I cannot detect any trill at all. The Midland people consider that they pronounce it as a consonant both

before and after a vowel, and not as an *ŭ*. It is so little felt as a consonant by the listener, that as a rule I am unable to detect it more than in London speech. If the reverted r^8 has the tip of the tongue brought a little more forward so as not to point either to the throat or lips, we get the 'point rise' r^7, and if it is then flattened-down pointing to the teeth, we produce an interruption of sound which I write r^{10}, and call 'flat *r*.' The whole tongue is higher than for *u* (not *uu*, that is u^1 not u^2), but flat or level, and hence the sound of *u* is checked. This I imagine to be the M. *r*, if such a thing distinct from *u* exists. It is quite certain that a Londoner may treat the M. *r* as he treats his own (slightly trilled before a consonant, omitted after *aa·*, *au·*, and not distinct from *ŭ*, *u*, after other vowels), without being in the slightest degree unintelligible or foreign. But in deference to Mr. Hallam, my chief M. authority, who considers the M. 'r' identical with the usual 'standard' r (if there is one), I shall here write this *r* as simple *r* when not before a vowel, and shall use *ŭr*, *ur*, *uur*, where I only hear *ŭ*, *u·*, *uu·*. In some cases Mr. Hallam omits the *r* when not preceding a vowel. In Li., D 20, no *r* whatever seems to be recognised as distinct from *ŭ*. I doubt whether *r* can be recognised in Le. In s.Yo. it is certainly quite lost after *aa·*, *au·*, *uu*.

The only point of construction to which attention need be drawn is the use of the verbal plural in *-en*, usually contracted to *-n* after a vowel, and much used in a contracted form with auxiliaries, thus *wi noa·n*, we know, *aan· yoa?* have you? *wuon dhi?* will they? *duon wi?* do we? This verbal pl. in *-en* is regular in the w. parts of M., but decreases in frequency as we proceed e. In Le. and Nt. it has almost disappeared, in the m. of D 24 it is not used, in the w. and s. of D 24 there are traces of it, but there are none in D 20, Li. On the other hand, it is strong in D 14, which is not in the M. div. at all, and is in other respects unlike M. This verbal pl. in *-en*, although thus preserved in the M. div. and in D 14, is not a sign of distinct dialect, it is merely a survival, a part of our old language, which has been lost elsewhere, and hence must not be insisted upon as a character. In this respect it is like *uo*, *oo·* for U, U′, which were universal in the XIV th century.

The definite article is *dhŭ dhi* in D 20, 28, 29. In D 24 it is almost always *t̓* suspended, that is, the tongue is kept for a sensible time in the position for *t* without any sound being heard. This effect is, when possible, produced by hanging on a *t* to the preceding letter, and pausing upon it without dropping the tongue, and without ceasing to make an effort to utter voice, so that when the tongue is removed to another position, there is a perceptible influence of the

preceding *t* position. Thus *int kaart* is quite different from *in)t' kaart* or *in tŭ kaart*, and we may even have this *t'* initial as *t'kaart*, where the *t'*, though absolutely mute, becomes effective by its alteration of the glide from *k* on to the next vowel. Similarly *in)t' aas* in the house (Leeds), is distinct from *int aas*, or *in taas*, and *t' aas* is distinct from *taas*. It is only by hearing this *t'* in actual use that its peculiar character can be felt. But the key to the whole is that 'suspension' is marked by the grave accent.

In D 21, 22, 25, the normal form of the article is voiceless *th*, which produces an audible hiss without any admixture of voice, as *th)maan·*, *th)du²g*, *th)a·s*, the man, the dog, the house (sw.La.). But this custom is often varied by using *dh* before vowels and voiced consonants, in pronouncing which no *ŭ* must be inserted, thus *dh)maan·*, *dh)dŭg·*, *dh)a·s*. The use of *dhŭ*, *dhi*, is exceptional.

The verb substantive is 'I am,' usually *au·)m*, *o)m*, and this forms a marked distinction in the n. parts of M., as against the 'I is,' *aay)z*, of the N. div. in n.La. and Yo. The 'I be' of the S. is not much used, except in the negative 'I be not,' *aa)bai·nt*. And the form 'I are' is apparently unknown.

In vocabulary note the use of 'hoo' for 'she' in D 21, 22, 25, 26, variously pronounced as *oo*, *oo²*, *uuw*, *iw*, in different districts, and its change into *shoo shoa shŭ* in D 24, and finally *shee* elsewhere. It is very common, however, to use *uu·*, usually accepted as *uur* ($r=r^{10}$), and written 'her,' and considered as the acc. case used for the nom. It is possible that this is not the case, and 'hoo, shoo, her,' *oo²*, *shoo*, *uu·*, may all be phonetic descendants of the Ws. 'heó' having the same meaning.

These preliminary remarks will prepare the reader for the following detailed explanations and illustrations of the districts separately.

D 20 = BM. = Border Midland.

This district comprises the whole co. of Li. and nothing more. It is homogeneous in pron. except that a small portion of n.Li. lies to the n. of the s. *hoos* line 6, in which all the U' words are pronounced with *oo*, whereas in the rest of Li. they are pronounced with *ou*, in one of the forms *aew*, *uuw*, *aaw*, *ahw*, *ow*. My authorities being persons of education, and hence only imitating dialect speakers, are not quite agreed as to which form is general. It is usual to consider three varieties, i. s.Li., up to a little n. of Sleaford (11 ne.Grantham), ii. m.Li., thence to the s. *hoose* line 6, iii. n.Li., n. of the last to the Humber.

The m.Li. is interesting as being the region to which Lord Tennyson's Li. poems refer, except that the Northern Farmer Old Style was, after writing, altered in the U′ words, which were made intentionally to have *oo*, though there are some slips.

The great and marked character of Li. pron. is the abundance of fractures. Nearly every word is liable to have its vowel shared with *ŭ*. This Lord T. writes 'ä' thus 'daäy, weeäk, boäth,' meaning *dai·ŭ* or *de·ŭ*, *wee·ŭk*, *boa·ŭth*, day, weak, both, and sounding so far as the vowel is concerned precisely as rec. 'dare, fear, more,' when the latter is not called *mau·ŭ*. This is so much the case that Li. people themselves, who always treat 'r' in the same way when they do not entirely omit it, in order to convey the Li. pronunciation of 'day, weak, both,' write in an 'r,' thus *dair*, *weerk*, *boarth*, was sent me as the proper glossic representation of these words. These fractures are by the natives considered only as 'drawls.' The Li. man speaks slowly and heavily, but drawling should only mean continuing the vowels for some time, not sliding off into an entirely new vowel.

Lincolnshire cwl.

The following word list is compiled from two, both given me vivâ voce, one from the s. and one from the n. Where not otherwise specified the pron. is common to both regions, and may be inferred also to prevail in m.Li.; when a word was contained in only one and not both of the original lists, n. or s. is prefixed. Only a selection of the words contained in those lists is given, and it must not be supposed that when a pronun. is marked n. or s., it does not also occur in s. or n. respectively, but merely that my information is deficient. Throughout, *e*, *uo* mean e^3, uo^3; *h* is written in when given me, but should properly, I believe, be always omitted; and +*r* at the end means that *r* is added when a word beginning with a vowel follows (EP. pp. 291, 313).

A- 4 s. *tek*, n. *ta'k te·ŭk* take. 5 s. *mek*, n. *ma'k me·ŭk* make. *te·ŭl* tale. *le·ŭm* lame. 21 *ne·ŭm* name.

A: 43 *ha'nd* hand. 56 *wesh* wash.

A: *or* O: 58 n. *fra'* from. 64 n. *rong* wrong.

A′ 67 s. *goa*, n. *goa·ŭ* go. 74 *too* two. 76 *too·ŭd* a toad. s. *moo·ŭ*+*r*, n. *moa·ŭ*+*r* more. 86 s. *oo·ŭts*, n. *oa·ŭts wots* oats. 92 s. *noa*, n. *nau·* to know.

A′: 104 s. *roo·ŭd*, n. *roa·ŭd* a road. 113 s. *hul*, n. *oa·ŭl* whole [h in s. always pronounced in this word]. 115 s. *hum oo·ŭm*, n. *oa·ŭm* home. s. *boo·ŭn*, n. *boa·ŭn* bone. s. *nuon*, n. *noa·ŭn* none. 124 s. *stoo·ŭn*, n. *stoa·ŭn* a stone.

Æ- 138 *fe·ŭdhŭ*+*r* father. 142 s. *snaayl* [commonest], n. *sneel*, s.n. *sne·ŭl* snail. 143 *te·ŭl* tail. 152 s. *waat·ŭ*+*r*, n. *wa't'ŭ*+*r* water.

Æ: 161 s. *dai*, n. *de·ŭ* day. 172 *gres* grass.

Æ′- 182 n. *see·ŭ* sea. 183 *tee·ŭch* teach. s. *ree·ŭd* read. s. *lee·ŭv* leave. 190 s. *kee* key. 193 s. *tlee·ŭn* clean. 194 *eni* any. 195 *meni* many. s. *chee·ŭz* cheese. 200 *wee·ŭt* wheat.

Æ': 205 s. *thred thrid*, n. *three·ŭd* thread. *tle·ŭ* clay. 213 s. *ai·dhŭ+r*, s.n. *e·ŭdhŭ+r* either. s. *de·ŭl*, n. *dee·ŭl* deal=portion. 218 s. *shee·ŭp* sheep. 223 s. *dhee·ŭ+r* there.

E- 232 s. *bre·ŭk*, n. *bree·ŭk* break. 233 *spee·ŭk* speak. s. *wee·ŭv* weave. 241 *re·ŭn* rain. 243 n. *ple·ŭ* play. 251 *mee·ŭt* meat.

E: 261 s. *se·ŭ* say. 262 *we·ŭ* way. 265 s. *stre·ŭt*, n. *strai·t* straight.

E'- 290 s. *hee* he. 299 s. *gree·ŭn* green. 300 s. *keep* keep.

E': 305 *hoy* high. 312 s. *hee·ŭ+r* here. 314 *hee·ŭd* heard.

EA- 320 s. *kaa+r*, n. *ke·ŭ+r* to care.

EA: s. *laaf·*, n. *la'f* laugh. 324 s. *e·ŭt* eight. 326 *oa·d* old. 328 *koa·d* cold. s.n. *kaa·f*, n. *kaa·f* a calf. 334 *e·ŭf* half. 335 *au·l* all. 346 s. *ge·ŭt*, n. *ye·ŭt* gate.

EA'- 347 s. *hed*, s.n. *hee·ŭd* head. 348 s. *ahy* eye. 349 s. *feew* few.

EA': 350 s.n. *dee·ŭd*, s. *ded* dead. 351 s. *led*, n. *lee·ŭd* lead [metal]. 353 s. *bred* bread. 355 s.n. *dee·ŭf*, s. *def* deaf. 357 s. *dhuf*, n. *dhoa·ŭ* though. 360 s. *tee·ŭm* team. *bee·ŭn* bean. 366 s. *gre·ŭt grit*, n. *gree·ŭt* great. s. *deth*, n. *dee·ŭth* death.

EI- 372 n. *aay ai·* aye.

EO: 390 s.n. *shuod*, s. *shuold* should. s. *yuong* young. 396 s. *wuk* work. 399 s. *broyt*, n. *braayt* bright. 402 *laa·n* learn. s. *staa+r* star.

EO'- 411 s. *three·* three. 412 s. *shee·* she. 420 s. *fuo·ŭ+r* four.

EO': 424 s. *ruof·* rough. 425 s. *lahyt* light. 426 s. *fahyt*, n. *feyt* fight. 428 s. *see·* see. 430 *frend* friend. 436 s. *treew* true.

EY- 438 s. *doy*, n. *dee·* die.

I- 440 s. *wee·ŭk* week. s. *oy·vi*, n. *aay·vin* ivy. s. *stoyl*, n. *stee·l* stile. 446 s. *noyn*, n. *naayn* nine. 449 s. *git* to get.

I: 452 s. *ahy*, n. *aay* [and *ŭ* unemphatic] I. 458 s. *noyt*, n. *nee·t* night. 459 *reyt* right. 465 *sich* such. 466 s. *choyld*, n. *chaayld be·ŭn* child. 477 s. *foynd*, n. *find* to find. 485 s. *dhis·l* thistle.

I'- 494 s. *toym*, n. *taaym* time.

I': 500 s. *loyk*, n. *laayk* like. 502 s. *foyv*, n. *faayv* five. s.n. *woyf*, n. *waayf wahyf* wife. 506 *wuomŭn* woman. s. *woyl* while.

O- 519 s. *ov·ŭ+r* over. 522 *op·n* open. 524 s. *wuld*, n. *woa·ŭld* [commoner] *waald* world.

O: 526 s.n. *kof·*, s. *kuof·* cough. 527 s. *bau·t*, n. *buuwt* bought. 528 s. *thaw·t thoa·t*, n. *thuuwt* thought. 531 s. *dau·tŭ+r*, n. *duuwtŭ+r* daughter. 532 s. *koo·ŭl*, n. *koa·ŭl* coal. s. *hoo·ŭl*, n. *hoa·ŭl* hole. 538 *wuod* would. 550 s. *wud*, n. *wod* word.

O'- 555 s. *shoo·* shoe. 557 s. *too·* too. *loo·k* look, s. *muodh·ŭ+r* mother. 562 s. *moo·ŭn* the moon. 564 s. *soo·ŭn* soon. *uodh·ŭ+r* other.

O': 569 *boo·k* book. 571 *guod·* good. 572 *bluod·* blood. 579 s. *nuof·*, n. *ŭnif·* sg., *ŭnew·* pl., enough. n. *suuwt* sought. s. *koo·ŭl* cool. 586 s. *doo·* to do. 587 *duon·* done. 588 s. *noo·ŭn* noon. 597 s. *suot·*, n. *soo·t* soot.

U- 599 s. *ŭbuor·*, n. *ŭboo·n* above. *luov·* love. 601 s. *fuewl*, n. *foo·l* fowl. 603 s.n. *kuom·*, s. *ku²m* come. 605 s. *suon·* or *suon·* son. 506 s. *doo·ŭ+r* door. 607 n. *buot·ŭ+r* butter.

U: 612 *suom·* some. 615 s. *paewnd*, n. *puon·d* pound. 616 s. *graewnd*, n. *gruon·* ground. 619 s. *fuewnd*, n. *fuon·* found. 629 *suon·* sun. 632 *uop·* up. 633 *kuop·* cup. 639 s. *duos·t* dust.

U'- 640 s *kaew*, n. *koo·* cow. 641 s. *haew*, n. *oo·* how. 643 s. *naew*, n. *nuu* now. 645 s. *duov·* dove. s. *baew boo* to bow. 653 *buot·* but.

U': 658 s. *daewn*, n. *doo·n* down. 659 s. *taewn*, n. *too·n* town. 663 s. *haews aewzŭnz*, n. *hoo·s* house houses. 667 s. *aewt*. n. *oo·t* out.

Y- 673 s. *mooch·*. 677 *drahy* dry. 679 s. *chuch·*, n. *cheeh* church.

Y: 684 s. *brig* bridge. s. *mahynd* mind. s. *wus·*, n. *wos* worse. 701 s. *fus·t*, n. *fost* first.

Y'- 706 s. *wahy*, n. *waay* why.

Y': 709 s. *fahyŭ+r*, n. *faayŭ+r* fire. 712 s. *mahys*, n. *maays* mice.

A. n. *laad·* lad. *tre·ŭd* trade. 737 n. *me·ŭt* mate.

E. *skree·ŭm* scream.

I. 756 s.n. *srimp*. n. *simp* occ., shrimp. 758 *gel* girl [*wensh* more used].

O. 761 s. *loo·ŭd*, n. *loa·ŭd* load.

U. n. *juog* jug. *juomp·* jump.

A·· 811 *ple·ŭs* place. 813 *be·ŭkn* bacon. 824 s. *chee·ŭ+r* chair. s. *tre·ŭn* train. 847 s. *de·ŭnjŭ+r* danger. 852 s. *e·ŭpŭn*, n. *a'p·ŭn* apron.

E·· 888 *sna·tin* certain. 890 s. *bee·ŭst bee·ŭs* beast. 894 s. *disee·ŭv* deceive. 895 s. *risee·ŭv* receive.

I·· s. *nahys*, n. *naayst* nice. s. *fahyn* fine.

O·· *stuof·* stuff. 916 s. *uon·yŭn* onion. 920 s. *poynt* point. 925 s. *voys* voice. 929 s. *kuw·kŭmbŭ+r*, n. *koo·kŭmŭ+r* cucumber. 939 s. *klus·*, n. *tloa·ŭs* close. 940 s.n. *koo·ŭt* coat. s. *foo·ŭl* fool. 955 s. *daewt*, n. *doo·t* doubt.

U·· 969 s. *shoo·ŭ+r*, n. *soo·ŭ+r* sure.

It will be seen from this list, dictated by persons living 45 miles apart, that, except for U' words the pron. is practically identical. Varieties like *oa·ŭ*, *oo·ŭ*, are insignificant. Even *oo·ŭts* and *wots* for oats are concurrent forms, *oo* and *w*, *ŭ* and *o* representing each other, sometimes with the same speaker. In the case of n. *neet*, s. *noyt*, the older form is preserved in the n., as it is also in m.Li. My especial s. informant used a very marked *oy aew* for I' U', but that was, in the case of *oy* for *ahy*, an approximation to the other M. dialects, and in case of *aew*, to the E. div.

As we shall see that the opposite coast of the Humber has also *oo·* for U' and many fractures, it is interesting here to note the great difference in the fractures at Brigg, Li., and s.Holderness, Yo., on the opposite side of the Humber. In the following list b. and h. prefixed to the glossic signifies Brigg and Holderness respectively (EP. p. 310).

A- b. *me·ŭd*, h. *mee·ŭd* made. b. *te·ŭl*, h. *tee·ŭl* tale. b. *thaw·*, h. *thow* thaw.

A' b. *noa·ŭ*, h. *nee·ŭ* no, adv. b. *toa·ŭ*, h. *tee·ŭ* toe. b. *soa·ŭ*, h. *see·ŭ* so. b. *st'roa·ŭk*, h. *sthroo·ŭk* stroke. b. *oa·ŭk*, h. *yaak·* oak. b. *oa·ŭm*, h. *wom* home.

O. b. *foa·ŭl*, h. *foo·ŭl* foal. b. *oa·ŭp*, h. *wop* hope. b. *noo·ŭz*, h. *noo·ŭz* nose.

O' b. *hoo·k*, h. *bee·ŭk* book. b. *too·k*, h. *tee·ŭk* took. b. *fuo·t*, h. *fee·ŭt* foot.

The A' and O' words show the N. tendency to fracture with *ee*, which is distinctive. The fractures with *e* and *ee*, and with *oa* and *oo*

often interchange southwards. In other respects also there is a great difference, as will be seen hereafter, D 30, var. iii.

For m.Li. I give first some extracts from Lord Tennyson's Northern Farmer, New Style, which I had the advantage of taking from his dictation. The numbers prefixed refer to the stanza, a translation (not the original text) is given in the next col.

Extracts from the NORTHERN FARMER, NEW STYLE (EP. p. 305).

LORD TENNYSON'S DICTATION.	TRANSLATION.
i. *duozŭnt dhuuw i·ŭ mahy u·sez legs, ŭz dhai kaan·tŭz ŭwae·ŭ? prop·uoti, prop·uoti, prop·uoti! dhaat·)s wot ahy i·ŭz ŭm sae·ŭ.*	i. dostn't thou hear my horse's legs, as they canter away? property, property, property! that's what I hear them say.
vii. *paa·sŭnz la's aant nuwt, ŭn shi wi·ŭnt ŭ nuwt wen i·)z di·ŭd, muon bi ŭ guov·nes, laad·, ŭ suom·ŭt, ŭn aad·ŭl ŭ bri·ŭd.*	vii. parson's lass hasn't nought, and she won't have nought when he's dead, must be a governess, lad, or something, and earn her bread.
wahy? fŭr i·)z nobŭt ŭ keew·re·t, ŭn wi·ŭnt nivŭ git nau ahy·ŭ, ŭn i mae·ŭd dhŭ bed ŭz i ligz on, ŭfoo·ŭ i kuomd tŭ dhŭ shahy·ŭ.	why? for he's only a curate, and won't never get no higher, and he made the bed that he lies on, afore he came to the shire.
x. *ai·, ŭn dhahy muodh·ŭ sez dhuuw waan·ts tŭ maar·i dhŭ la's·, kuom·z ŭv ŭ jentŭlmŭn bu·n, ŭn wi boa·ŭth on uos thing·ks dhŭ ŭn a's·.*	x. ay, and thy mother says, thou wantest to marry the lass, comes of a gentleman born, and we both of us think thee an ass.

Note.—The *i* was pronounced very deep, almost reaching *ai*. The *e* was e^3 or *ae*, which last is sometimes written. The short *o* was generally short *ao*. The *u* was generally $u^2 = uu$, which is sometimes written. The *uo* was quite uo^3. Lord T.'s pron. was purposely an imitation of coarse peasant speech.

i. *u·s* to my hearing, without *r*, and the *u* quite fine.—*ŭwae·ŭ*, the *ae* was remarkably broad in this and its rhyming word *sae·ŭ* say.

vii. *aa·nt* has not, *ai·nt* is not.—*aad·ŭl* a common dialect word for to earn.—*shahyŭ* an educated pronunciation for *shee·ŭ*.

x. *bu·n* born, here the prevailing sound was *uu·*, but there was a 'dash' of *oo* in it, which rendered the sound very complex and difficult to seize.

In order to compare the n. and m.Li. pron., I give a dt. from the dictation of the daughter of the late rector of Halton Holegate by Spilsby, and another from my n. informant.

HALTON HOLEGATE (EP. p. 306).

(1) *soa·ŭ aay se·ŭ, me·ŭts, yŭ si·ŭ naaw dhŭt aay)m rai·t [? reyt] ŭbaawt yon litl gel kuom·in frŭ dhŭ skuul yondŭ.*

(2) *shi)z göö·ŭn daawn dhi roo·ŭd dhee·ŭ, thruof dhŭ red ge·ŭt on dhŭ left ·and saayd dhŭ we·ŭ.*

(3) *shoo·ŭr [siw·ŭr] ŭnuof dhŭ be·ŭn ŭz gon stre·ŭt uop· tŭ dhŭ doo·ŭr ŭ dhŭ rong· haaws.*

(4) *wee·ŭ me)bi shee·)l faaynd dhat druongk·n def wiz·nd oa·d chap ŭ dhŭ ne·ŭm ŭ Tuom·ŭs.*

(5) *wee au·l nau·z im ree·ŭl wel·.*

(6) *wi·ŭnt dhŭ oa·d chap soo·n laa·n ŭ not tŭ göö dhee·ŭr ŭgen·, poo·ŭ thing· !*

(7) *loo·k ! ai·nt it troo· ?*

BRIGG (EP. p. 312).

(1) *soa·ŭ aay se·ŭ, me·ŭts, yŭ si·ŭ noo· dhŭt aay)m reyt ŭboo·t dha't· litl la's· kuomin fraa t' skoo·l yondŭ.*

(2) *shee)z göö·in doo·n dhŭ roa·ŭd dhee·ŭ, thrif yon red yeŭt ŭ dhŭ left ·and saayd ŭ dhŭ we·ŭ.*

(3) *siw·ŭr ŭnif dhŭ be·un ŭz gau ŭn streyt uop tŭ dhŭ doo·ŭr ŭ dhŭ rong oo·s.*

(4) *wee·ŭ shee)l chaan·ch find dhat dhŭ druong·kn dee·ŭf wiz·nd felŭ kau·d Tom·ŭs.*

(5) *we au·l naw im veri wel.*

(6) *wee·ŭnt dh)uuwd chap soo·n laa·n ŭ not tŭ doo· dhaat· ŭgee·ŭn, poo·ŭ thing !*

(7) *loo·k ! iz·nt it triw ?*

D 21 = s.NM. = southern North Midland.

This district embraces the se. corner of La., the ne. horn of Ch., and the n. slopes of the High Peak of Db. The s. slopes are in D 26, belonging to MM.

Chief places :

Ch. Stockport, Stalybridge.

Db. Chapel-en-le-Frith, Glossop, Hope Woodlands.

La. Ashton-under-Lyne, Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale.

Made out of these three regions D 21 is centrally situate, and seems to give the least modified form of the NM. dialects. But it is not quite homogeneous, and we may distinguish i. the La. variety, having *uuw* for U′, and ii. the Peak variety, having *·aaw* for U′, and this very unimportant difference, for *uu* has the same position of the tongue and lips as *aa*, is practically all the distinction found. These forms of U′, however, sharply distinguish the speech from the neighbouring D 22, 24, 25, 26.

D 21 has all the M. forms mentioned in the introduction to M. (p. 67) in full force. A- *nai·m* name. A′: *boo·n* bone. Æ-

fai·dhŭ+*r* father. E′- *miy* me. EA *uuwd* old. EA′ *tee·m* team. *grae·t* great. EO *yond* yonder. *briyt* bright. EO′: *oo*² hoo=she. *thriy* three. I′ *tahym* time, passing into *tah·m tau·m* at Rochdale. O′- *shoo*²*n* shoes. *moo*²*n* moon. O′: *boo*²*k* book. *noo*²*n* noon. U regularly *uo*². U′ *uws aaws* house (EP. pp. 324–329). The verbal pl. in *-en*, the voiceless *th*, *r* not before a vowel probably r^{10}, are all found.

As illustrations, I add the abridged es. from Staleybridge, Ch. (lying as Ashton-under-Lyne, in La.), and Chapel-en-le-Frith, Db. In transcribing these from Mr. T. Hallam's very careful original palaeotype, I have taken many liberties for the sake of simplicity. Thus my *e* means generally e^3 or *ae*, and the latter is occasionally used. Also *uo* means *uo*² always. In the matter of the length of the vowels, I have entirely dispensed with his medial vowels, generally writing them as long, and have not marked prolonged final consonants. The *d'r*, *t'r* represent the dental d^1r^4, t^1r^4. The *r* is left ambiguous, as Mr. Hallam wrote it. Chapel-en-le-Frith is his native place. In my other work Mr. Hallam's text is given exactly, but requires too much study for the present treatise (see EP. p. 317 for both).

STALYBRIDGE.

(0) *wahy Jon*)*z noa· duuwts.*

(1) *we·l, mau·n, boo·ŭdh im uon dhee· mi laaf·. au duon·ŭ kyae·r.*

(2) *dhŭr*)*z nau moni foa·k diyn bik·a·z dhŭr laaf·t aat. wi noa·n, duon·ŭ wi? it*)*s noa·n sŭ lahykli iz it?*

(3) *juost owd dhi noyz, mau·n, wahyl au*)*v duon·.*

(4) *au·*)*m shoo*²*·ŭr au yae·rd suom sae·*

(5) *uot th*)*yuongkst lad· issel·, ŭ big laad· ŭ nahyn, noa·d is fai·dhŭrz voys in ŭ kraak, uon au noa· th*)*laa·d ŭd au·lŭz tel t' t'roo*²*th au*)*m shoo*²*r.*

(6) *uon th*)*owd wuom·ŭn ŭrsel· ŭl tel an·i on yŭ iv yuu*)*n· nuub·ŭr aak·s ŭr, or! wint oo*² *?*

(7) *mon·i ŭ tahym,*

CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH.

(0) *wahy Jon*)*z noo*² *daawts.*

(1) *we·l, laa·d, yoa· ŭn i·m mŭ boo·dh laaf·. oo· kyae·rz?*

(2) *dhŭr iz*)*nŭ moni, ŭz diyn bikoa·z dhŭr laaf·t aat. wi noa·n, duont ŭs? it iz*)*nŭ vari lahykli, iz it?*

(3) *juost uuwd yŭr naeyz, mŭn, til au*)*v doo*²*n.*

(4) *au·*)*m saa·rtin aui ·ŭrd ŭm sae·, dhaat· au di·d, shoo*²*ŭr ŭnuof·,*

(5) *ŭz th*)*yuonggist laa·d issel·, ŭ big laa·d nahyn eeŭr uuwd, noa·d is fai·dhŭrz vaeys direk·li, ŭn au*)*d t'ruost ·im t' tel t' t'roo*²*th an·i tahym, ·dhaet· au wuod·.*

(6) *·ŭn th*)*uuwd wuom·ŭn ŭrsel·, ŭl tel an i on yŭ ŭv yoa*)*n· oa·nli aak·s ŭr, oa! win ŭt ŭ?*

(7) *too*² *ŭr thriy tahymz oaŭr,*

(8) *uuw wiŭr uon· wen· oo² fuon· t' d'ruongk·n beeŭst oo² koa·z ŭr uoz·bŭnt.*

(9) *oo² see·d im wi ŭr oa n ee·n, on th floo²ŭr in iz guod· aal·ŭdi kooŭt, tloa·s bi)th uuws duur, duuwn bi th kaur·nŭr ŭ)th loa·n.*

(11) *uon dhaat· wuu·r ŭz oo² ŭn ŭr dowt'ŭr in lau· koo²m throo² th)baak· yaa·rd frŭ anggingk th) wee·t tlooŭz uuwt ŭ)th waeyshingk dai·,*

(12) *wahyl th tai· ket·l wŭs boylingk.*

(13) *uon duon· yŭ noa·? au yae·rd nowt nŭ mooŭr ŭbuuwt it, uon au duon)ŭ waan·t t' doo² noa·dhŭr. na· dhen·!*

(14) *uon sŭ nuuw au)m gwingk k' mi bag·ingk. guod· nee·t.*

(8) *aaw ŭn weeŭr ŭn wen· oo² fuon· t' d'ruongk·n sloch ŭz oo² kau·z ŭr uoz·bŭnt.*

(9) *oo² siyd im wi ŭr oa·n iyn, lahy·in uop·ŭ th gaawnd in iz guod· Suon·di kuut, tloa·s bi)th aawz duur, daawn ŭt th kaur·nur ŭ yon·d loa·n.*

(11) *ŭn dhaat· aap·nt ŭz uu·r ŭn ŭr duuwt'ŭr in lau· koo²m throo² th)baak· yaa·rd wen' dhi)d bin· inggin th)wiyt thuuz aawt t' d'raey ŭv ŭ weshin da·,*

(12) *wahyl th ket·l wŭr baeylin fŭr th tai·.*

(13) *ŭn duon· yŭ noa·? au nivŭr gyet t' noa· nŭ mooŭr ŭ dhaat kŭnsaa·rn, ŭn au duon ŭ waan·t noa·dhŭr. naa· dhen·!*

(14) *ŭn naa au)m gŭŏ·in wum tŭ mi suopŭr. guod· niyt.*

D 22 = w.NM. = western North Midland.

This district takes in the whole of s.La. s. of the Ribble, with the exception of the se. corner, which has been already considered in D 21. It contains among others the towns and villages of Blackburn, Bolton, Burnley, Bury, Chorley, Farrington, Haslingden, Leyland, Mellor, Newton, Ormskirk, Samlesbury, Skelmersdale, Warrington, Westhoughton, Wigan, from which, and other places, I have information chiefly through Mr. Hallam.

There is a fair amount of uniformity of pron., with numerous minor differences. The general character is (EP. p. 330):

A- is *ai·*, as *nai·m* name.
A' is normally *ooŭ*, occ. *oa·*, as *rooŭd, roa·d* road; the adv. 'no' is usually *nuuw*.
E- is often *aey*, as *spaeyk* speak.
E'- is *ee·*, or *iy*, and occ. *aey*.
I is generally *i*, but is sometimes treated as I'. The unemphatic pronoun I is regularly *au* short.
I' is normally *ahy*, usually assumed as *oy*, but is also *aa·*, *au·* in some varieties.
O often becomes *oy*.

O′ is naturally *oo*², but occ. *oy*, apparently a variant of *ooŭ*.

U is regularly *uo*², as in all M., but in some words, as *kuum*, becomes *uu*, also heard in *duug*, *tluug*, *fuug*, dog, clog, fog.

U′ is generally *aa·*, *a′·* with a transitional form *aaŭŭ*. The regular sound is *aa·*, as in D 24, 26, and this is the meaning of the Lx. dialect spelling 'eaw.' The forms *uuw*, *ow* are reserved for EAL, OH words, as in *uuwd owld*, *bowt* old, bought, and these sounds are never confused with *aa*.

Among the consonants *t*, *d* are dental *t′ d′* before *r*, or the syllable *ŭr*, and *r* has the same value as in D 21. It decidedly affects the preceding vowel. Thus *duur* is like *duu·r*ᵇ, the *r*ᵇ being faint. In the w. parts *ng* final becomes *ng+g*, as *ruongg* wrong. The gutturals were common in the Colne Valley as late as 1840. They seem to have entirely disappeared, except perhaps in the name Leigh, said to be still *Lahyky′h*.

The verbal plural in *-en* is in regular use. The def. art. is normally *th*, but *dh*, *dhŭ* are in occ. use, and suspended *t′*, and even suspended *k′*, *p′*, *s′* not unfrequently occur by assimilation.

With considerable hesitation I recognise six varieties, which generally agree in the characters previously mentioned, but usually differ in reference to U′, I′, O′, etc., O.. OU.. (EP. p 331).

i. *Ormskirk.* U′ fine *da′·n*, *da·n* down. I′ broad *aa·*, *ah·*, as *faa·v tah·mz* five times. O′, and Fr. O.. OU.. all incline to *oo*².

ii. *Bolton and Wigan.* U′ the very finest *da·n* down. I′ broad *taa·m taw·m* time. O′ uncertainly *oo·* and *oo*², as *stoo·*, *doo*²*n* stool, done. French O.. as in *kooŭt* coat.

iii. *Chorley and Leyland.* This is more distinct. U′ has a new form *a′ŭŭ*, as *da′ŭŭn*, which will be found transitional from *da′wn* to *da′·n*. I′ distinct *ahy*, as *tahym* time, mostly conceived as *oy*. O′, O.. OU.. as before.

iv. *Blackburn.* The U′ words return to *a′·* through *a′ŭ*, as *da′ŭn*, *da′·n*. I′ remains *ahy*, or at most reaches *aa·ŭ*, as *sahyd*, *saa·ŭd* side. O′ is *oo*, *oo*², as *skoo·*, *skoo*² school, and Fr. O.. remains the same.

v. *Burnley.* U′ returns to *aŭŭ*, as *daŭŭn* down, and I′ remains as *ahy*. O′ is variously treated as *oo*, *oo*², but also singularly as *oy* in *noyn*, *spoyn* noon, spoon, and even O is so treated in *oyl* hole, and Fr. O.. in *koyt*, *tloys* coat, close. This pron. is much developed in D 24.

vi. *Colne Valley*, was mainly distinguished by the presence of the guttural.

These varieties have been extensively investigated, but no well-defined boundaries could be drawn. They are fully illustrated in my larger work. Here I first give an abridged cs. in the i. Ormskirk, and iii. Chorley forms. The first is from Skelmersdale (7 nnw. St.

Helens, and 4 sw. Ormskirk, the second from Leyland. Both were written by Mr. Hallam from dictation, the last from an old lady of property in Leyland, now deceased, who was at infinite pains to furnish a correct version of the dialect she remembered hearing when she was young. But a few phrases were omitted by her (EP. p. 332).

SKELMERSDALE. Var. i.

(0) *wahy Jau·n ez noa daa ts.*

(1) *we·l, laad, dhiy ŭn i·m mŭ booŭth laa·f. ooŭ kyae·rz?*

(2) *dhŭr)z nod sŭ moni ŭz dee·z wi bee·in laa·ft aat. wi noa·n, doa nt wi? it iz·nt ver·i lahykli, iz it?*

(3) *juos·t owd dhi nahyz, mau·n, dhŭn au)v duon.*

(4) *au)m saer·tin aa iŭrd ŭm sae· ·dhaat· au di·d, sai·f ŭnuof·,*

(5) *ŭs s' yuonggist laad· issel, ŭ greyd laad nahyn yir owd, noa·d is fai·dhŭrz vahys in ŭ minŭt, ŭn aa kŭd t'ruos·t im tŭ spaeyk t' t'roo²th an·i dai·, dhaat· au kuod·.*

(6) *ŭn th)owd wuom·ŭn ŭrsel· ŭl tel· an·i on yŭ, iv yoa·)l bod aak·s ŭr, wai·nt oo²?*

(7) *tuow ŭr thrii tahymz oaŭr.*

(8) *wu·r ŭn wen· uow fon·d t' d'ruongk·n thingg ŭz uow kau·z ŭr uoz·bŭnt.*

(9) *uow see· im widh ŭr oa·n iyn st'recht on th fluowŭr in iz best kooŭt tloa·s bi t' doa·r daa·n ŭt t' kau·rnŭr ŭ yon loa·n.*

(11) *ŭn dhaat aap·nt ŭ)th waash·in dai·, ŭz uow ŭn ŭr dowt'ŭr in lau· kuowm throo² t' baak·yu·rd, wen· dhi)d bin inggin th tlooŭz aat,*

LEYLAND. Var. iii.

(0) *wahy Jau·n aaz noa da'ŭŭts.*

(1) *we·l, owd chaap·, yoa· ŭn i·m mŭ booŭth laaf·.*

(2) *raar·ŭ feew foa·ks dee·n koa·z dhŭ·)r laaf·t aat. wot shuod mai·k ŭm?*

(3) *sŭ owd yŭr di·n, fren·d, dhŭn ahy)n duon·.*

(4) *ahym)m saar·tn ahy iŭrd ŭm sai·,*

(5) *dhŭt t' yuong·st suon issel·, ŭ big laa·d ŭ nahyn, noa·d is fai·dhŭrz voys ŭt wonst, ŭn ahy)d t'ruos·t yon laa·d tŭ spaeyk t' t'roo²th on·i dai·.*

(6) *ŭn dh)owd wuom·ŭn ŭrsel· ŭl tel· on·i ŭ yŭ, if yŭ aak·sŭn ŭr.*

(8) *weeŭr aŭŭ ŭn wen· oo fuon· t' d'ruongk·n beeŭst ŭz oo koa·z ŭr uoz·bŭn.*

(9) *oo see·d im wi ŭr oa·n ee·n lahy·in st'recht uopŭ th graaŭŭnd in iz guod Suon·dŭ kooŭt, tloa·s bi t' dooŭr ŭ)th aaŭŭs daaŭŭn ŭt t' kau·rnŭr ·ŭ yon looŭn.*

(11) *ŭn dhaat aap·nd ŭz oo ŭn ŭr dowt'ŭr i loa· kuum· throo· t' bak·fowd frŭ inggin aaŭŭt t' wee·t tlooaŭz tŭ drahy on)t' wesh·in dai·,*

(12) *wahyl t' ket·l wŭz bahylin fŭr tai·.*

(13) *ŭn, doa·nt yŭ noa·, au niv·ŭr eeŭrd nŭ mooŭr ŭbaa·t it, ŭn au doa·nt kyaeŭr ŭbaa·t it, duon· yŭ noa· ?*

(14) *ŭn naa au)m gŏŏ·in wau·m tŭ mi suop·ŭr. guod nee·t.*

(12) *wahyl [t'] kyet·l wŭr ŭ boylin fŭr [t'] tai·.*

(13) *ŭn eeŭrn yŭ ! ahy nev·ŭr eeŭrd on·i mooŭr ŭ dhis, ŭn ahy doa·nt waan·t noa·dhŭr, dheeŭr naa !*

(14) *ŭn soo ahy)m gŏŏ·in ooŭm tŭ mi suop·ŭr. guod· nee·t.*

It so happened that the person from whom the Skelmersdale specimen was written said *daa·n* rather than *da'·n*. Varieties ii. and v. will be illustrated by giving the portions of the above-marked 9, 11, 12 for Westhoughton, a village near Bolton, and Burnley respectively (EP. p. 335).

WESTHOUGHTON. Var. ii.

(9) *oo· see·d im wi ŭr oa·n ee·n laay·in st'recht ŭluoqk uopŭ t' gra·nd in iz guod· Suo·ndi kooŭt, tloo·s bi)t th a·z duu·r, da·n ŭt t' kau·rnŭr ŭ)t' loa·n yon.*

(11) *ŭn au· dhaat aap·nt ŭ)t' waeyshin dai·, ŭz uu·r ŭn ŭr dowt'ŭr in lau· koo·m throo· t' baak· yau·rt, juos·t ŭz dhi)d bin enggin t' tlooŭz a·t fŭ)t' d'raey.*

(12) *waal t' ket·l wŭr baey·lin fŭr baag·in.*

BURNLEY. Var v.

(9) *oo² siy im wi ŭr oa·n ee·n laay·in luong lengkth on)t' gra'ŭŭnd in iz guod· Suon·di koyt, tloys too iz oon duu·r, da'ŭŭn ŭt t' kau·rnŭr ŭ)t' loyn.*

(11) *ŭn au·l dhis aap·nd uz uur ŭn ŭr laad·z wahyf koo²m throo² t' bak jaard frŭ ingin t' tloyz aaŭŭt ŭt t' wesh·in dai·.*

(12) *wol t' ket·l wŭr boy·lin fŭr t' tai·.*

Variety iv. I am not able to illustrate this by the same passage, but I give the first paragraph of the dt. and five words 'road, side, child, house, find' from other paragraphs, as heard at Blackburn and Hoddlesden (4 ssc.Blackburn) (EP. p. 339).

BLACKBURN. Var. iv.

soa· au sae·, laad·z, yoa· see·, na'· au)m raeyt ŭba'·t dhaat lit·l laas· kuom·in frŭm)s skoo· yon·d.

rooŭd. sahyd. chahylt a'·s. fahynd.

HODDLESDEN. Var. iv.

sooŭ au sae·, laad·z, yŭ see· na'ŭŭ dhŭt uu)m ree·t ŭba'ŭt dhaat lit·l laas· kuom·in frŭ)t' skoo³ yon·d.

rooŭd. saa·ŭd. chaa·ŭld a'ŭs. faa·ŭnd.

D 23 = n.NM. = northern North Midland.

Var. i. forms the border-land at the extreme n. of the M. div., adjoining the s. of the N. div. in La. It is transitional in character, but preserves its resemblance to s.La., D 22. It occupies m.La., the whole hundred of Amounderness, and probably that part of Blackburn hundred which lies n. of the Ribble, for which I have not sufficient information. The main part comprehends the district known as the Fylde (:faayld) (EP. p. 353).

The characters are:

A = *ai·*, as *nai·m sai·m* name same.
A′ = *ooĭ*, as *tooĭd ooĭk* toad oak.
ÆG, EG = *ai·*, as *dai· wai·* day way.
Æ′ = *eeĭ*, as *leeĭd eeĭt* to lead, heat.
E = e^3, written *e*, as usual, and occ. *aey*, as *spaeyk* speak.
E′ = *ee·* or nearly *iy*, as *gree·n griyn* green.
EAL = the higher au^2 or probably *ao·*, as *ao·l ao·ld* all old.
I′ = *ahy*, as *sahyd* side, never falling into *aa·*, *au·*, as occ. in D 22.
O = occ. *oy*, as *koyl* coal.
O′ = *oo* or some unknown approach to oo^3.
U = uo^2, written *uo*, as usual.
U′ = *aaw*, as *daawn*. This is the main point of difference between D 22 and D 23 to the ears of natives of D 23. Thus they say that 'I am boun (i.e. going) down the town to buy a round pound of butter and fetch a cupful of salt water,'—a test sentence of their own construction—is (EP. p. 355)

in the Fylde, D 23.	in s.La., D 22.
ahy·)m baawn daawn)th taawn tŭ bahy ŭ raawnd paawnd ŭ buot'·ŭr, ŭn foch· ŭ kuop·fŭ ŭ sau·t waat'·ŭr.	*au)m gooĭn daa·n t' taa·n, tŭ bahy ŭ raa·nd paa·nd ŭ buot'·ŭr, ŭn fech ŭ kaop·fŭ ŭ sau·t wai·t'ŭr.*

The verbal plural in *-en* is thought by the inhabitants to be extinct, but in taking down examples from dictation Mr. Hallam found at Poulton *duon· dhŭ?* do-n they? *wot)n ·yaa· thingk?* what)do-n ·you think? *duon· yŭ noa·?* do-n you know? *aan· yŭ bin?* have-n you been, *yaa noa·n* you know-en, and at Goosnargh *wi)n naoŭn on ŭz fŭrgyet·n*, we)have-n none of us forgotten, *duon· yŭ thingk?* do-n you think? But the usage seems to be confined to special phrases and combinations with auxiliaries, and is not in universal use as in D 22.

The resemblance between this and D 22 will render it unnecessary to give a lengthened specimen in addition to the above local test sentence. I add paragraphs 9, 11, 12 from the cs. (EP. p. 355).

At Poulton-in-the-Fylde
puot·n i)th fahyld (13 wnw.Preston).

(9) *oo· see· im wi ŭr oa·n ee·n, lahy·in st'recht ŭt)th fuol· leqkth ŭ)dh graawnd in iz guod· Suon·dŭ kooŭt, tloa·s ŭ sahyd ŭ)dh aaws dooŭr, daawn ŭt)th kau·rnŭr ŭ yond looŭn.*

(11) *ŭn dhaat aap·nd ŭz au·r ŭn ŭr dowt'ŭr i lau· kuom· throo·) th baak· yaa·rd frŭ ing·in th)wee·t tlooŭz aawt ta d'rahy on ŭ wesh·in dai.*

(12) *wahlyl)th ket·'l wur boy·lin.*

At Goosnargh
(5 nne.Preston).

(9) *oo· see· im wi ŭr oa·n ee·n, lahyin ŭ)th fuol· raach ŭ)th gree·n swaa·rd in iz Suon·dŭ kooŭt, neeŭ·rli ooŭrnin·st* [overagainst] *th)aaws dooŭr, daawn ŭt)th bend ŭ)th looŭn yon.*

(11) *ŭn ao· dhis aap·nd ŭ)th weshin dai· ŭz oo· ŭn dhae·r Jemz wahyf wŭr kuom·in throo·)th baak· fowd frŭ ing·in th)tlooŭz aawt,*

(12) *wahyl)th tai·ket'l wŭr boy-·lin fur)th aaft'ŭrnoo·nz d'ringk·in.*

The Isle of Man forms Var. ii. of this pronunciation. In fact its chief difference is in using (dhŭ) for the def. art., and in entirely omitting the verbal pl. in *-en*. Of course this is, like parts of D 13, a recent implantation of English on a branch of Celtic, and has hardly yet grown up into a genuine dialect. It seems, however, to owe its origin to intercourse with m.La. modified by book-English. There is a slight difference between the n. and s. of the island. In the n. we find the dental *t'r-* for *thr-*, and in the s. we find on the contrary *thr-* for *tr-*. In construction it uses *aa)m* for 'I am.' Mr. Hallam was able to write three dt. from the dictation of natives in Manchester, given in my other work, but here I only give a selection from these, contrasting Lazayre on the n. with Rushen on the s. (EP. p. 361).

Lazayre.

yoo see na'w dhŭt ahy)m ruyt ŭbuwt dhaat· lil gyel kom·ŭn frŭm dhŭ skoo·l. shee)z goa·ŭn duwn dhŭ roa·ŭd dheeŭr, t'roo dhŭ red gye·ŭt, ŭn gau·n ruyt uop tŭ dhŭ rong doo²ŭr, poo·ŭr t'ing.

Rushen.

yŭ see nuw dhŭr ah)m ruyt ŭbuwt dhaat· lil gye·ŭl komŭn frŭm skoo·l. shee is goa·n duwn dhŭ roa·d throo dhŭ red gyai t, ŭn gah·n sthreyt uop tŭ dhŭ rong doa·ŭr, dhŭ bau·kh [=little one, Celtic].

D 24 = e.NM. = eastern North Midland.

This district comprises that part of Yo. which lies to the s. of a line drawn from Colne, La., across Craven, Yo., passing due e. between

Skipton and Keighley to the s. *hoose* line 6, which it follows to the n. point of Nt. It is large, thickly populated, and comprises the industrial centres of Huddersfield, Halifax, Keighley *Kee·thli*, Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Barnsley, Sheffield, and Rotherham on the w. and mid, and the country towns of Wakefield, Pontefract, and Doncaster on the e., with the villages about them where dialect is still the regular medium of communication.

Although the general character of the speech in these regions is fully as uniform as could be expected, in such a diversified country, it seems best to notice nine varieties. i. Huddersfield, ii. Halifax, iii. Keighley, iv. Bradford, v. Leeds, vi. Dewsbury, vii. Rotherham, viii. Sheffield, and ix. Doncaster. In order to give a general notion of the resemblance and difference of these forms, I give par. 9, 11, 12 of the cs. for the first eight interlinearly, and add those words from it which occur in a vivâ voce cwl. for ix. To these I shall subsequently add a few remarks. Each variety is fully treated in my larger work. There are numerous printed dialectal poems and tales for this district, but, with one or two exceptions, none of them accurate or local enough for the present investigation. For the first seven cs. I am indebted to Mr. C. Clough Robinson, author of the Leeds Glossary. They are all from the places giving their names to the varieties, or rather from the villages adjacent to these centres. Here *e* is e^2, but *uo* is uo^1 as in *fuol* full, throughout.

INTERLINEAR PARAGRAPHS OF cs. (EP. pp. 373, 406).

Var.											
9. i	*oo*	*threp·t*	*oo*					*sao·*	*im*	*wi*	*ŭr*
ii	*oo*	*thrept*	*oo*					*sao·*	*im*	*wi*	*ŭr*
iii	*shao*	*three·ŭpt*	*ŭt*				*shao*	*sao·*	*im*	*wi*	*ŭr*
iv	*shoo*	*threp·t*	*ŭt*				*shuo*	*sau·*	*im*	*wi*	*ŭr*
v	*shoa*	*threp·t*	*ŭn*	*wen·t aat· it·,*		*ŭt*	*shoo*	*seed·*	*im*	*wi*	*ŭr*
vi	*shao*	*threp·t*	*ŭt*				*shoo*	*seed·*	*im*	*wi*	*uor·*
vii	*shoo*	*swe·ŭr*	*ŭt*				*shoo*	*see·d*	*im*	*wi*	*ŭr*
viii	*shoo*	*swoa·ŭr*	*ŭt*			*aa·*	*shoo*	*see·d*	*im*	*wi*	*ŭr*
ix	*shee*	*soo·ŭ*	*ŭt*			*aaw*	*shee*	*see·d*	*im*	*wi*	*ŭr*

i	*ao·n*	*ee·n,*	*lig·in*	*strech·t*	*ye·ŭt*	*ŭt*	*waol·*				*leng·th*
ii	*ao·n*	*ee·n,*	*lig·in*	*strech·t*		*ŭt*	*wooŭl*				*leng·th*
iii	*aoŭ·n*	*ee·n,*	*lig·in*	*strech·t*	*aa·t*	*ao·*		*iz*	*buok·*	*ŭn*	*leng·th*
iv	*aoŭn*	*ee·n,*	*lig·in*	*strech·t*	*slaap·*		*ao·ŭl*	*iz*			*leng·th*
v	*ao·ŭn*	*ee·n,*	*lig·in*	*strech·t*	*en·dlang*						
vi	*ao·n*	*ee·n,*	*lig·in*	*strech·t*	*e·t)t'*		*uoŭl*	*ŭn*	*iz*		*leng·th*
vii	*ao·n*	*in·,*	*lig·in*	*strech·t*		*ŭt*	*wuo·ŭl*				*leng·th*
viii	*oawn*	*ee·n,*	*lig·in*	*strech·t*	*aa·t*	*ŭt*	*fuol·*				*len·th*
ix	*au·n*	*aayz,*	*lig·in*	*strech·t*	*aawt*	*ŭt*	*fuol·*				*len·th*

i	*uop·*	*ŭ)dh*	*gree·ünd,*		*i*	*iz*	*gaoyd*	*suon·dŭ*	*kaoyt,*	*tloay·s*
ii	*uop*	*ŭ)t'*	*gre·ünd,*		*in*	*iz*	*gaoyd*	*suon·dŭ*	*kaoyt,*	*tlaoys*
iii	*ŭtop·*	*ŭ)t'*	*gruon·d,*		*i*	*iz*	*gaoyd*	*suon·dŭ*	*kaoyt,*	*tlaoys*
iv		*ŭ)t'*	*gre ünd,*	*don·d*	*i*	*iz*		*suon·dŭ*	*kaoyt,*	*tlaoys*
v	*ŭtop·*	*ün)t'*	*gruon·d,*	*don·d*	*i*	*iz*	*gooyd*	*suon·dŭr*	*kaoyt,*	*tlaoys*
vi	*ŭtop·*	*ŭ)t'*	*gre·nd,*	*don·d*	*i*	*iz*	*goa·d*	*suon·dŭ*	*kao·yt,*	*tlaoys*
vii	*uop·ŭ)t'*		*graa·nd,*	*don·d*	*i*	*iz*	*goa·d*	*suon·dŭ*	*koayt,*	*tloays*
viii	*uop·ŭ)t'*		*graa·nd,*		*i*	*iz*	*guod·*	*suon·dŭ*	*koo·ŭt*	*juos·t*
ix	*uop·ŭ)t'*		*gruon·d,*		*i*	*iz*	*guod·*	*suon·dŭ*	*kooüt,*	*juos·t*

i	*bi)th*	*ee·ŭs*	*duoŭr*	*aoyl,*		*ŭth*	*kao·ünŭ*	*ŭ*	*yaon·*	*le·n.*
ii	*bi)th*	*e·ŭs*	*duoŭr*	*aoyl,*	*de·ün*	*ŭ)th*	*kao·ünŭ*	*ŭ*	*yon·*	*lai·n.*
iii	*bi)t'*	*e·ŭs*	*duoŭr*	*aoyl,*	*de·ün*	*ŭ)t'*	*kao·ünŭr*	*ŭ*	*yon·d*	*laoyn.*
iv	*bi)t'*	*eŭs*	*duoŭr*	*aoyl,*	*daa·n*	*ŭt*	*bodh·ŭm*	*ŭ*	*yon*	*laoyn.*
v	*bi)t'*	*aa·s*	*duo·ŭr*	*aoyl,*	*daa·n*	*ŭ)t'*	*kao·ünŭr*	*ŭ*	*yon*	*laoyn.*
vi	*bi)t'*	*e·ŭs*	*duo·ŭ*	*steyd,*	*de·n*	*ŭ)t'*	*kao·nŭ*	*ŭ*	*yon*	*le·n.*
vii	*bi)t'*	*aa·s*	*duoŭ*	*stee·ŭd,*	*daa·n*	*ŭ)t'*	*kaoünŭ*	*ŭ*	*yon*	*le·n.*
viii	*bi)t'*	*aa·s*	*dooŭ,*		*daa·n*	*ŭt)t'*	*kornŭr*	*ŭ*	*dhaat·*	*lai·n.*
ix	*bi)t'*	*aaws*	*doo·ŭ,*		*daawn*	*ŭt)t'*		*ŭ*		

11. i	*ün*	*dhaat·*		*aap·ünd*	*üz*	*oo·*	*ün)th*	*daowtŭr*	*i*	*lao·*	
ii	*ün*	*dhet·*		*aap·ünd*	*üz*	*oo·*	*ün)th*	*daow·tŭr*	*i*	*lao·*	
iii	*ün*	*dhaat·*	*dhi·ŭr*	*aap·ünd*	*üz)th*			*daow·tŭr*	*i*	*lao·*	
iv	*ün*	*dhaat·*		*aap·ünd*	*üz*	*shoo·*	*ün)t'*	*daowtŭr)i)lao*	*ŭ*		
v	*ün*	*dhaat·*		*aap·ünd*	*üz*	*·shoo·*	*ün)t'*	*daowtŭr)i)lao·*	*ŭ*		
vi	*ün*	*dhaat·*		*ep·ünd*	*üz*	*·shoo·*	*ün)t'*	*doawtur)i)lao·*			
vii	*ün*	*dhaat·*		*aap·ünd*	*üz*	*·shoo·*	*ün)t'*	*doawtŭr)i)lao·*			
viii	*ün*	*dhaat·*		*aap·ünd*	*üz*	*·shoo·*	*ün ŭr*	*doawtŭr)i)loa·*			
ix	*ün*				*üz*	*·shee·*	*ün ŭr*	*doawtŭr*	*i*	*lau·*	

i		*kuom·*	*throa)th*	*baak·*	*yurd*	*froa*		*ang·in*
ii		*koo·m*	*throo)th*	*baak·*	*ye·ŭd*	*throo*		*eng·in*
iii	*ün ürsel·n*	*koo·m*	*thruo)t'*	*baak·*	*yeŭd*	*fre·*		*eng·in*
iv		*kuom·*	*thriw)t'*	*baak·*	*yaa·d*	*fruo*	*bin*	*eng·in*
v		*kaam·*	*thruo)t'*	*baak·*	*yaa·d*	*thruo*		*ing·in*
vi		*kuom·*	*thruo)t'*	*baak·*	*yu·d*	*throo*		*eng·in*
vii		*kuom·*	*thruo)t'*	*baak·*	*yaa·d*	*throa*		*ang·in*
viii		*kai·m*	*throo)t'*	*baak·*	*yaa·d*	*wen shoo)d*		*uong*
ix		*kaom*	*thruof·)t'*			*thrai*		

i	*th)wet*	*tlooŭz*	*yeŭt*	*tŭ*	*draoy*	*aon·*	*ŭ*	*wesh·in*	*dai·,*	
ii	*th)wet*	*tlooŭz*	*e·ŭt*	*tŭ*	*draay*	*aon·*	*ŭ*	*wesh·in*	*dai·,*	
iii	*t')wet*	*tlooŭz*	*aa·t*	*fŭ tŭ*	*draay*	*aon·*	*ŭ*	*wesh·in*	*de·ŭ,*	
iv	*t')wee·t*	*tluoŭz*		*tŭ*	*draay*	*ŭv*	*ŭ*	*wesh·in*	*de·ŭ,*	
v	*t')wee·t·*	*tluo·ŭz*	*aa·t*	*fao)tŭ*	*draay*	*on·*	*ŭ*	*wesh·in*	*de·ŭ,*	
vi	*t')weet·*	*tluoŭz*	*e·t*	*tŭ*	*draa·y*	*aon·*	*ŭ*	*wesh·in*	*de·,*	
vii	*t')wet*	*tluoŭz*	*aa·t*	*tŭ*	*drao·y*	*aon·*	*ŭ*	*wesh·'n*	*dai·,*	
viii	*t')wet*	*tlooŭz*	*aa·t*	*tŭ*	*droy*	*ŭt)t'*		*wesh·in*	*dai·,*	
ix			*aawt*	*tŭ*		*ŭt)t'*		*wesh·in,*		

12.	i	*waoyl)th*	*ket·ŭl*	*wŭr*	*baoy·lin*	*fao)th*	*tai·,*	
	ii	*waol·)th*	*ket·ŭl*	*wŭr ŭgai·t*	*baoy·lin*	*fŭ)th*	*tai·,*	
	iii	*waal·)th*	*ket·ŭl*	*wŭr*	*baoy·lin*	*for)t'*		*dringk·in*
	iv	*waol·*	*ket·ŭl*	*wŭr geŭt ŭ*	*baoy·lin*	*fŭ)t'*		*dringk·in*
	v	*waol·*	*ket·ŭl*	*wŭr geŭt ŭ*	*bao·ylin*	*fŭ)t'*		*dringk·in*
	vi	*waol·)t'*	*ket·ŭl*	*wo*	*baoy·lin*	*fo)t'*		*dringk·in*
	vii	*waoyl)t'*	*ket·ŭl*	*wŭ*	*baoy·lin*	*fŭ)t'*	*te·*	*dringk·in*
	viii	*wooyl)t'*	*ket·ŭl*	*wŭr*	*boy·lin*	*fŭ)t'*	*tee·,*	
	ix	*waayl)t'*	*ket·l*	*wŭr*	*boy·lin,*			

i		*won*	*faoyn*	*braoyt*	*aaf·tŭnoay·n*	*i*	*suom·ŭr*	
ii		*won*	*faa·yn*	*bree·t*	*aaf·tŭnoay·n*	*i*	*saom·ŭr,*	
iii	*ŭ*	*wuon·*	*faoyn*	*bree·t*	*aaf·tŭrnoayn*	*i*	*suom·ŭr*	
iv	*ŭ*	*wuon·*			*aaf·tŭnao·yn*	*i*	*suom·ŭr*	*taa·ym*
v	*ŭ*	*wuon·*	*faa·yn*	*bree·t*	*aaf·tŭnuo·in*	*i*	*suom·ŭr*	
vi	*ŭ*	*wuon·*	*faa·yn*	*bree·t*	*aaf·tŭnoa·yn*	*i*	*suom·ŭr,*	*yit*
vii	*ŭ*	*won·*	*faoyn*	*braayt*	*aaf·tŭnoayn*	*i*	*suom·ŭr,*	
viii		*won*	*suon·shoy·ni*		*aaf·tŭnoa·n*	*i*	*suom·ŭr,*	
ix				*braayt*	*ef·tŭ*			

i	*naob·ŭt*		*ŭ wee·k*	*sen·*	*kuom·)th*	*nekst*	*thur·sdŭ.*	
ii	*naob·ŭt*		*ŭ wik·*	*sen·*	*koo·m)th*	*nek·st*	*thaoz·dŭ.*	
iii	*naob·ŭt*	*sŭ laat·li*	*ŭ wik·*	*sin·*	*koo·m)t'*	*nek·st*	*thuoz·dŭ.*	
iv	*u wik*	*sin·*	*nob·ŭt*		*kuom·)t'*	*nek·st*	*thuoz·dŭ.*	
v	*nob·ŭd*		*ŭ wee·k*	*sin·*	*kuom·)t'*	*nek·st*	*thu·zdŭ.*	
vi	*nob·ŭd*		*ŭ week·*	*sin·,*	*kuom·)t'*	*nek·st*	*thu·zdŭ.*	
vii	*nob·ŭr*		*ŭ week·*	*sin·,*	*kuom·)t'*	*nek·st*	*thu·zdŭ.*	
viii	*nob·ŭt*		*ŭ week·*	*sin·,*	*kuom·*	*nek·st*	*thu·zdŭ.*	
ix			*wee·k*		*kuom·*		*thu·zdŭ.*	

The above will serve to shew the general resemblance and particular differences of the varieties. But they do not shew everything. The varieties form four groups. The w. group, containing i. Huddersfield and ii. Halifax, have a strong resemblance to s.La., D 22. The above shews the use of *oo·* for 'she,' but there is also an occasional employment of the verbal in *-en*, chiefly with auxiliaries as in D 23. iii. Keighley, iv. Bradford, v. Leeds, and vi. Dewsbury form the central group, and are most characteristic of the dialect. They use *shoo·* for 'she.' But even among this group there are peculiar affinities, thus vi. Dewsbury recalls ii. Halifax as well as iii. Keighley, and iv. Bradford, to which it is more closely related than to v. Leeds. But v. Leeds is the dominant form of speech, and gives the tone to the dialect. The central group has no verbal plural in *-en*, which, however, reappears in the s. central group vii. Rotherham and viii. Sheffield, on the borders of Db., with which they are closely related. The e. group, consisting of ix. Doncaster and neighbourhood, has a

different character and Nt. affinities, shewn by a great absence of fractures, the use of *aaw* for U′, and the absence of *shoo·* or *oo·*.

The character of the whole district may be condensed into

O, O′=*aoy ooy* as in *aoyl spooyn* hole spoon.

U′=*eŭ*, *aa·*, *aaw* as in *eŭs*, *aas*, *aaws*, all meaning house.

i. Huddersfield. There is some diversity of opinion among my informants respecting long I′ O′ U′ and short I O U when treated as long. Thus 'time' with long I′ is by different informants represented by *taoym taoŭm tao·m tau·m tah·m*, of which probably at present *taoym* is the least and *tau·m* the most frequent. The O′ is variable as in *gaoyd*, *gooyd* good. The U′ is very differently represented as *ee·ŭ*, *iw*, *eŭ*, of which *eŭ* or *e·ŭ* are most prevalent, *ee·ŭ* is antiquated and *iw* local, as in *deŭn de·ŭn dee·ŭn diwn* down, and even *da'ŭn daa·n* may be occasionally heard.

ii. Halifax differs very slightly indeed from var. i. There seems to be a subvariety at Halifax embracing *iw* for U′ as *iw ŭbiwt diwn iwt* how about down out. But *eŭ* appears to be the prevalent form of U′ as *deŭn* down. There is only a slight trace of the verbal pl. in *-en*. But both *oo*, *shoo* are used for 'she,' and *th* is not unfrequent for the definite article. There is a belief in the place that Halifax speech is related to Friesian. They say in Halifax

goo·yd breŭd baot·ŭr ŭn chee·z
iz goo·yd El·ifeks ŭn goo·yd Free·z.

On the other hand they have a rhyme in Friesland, given me by two Frieslanders born at Grouw (53° 6′ n. lat., 5° 50′ e. long.), pronounced by one

buot·ŭr breŭ ŭn tsee·z
dŭr daht· nat· se·zŭ kan· is ge·n oepryaokh·tŭ Free·z
=butter bread and cheese,
who that not say can is no genuine Friesian;

and by the other

buot·ŭr breŭ ŭn gree·nŭ chee·ls
dee dhat· nat· se·zŭ kahn· es nat ŭn ree·ŏkhtŭ Free·ls,

with the same meaning. In my Early English Pronunciation, Part IV. pp. 1397–1405, I have considered this at considerable length, with the conclusion that 'the resemblance [between Halifax and Friesian] is very far from close, but there is sufficient similarity of pronunciation to justify such a popular rhyme.'

iii. Keighley. There is now much change. 'She' is regularly *shoo·* emphatic, and *shoo shuo shŭ* unemphatic, *oo·* having quite disappeared.

There is no trace of a verbal plural in *-en*. The def. art. is still indeed occ. but rarely *th*, but the prevailing and only recognised form is suspended *t'*. *I is* is said to be occ. used, but it is a northern importation. I′ is usually *aoy*, but *aay* is also heard. U′ is chiefly *aa·*, but *deŭn e·ŭs* down house have been heard.

iv. Bradford. The character of this variety is so made up of those of ii. and v., that it can only be considered as a mixed form. There are said to be two different treatments of U′ as *aa·*, *e·ŭ* never confused, but the latter is confined to a few words, of which I know only *gre·ŭnd beŭn eŭs* ground boun (=going) house. In the poems of B. Preston, the principal literary form of Bradford, however, this distinction does not seem to be made, for his 'aa, ah, agh' all mean glossic *aa·*, as stated in a private letter by himself, although certainly he sometimes uses 'aa' for *e·ŭ* as in 'faas laaking, staat, fraam, saam' *fe·ŭs le·ŭkin ste·ŭt fre·ŭm se·ŭm* face laking (=playing) state frame seam (=fat), so the result is still uncertain.

v. Leeds. This is the most extensive and typical variety of D 24, extending over all its nc. part, and reaching as far as Wakefield, with numerous slight differences. The following are the general characteristics deduced from Mr. C. C. Robinson's cwl. (EP. p. 395).

A- generally *eŭ* as *neŭm* name. When G begins the next syllable, *aoŭ* is induced as *saoŭ* a saw.

A: generally *aa*, in a few cases *e* as *thengk·* thank. The A: or O: words ending in NG have *e* as *leng* long.

A′ has regularly *ooŭ* as *oo·ŭts* oats, but if G or W follow, *aoŭ* is induced as *aoŭn* own, *kraoŭ* to crow, or sometimes *aow* as *laow* low.

Æ- is generally *eŭ*, especially if G follows as *sneŭl* snail, for which *sniil* is also used. But father water become *faadh·ŭ waat·ŭ*.

Æ: is generally *aa*, but followed by G becomes *eŭ* as *aaf·tŭ*, *deŭ*, after, day.

Æ′- generally gives *ey* as *teych* teach, but varies as *eeŭ ee·* and even *o*, as *see·u chee·z on·i* sea cheese any.

E- is often *ey* as *neyd* knead, *eŭ* as *reŭn* rain, *eeŭ* as *wee·ŭ* to wear, and sometimes *e* as in *brek*, *ledh·ŭ* break, leather.

E: is regularly *e*, *ae* and has few variants.

E′ is regularly *ee·* as *fee·d spee·d* feed speed.

EA- has *eŭ* as *ge·ŭp* gape.

EAL gives rise to *aow ao·ŭ* as *aowld kao·ŭf* old calf.

EA′ has generally *ee·u* as *lee·ud* the metal lead, but a following W induces *aou* as *strao·u* straw.

EO varies much as *ev·n* heaven, *faaŭ* far, *lee·ŭn* learn, *ee·ŭth* earth.

EO′ is mostly *ee·*, *eeŭ*, but varies a good deal.

I: is generally *i*, even in blind, rind, to wind, bind, find, but grind is *gruon·d*.

I′ is regularly *aay*, never *ahy*.

O regularly *o*, but foal, coal, hole are treated almost as O′, and become *fuo·yl kao·yl ao·yl*.

O′ changes regularly into *ooy* as *koo·yl* cool, which is thus distinguished from *kao·yl* coal.

U becomes regularly *uo*[1], probably not *uo*[2], or at least transitional from *uo*[1] to *uo*[2], while in D 30 n. of D 24 *uo*[1] is regular. In case of UND there is diversity of usage as *puon·d gruon·d* pound ground, but *saa·nd waa·nd* sound (=healthy), and a wound.

U′ is regularly *aa·* as *daa·n* down.

YR gives rise to *u*, *uu* as *buth*, *bur·i*, *muth*, *bust* birth, bury, mirth, burst.

Among consonants, *h* vanishes, and *r* when not before a vowel also vanishes, or can scarcely be recognised; *t*, *d* at the end of a word preceding a word with a vowel become *r* as *gae·r)uop·* get up. The termination -ture has its older form *-tŭr*, *-tŭ* as *piktŭ* picture.

The differences of pron. between iv. and v. are insignificant. The distinction relied upon for separating the two forms of speech depends therefore upon the use of certain words and phrases, beyond our present scope.

vi. Dewsbury. This has business connections with Halifax, Bradford and Leeds, and none with Wakefield, which is like an old county town, and practically speaks as Leeds, whereas Dewsbury is most nearly allied to Halifax, but has also some of the characteristics of Rotherham. I′ in the town is *aay*, in the villages *aoy*, becoming *ao·*, thus Heckmondwyke is *Ek·ŭnwao·yk* or more commonly *Ek·ŭnwao·k*. The treatment of U′ resembles that of Halifax and Bradford, and is *e·ŭ*, *e·* as shewn in the interlinear example, and hence differs greatly from that at Wakefield. Thus

words	down	town	house	time	no
Wakefield	*daa·n*	*taa·n*	*aa·s*	*taa·ym*	*noa·*
Dewsbury	*de·ŭn*	*te·ŭn*	*e·ŭs*	*tao·ŭm*	*noo·ŭ*

vii. Rotherham. Traces of the verbal plural in *-en* occur. I′ is generally *ao·y*, and U′ is *aa·*, while O′ is not so frequently *aoy*, *oay*, *ooy*. There is a singular use of *oa·* in *noa·dhŭr* neither, *noa·* know, *oa-aav·ŭ* however, *troa·th* truth, *throa·* through, *koa·l* call, *oa·l* all, *toa·k* talk.

viii. Sheffield. This is practically identical with Rotherham.

ix. Doncaster. The main difference from v. Leeds consists in using *aaw* for U′. The change occurs near Conisbrough (5 sw. Doncaster), about halfway between Doncaster and Rotherham. It would appear that this *aaw* occurs in a narrow slip along the e. of D 24, running 6 or 8 miles west of its e. border. It is heard at Arnthorpe (3 e.Doncaster), though 4 miles farther e. we find *oo·* for U′. The *aaw* extends into n.Nt. D 27. Otherwise the chief difference

from Leeds consists in rejecting fractures, for example using *ai·* for *e·ü*, *ee·* for *ee·ü*, *oo* for *oo·y*. In *aaw* for *aa·* however the fracture, in the shape of a diphthong, is adopted. In vocabulary *shee·* is used at Doncaster, not *shoo·* as at Leeds.

D 25 = w.MM. = western Mid Midland.

The MM. bears a great resemblance to the NM. It has the same *uo*², and, in the w. part, fully marked verbal pl. in *-en*; the def. art is *th*, *dh*, and occ. *t'* by assimilation. But the U′ words vary in the different districts, D 25 *daayn*, D 26 *daa·n*, D 27 *daa·üün*, and there is a peculiar variety in the pron. of words which have *ai·* in received speech, as will be presently seen.

D 25 consists of all Ch. (except its ne. horn, which belongs to D 21, and a strip on the sw. belonging to D 28), with a very small portion of Db., and the n. of St., including the Potteries, as far s. as Stone (except a small strip beside Db.).

The characters which strike a stranger most are (EP. p. 409):

U′=*aay* in *aays daayn taayn* house down town.

A- =*ee·* in *tee·l* tale, except in n.Ch., where it is *tai·l*.

ÆG and EG also=*ee·* in *tee·l wee·* tail way, becoming *tai·l wai·* in ne. Ch. and part of St.

E′ is *iy* in *miy* me, varying to *mey* in m.Ch., and *maey* in St.

O′ is most frequently *oo*², as *moo*²*n*, but varies as *uuw*, as for instance *muuwn* in St.

This constant *ee·* sound for received *ai·* (comparable to that in Gl. D 4), and *aey* sound for received *ee*, has a very remarkable effect. And the limitation of their use as worked out by Mr. T. Hallam is also singular. Draw two lines through Ch. (1) from opposite Warrington, La., w. of Knutsford, Ch., e. of Northwich, between Siddington (5 wsw.Macclesfield) and Lower Withington close by, to n. of Bosley (5 s.Macclesfield), (2) from Frodsham (4 s.Runcorn-on-the-Mersey) through Delamere Forest, e. of Tarporley and Calverley, and w. of Wettenhall, to 2 n.Nantwich, and eastwards by Crewe to the border. Call the country n. and e. of (1) e.Ch., that between (1) and (2) m.Ch., and that w. and s. of (2) w. Ch. Then in e.Ch. they say *dai·* day, *tai·* both for tale and tail, as in received speech, and *miy iy dhiyz* me he these. In m.Ch. they say *dee·* day, *tee·l* tale and tail, and use *ee·* in almost all the *ai·* words of received speech, but in 'father, station, ?tatoes, gate, lane, and make,' they use *ai·*, and also say *mey ey dheyz* me he these, which become *maey aey dhaeyz* in n.St.

In w.Ch. all the usual *ai·* words have *ee·* (one or two as 'name wake' having occasionally *ai·*), and *maey aey dhaeyz* are used as in m.Ch. These e., m. and w.Ch. forms may be looked upon as Varieties i. ii. iii. In n.St. we have variety iv., where A- is *ai·*, A′ usually *oo·* or *oa·*, Æ- is *ai·* in father water, but ÆG is *ee·*, as also Æ′ and EG. Long E′ however is *aey*, and is apt to sound to a Londoner as his 'long a.' Thus 'green grain' when pron. in this Var. as *graeyn griin*, gives the impression of 'grain green,' just the reverse of the truth. EO′ is also *aey* in three tree. I′ becomes almost *auy*, though meant for *ahy*. O′ though occasionally *oo*², passes into *iw*, as in *diw* do, on the one hand, and *uuw* as in *muuwn* moon, on the other.

In the whole district the negative with auxiliaries is represented by *nŭ* as *kon·ŭ, shaan·ŭ, win·ŭ* can't sha'n't wo'n't, etc. The preposition 'to' is commonly omitted, as *goo be·d* go [to] bed, *iy)l kuum aa·r aays* he'll come [to] our house, etc., especially after 'for' indicating purpose, as *iv an·ibuud i kuumz für bah·y* if any one comes for [to] buy. In modern rec. sp. the 'for' is omitted and the 'to' retained.

These may be illustrated by paragraphs 6, 9, 10, and 13 of the cs. in parallel columns as heard at Tarporley for the w.Ch. var., and at Burslem for the n.St. var. For convenience *e, u, uo* are generally written for *ae uu, uo*² (EP. p. 416).

Tarporley. Var. iii.	Burslem. Var. iv.
(6) *ŭn dh)uwd wuom·ŭn ŭrsel· ŭl tel aan·i on yŭ ŭz laaf·n, ŭn praat·i straeyt fur·ŭt too*², *ŭn widhaay·t muoch· bodh·ŭr ŭn au·, ŭv yee·)n oa·nli aak·s ŭr, aa· bŭr oo*² *wuol·!*	(6) *ŭn dh)uwd wuom·ŭn ŭrsel· ŭd tel an·i on yŭ ŭz laaf·s naa, ŭn tel yu straeyt fur·ŭt tuw ŭn au·, widhaayt an·i bodh·ŭr, if yŭ)n oa·ni aak·s ŭr, wuon·ŭr ŭr?*
(9) *oo*² *swoaŭr oo*² *siyd im widh ŭr oa·n aa·yz, au· fuol lengkth on)th graaynd, in iz guod Suon·di koo*²*ŭt, tloo*²*s ŭsahy·d ŭ)dh ahys doo*²*ŭr, daayn bi)th kau·rnŭr ŭ yon·dŭr lai·n.*	(9) *ur swoaŭr ur saeyd im wiy ŭr oa·n aa·yz, lah·yin strecht ŭt)th fuol lengkth on)dh graaynd, widh iz best koo·t on tloa·s bi)dh aays dooŭr, daa·yn ŭt)th kau·rnŭr ŭ)dh lai·n.*
(10) *iy wŭz beb·durin ŭwee·, für au·)th wurld lahyk ŭ chahylt.*	(10) *aey wŭz roa·ŭrin ŭwee· für au·)dh wold lahyk dh)uwd grai·nj buol·.*
(13) *ŭn duon yŭ noa·? au nevŭr iyŭrd nŭ moo*²*ŭr ŭ dhaat·*	(13) *ŭn duon· yŭ noa·? au· nivŭr ee·ŭrd noo*² *mooŭr ŭbaay·t*

frŭm ·dhaat· dee· tŭ dhis, ŭsh shoo²ŭr ŭz mahy nee·m)z wot it i·z, ŭn au duon·ŭ waan·t t' noa· nee·dhŭr, ŭn ·dhaat·)s fur yŭ.

it frŭm dhaat· dee· tŭ dhis, ŭsh shoo²ŭr ŭz mahy nai·m)z wot it i·z, ŭn au duon·ŭ waan·t nee·dhŭr, ŭn yoa·)n got it juos·t ŭz au·)v got it.

The pron. of s.Ch. is well given by Mr. Darlington in the introduction to his Glossary, and in all the examples, by means of Glossic.

D 26 = c.MM. = eastern Mid Midland.

This district comprises m. and s.Db. with the exception of the peninsula at the south dovetailed in between St. and Le., and also a slip on the e. side of St.

The general characters are (EP. p. 425).

A- = *ai·* as in *nai·m* name.
A′ = *ooŭ, oo·, oa·*, as *mooŭr too·d roa·d* more toad road.
E′ = *aey* as *maey graeyn* me green.
O′ = *uuw* as *buuwk nuuwn* book noon, which is very distinctive.
U′ = *aa* as *daa·n taa·n* down town.

The *r* not before a vowel is probably r^{10}. The verbal pl. in *-en* is regular. The def. art. is *th*, and occ. *dh* before vowels and voiced consonants, and is assimilated sometimes to *s, f, t'*. In the n. parts of var. iii. *t'* seems to be used exclusively. The *tr, dr* are not dental *t'r, d'r* as in the n. of the Peak, D 21.

There are, however, many slight differences, and we may distinguish four varieties.

Var. i. South Peak. This has ÆG *dai·* and not *dee·* for day; and though *uuw* is common for O′, *oo²*, which probably generated it, is occ. heard. Also U′ is occ. *aaw* as well as *aa·*. This variety extends on the s. as far as Winster.

Var. ii. Western, from Winster to Ashbourne, and over the slip of St. ÆG, EG, are regularly *ee·* as *dee· see·* day say; O′ is regularly *uuw*, though *oo²* may be rarely heard; U′ is regularly *a'·* as *da'·n* down, but *aaw* as *daawn* may be occasionally heard in Db. and is regular in the St. slip.

Var. iii. Eastern. This shades off at the n. into D 24, and to the e. into D 27. In the n. part *dai·* day is regular, but at Ashover and further s. becomes *dee·*. O′ quite in the n. is occasionally *oy* as in D 24. I′ is regularly *auy*. In a few isolated places *aay* as *daayn* down, has been heard for U′ as in D 25; and *a'ŭ* has been found, which is intermediate between *a'w, a'y* and occurs in D 27. This var. extends from the n. border of Db. east of the ridge of hills which

form the centre of Db. as far as Ilkeston, but the separation *dai· dee·* for day indicates a change at a few miles s. of Chesterfield. To the e. of the ridge which passes through Bolsover, the verbal plural in *-en* is not found.

Var. iv. Southern. At about Quarndon and s. of it, O′ is regularly *iw* and U′ regularly *ĕaaw* or *yaaw*. The *iw* like the *uuw* of the other varieties is derived from *oo*². The triphthong *ĕaaw* is very neatly pronounced, and Mr. Hallam observed that there was an habitual transverse elongation of the opening of the mouth which seems to generate it from *aaw*.

Mr. Hallam obtained no less than eight versions of my cs. to illustrate this district, all written from native speakers or corrected by them.

These are from the following towns:

Var. I. South Peak.
1. Bradwell *braad·ŭ*, 9 ne.Buxton.
2. Taddington, 5 ese.Buxton.
3. Ashford *aash·fŭd*, 3 ese.Taddington.
4. Winster, 4 nw.Matlock Bath.

Var. II. Western.
5. Ashbourn, 10 sw.Matlock Bath, first version.
6. ,, ,, second ,,

Var. III. Eastern.
7. Brampton, 3 w.Chesterfield.

Var. IV. Southern.
8. Repton *rep'n*, 7 ssw.Db.

From these I have selected the third, from Ashford, and give it entire, and in notes after each paragraph I give the principal variants relating to pron. from each of the other seven versions, referred to by the above numbers; differences merely relating to words or expressions are not usually given.

Ashford, Db., cs., with Variants (EP. p. 427.)

0. *waa· Jon)z nuuw da'·ts.*

why 1 2 4 5 6 8 *wahy*, 7 *wauy*.
no 1 4 5 6 *nuuw*, 2 *noo*², 7 8 *noa*.
doubts 4 5 6 *da'·ts*, 1 *daa·ts*, 2 *daawts*, 7 *daayts*, 8 *dĕaawts*.

1. *we·l, Tuom, dhae· ŭn i·m mŭ boo·th laaf· ŭd dhiz niicz ŭ mahyn. oo· kyaiŭrz? dhaat·)z noa·dhŭr aeyŭr nŭr dheeŭr.*

thee 4 5 6 *dhaey*, 1 *yŭ*, 2 7 8 *yoa·*.
both 7 *booŭdh*.
laugh 5 6 8 *lof·*.
mine 1 *mahynd*, 2 4 8 *mahyn*, 7 *mauyn*.
who 7 *ooŭ*.
neither 5 8 *nee·dhŭr*.
here 5 7 8 *ee·ŭr*.

2. *dhŭr)z naw·n mon·i ŭz daeyz kau·z dhŭ)r laaf·t aa·t, waey noa·n, duon·t wi? wot shuod maak· ŭm? it)s non veri lahykli, iz it?*

NONE = NOT 2 4 5 6 7 8 *nŭ.*
DIE 1 2 5 7 8 *diyn diyz,* 4 6 *daeyz.*
LAUGHED 5 6 7 *loft.*
DON'T WE 2 *duo)n·t ŭz,* 7 8 *duo)nŭ wi.*
MAKE 8 *mai·k.*

3. *aa-a'·vŭr, it wŭr ŭ dhis·n. soo juos·t uuwd dhi nahyz, mŭn, ŭn bi kwahyt til)i)v duon·. aark dhi!*

HOWEVER 4 *aa·sŭmee·ŭr,* 8 *čaaw·sŭm-ir·ŭr.*
NOISE 7 *noyz.*
QUIET 1 *wai·t,* 2 4 5 8 *kwahyŭt,* 7 *kwauyŭt.*
I HAVE 6 7 *au)v,* 8 *ahy)n,* it is not clear what this *n* represents; it occurs also in Wa. and Le.
DONE 1 2 4 *duuwn.*

4. *aa)m saa·rtin aa)eeŭrd ŭm see·—suom ŭ dhaeyz foa·ks ŭz went thruuw)th oo·l thingg fŭ)th furst dhŭrsen·z—·dhaat·)aa did, shoo²ŭr inuof.*

I'M 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 *au)m au·)m.*
SAY 1 7 *sai·.*
THESE, taken properly as THOSE 4 *dhoo²z,* 5 *dhuuwz,* 8 *dhoa·z,* 6 *dhem.*
THROUGH 2 6 7 8 *throo².*
WHOLE 2 4 5 6 7 8 *wuol.*
FIRST 5 7 *fust.*
THEMSELVES 2 *dhŭrsel·z.*
THAT I 2 4 *dhaat·)i,* 5 7 8 *dhaat·au.*

5. *ŭz)th yuong·gist laa·d issen·, ŭ gree·t laa·d nahyn eeŭr uuwd, noa·d is fai·dhŭrz vahys ŭz suuwn ŭz aey eeŭrd it, ŭv it wur sŭ kweeŭr ŭn skwau·kin, ŭn aa)d truost i·m fŭ)t spee·k)t troo²th on·i dee·, dhaat· aa wuod.*

YOUNGEST 1 *yuongkst.*
GREAT 7 *gret,* 2 4 5 6 8 *big.*
NINE 7 *nauyn.*
VOICE 7 *vauys.*
SQUEAKING 2 4 5 6 8 *skwee·kin,* 7 *skweeŭkin.*
TRUTH 1 2 6 *triwth.*
DAY 1 7 *dai·.*

6. *ŭn)th uuwd wuom·ŭn ŭrsen· ŭd tel on·i on yŭ ŭz iz laaf·in na'·, ŭn tel yŭ straeyt a'·t ŭn aw·, widha'·t on·i ŭduw·, iv yoa)l oa·nli aak·s ŭr—aa)m shoo²ŭr uuw wuol, wuon·t ŭr?*

LAUGH 2 4 7 *laaf·,* 5 8 *lof·.*
NOW 2 4 7 *naa·,* 8 *nĕaaw.*
OUT 7 *aayt.*
TOO 2 4 5 6 *tuuw,* 7 *too²,* 8 *tiw.*
WITHOUT 2 *baawt,* 4 *widhaa·t,* 7 *widhaay·t,* 8 *widhĕaawt.*
ADO 6 *ŭduuw·,* the regular form, 2 4 5 7 8 *bodh·ŭr.*
WON'T 7 *wi)nŭt.*

7. *ŭt on·i rai·t, uuw touwd ·mae· on)t wen aa aak·st)ŭr tuuw·thri tahymz oa·ŭr, uuw di·d, ŭn uuw uuwt)nŭ tŭ bee ruongg ŭba'·t suoch ŭ thingg ŭz dhis, wot thingk yŭ?*

SHE = HOO 7 *oo*², 6 8 *uur*.
ME 1 2 4 5 6 8 *maey*, 7 *miy*.
ASKED 4 5 *ek·st*.
TWO THREE 7 *too*² *ŭr thriy*, 8 *tiwthri*.
TIMES 7 *tauymz*.
WRONG 7 *rongg*.
ABOUT 7 *ŭbaayt*, 2 4 5 *i*, 8 *on*.

8. *we·l, ŭz ŭ wŭr see·in, uuw)d tel)yŭ, boo·dh a'· ŭn wee·ŭr ŭn wen uuw fuon·)t' druongk·n bee·st ŭz ŭ kaw·z ŭr uoz·bŭnd.*

SAYING 7 8 *sai·in*.
SHE = hoo, 7 *oo*², 5 6 8 *uu·r*.
HOW 2 *aaw*, 8 *ĕaaw*, 7 *aa·*.
FOUND 2 5 6 *fuon·d*.
HUSBAND 2 *uoz·bŭnt*.

9. *uuw swoa·ŭr uuw saeyd im wi ŭr oa·n ahyz, lee d au· iz lengkth on)th gra'·nd wi iz guod Suon·di koo·t on, tloo·s too ŭr oa·n doo·ŭr stoo·n, da'·n ŭt)th kau rnŭr ŭ yonz lai·n.*

SHE = hoo, 7 *oo*², 5 6 8 *uu·r*.
SWORE 2 *swae·r*.
WITH 2 4 5 6 8 *widh*.
EYES 1 2 *aeyn*, 7 *auyz*.
LAID, LYING 1 2 4 5 6 8 *lahy·in*, 7 *ligin*.
GROUND 4 *graa·nd*, 2 *graawnd*, 8 *grĕaawnd*, 7 *graaynd*.
COAT 7 *kooŭt*, 5 *tloo·z*.
OWN DOOR STONE 2 *th)aawz duu·r*, 1 *duu·r*, 4 *th aa·z dooŭr*, 5 *a'·s doaŭr*, 7 *aays doaŭr*, 8 *ĕaaws dooŭr*.
DOWN 1 4 *daa·n*, 2 *daawn*, 7 *daayn*, 8 *dĕaawn*.
YON 7 *yond*, 2 4 *yondŭr*.

10. *aey wur fret·in ŭ·wee·, uuw sez, i suoch ŭ wee· juos·t lahyk ŭ baad·li chahylt ŭr ŭ lit·l wench krahy·in.*

HE 7 *iy*.
SHE = hoo, 5 8 *uur*.
FOR ALL THE WORLD, used for *juos·t* in 2 4 6 8 *fŭr au·)th wuurld*, 7 *fŭr oa·)t' wuul·d*.
LIKE 7 *lauyk*.
CRYING 7 *krauy·in*, 8 *in ŭ tem·pŭr*.

11. *ŭn it juos·t soo· aap·nt ŭz ·uu·r ŭn ŭr duuwtŭr i law· kuuwm thruuw)th baak· yaa·rd frŭ ing·gin th)wet tloo·z a'·t fŭ)t' drahy on)th wesh·in dee·.*

CAME 7 *kuumd*, 8 *kuum·*, 4 *kyai·m*.
THROUGH 2 7 8 *throo*².
THE 7 *t'*.
WET 2 *wiyt*.
CLOTHES 7 *tlooŭz*.
OUT 2 *aawt*, 7 *aayt*.
DRY 7 *drauy*.
DAY 7 *da·i*.

12. *wahyl)th ket·l wŭr bahy·lin fŭr)th tee·, won fahyn braeyt suom·ŭr aaf·tŭrnuuw·n oa·nli ŭ waeyk sin neks Thuur·zdi.*

WHILE 7 *wauyl*.
THE 7 *t'*.
BOILING 1 *buuy·lin*, 7 *bauy·lin*.
BRIGHT 2 7 *briyt*.
AFTERNOON 8 *aaf·tŭrnoo*²*n*.
WEEK 7 8 *wiyk*.

13. *ŭn duon·t yŭ sae·? aa ni·ŭr lurnt on·i moo·ŭr ŭba'·t dhaat· biznis uop· til tŭdee·, ŭsh shoo·ŭr ŭz maa· nai·m)z Jaak· Shep·ŭd, ŭn aa duo)n·ŭr waan·t fŭ)t duu· noa·dhŭr, dhaat·s saa·rtin.*

SEE 2 4 5 6 7 *noa·* know, 1 *noa·n.*
LEARNED 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 *eeŭrd* heard.
ABOUT 1 *ŭbaa·t*, 2 7 *ŭ* of, 4 5 6 8 *on.*
MY 1 4 5 8 *mahy*, 7 *mauy*, 2 *mi.*
WANT 5 6 8 *won·t.*
DO (see *aduw·*, par. 6) 4 6 *duuw.*
NEITHER 5 6 8 *nee·dhŭr.*

14. *aa)m gŏŏ·in wau·m fŭ)t ai· mi suop·ŭr naa·, guod· naeyt, ŭn duo)n·ŭr bee sŭ kwik ŭba'·t kroa·in oa·ŭr ŭ bod i ŭgjae·n wen aey taw·ks ŭba'·t dhis dhaat· ŭn)t' tuodh·ŭr tuuw dhi.*

HOME 1 *wao·m*, 2 6 7 8 *wuw·m*, 4 5 omit.
NIGHT 5 8 *nahyt*, 7 *niyt.*
A BODY 1 5 6 8 *on·ibod·i*, 2 *noo²·bdi*, 4 *nuob·di*, 7 *wo·n.*
AGAIN 1 2 *ŭge·n.*
HE 7 *iy*, 1 2 4 5 *dhi* they, 8 *dhu* they.
ABOUT 1 4 *ŭbaa·t*, 2 *ŭbaaw·t*, 7 8 *ŭ* = of.

15. *aey)z ŭ poo·ŭr wi·k fuuwl ŭz prai·ts widha'·t uon·bithingk·in issen· ŭ bit. aa duo)n·ŭr noŭ· ŭz aa·)v uuwt mooŭr fŭ)t see· na'·, soo guod· naeyt tuuw dhi.*

HE'S 2 *it)s*, 7 *iy'z.*
FOOL 7 8 *fiwl*, 1 *hod*, 2 *chaap.*
WITHOUT 4 *widhaa·t*, 7 *widhaay·t*, 8 *widhĕaaw·t*, 2 *baawt.*
UNBETHINKING for BETHINKING, 7 *reeŭz·n.*
The rest differently phrased.

D 27 = EM. = East Midland.

This district consists of the co. of Nt. only. I have not been able to find sufficiently distinct indications to assume any other boundaries. It is quite distinct from the adjoining Li., D 20, on the e. But on the n. it seems to fade into the neighbouring Yo., on the w. into Db., and on the s. it is doubtful whether the region between the two horns of Le. should not rather be classed with the Le. var. of D 29. The pron. may almost be considered as a slight variety of received speech with *uo²* for *u*. The U′ words in the n. have *aaw*, in the m. have *aaŭŭ*, which is characteristic, and in the s. fall into the *ĕaaw* observed in D 26. The I′ is rather *ahy* than *auy*. The def. art. is mostly *dhŭ*, but occ. *dh*, *th* and even *s*, *t'* by assimilation. The *r* not before a vowel is quite vocalised as in D 20, although Mr. Hallam very frequently writes it in; and the *h* disappears. As opposed to Li., Nt. is characterised by an almost entire absence of fractured vowels.

Mr. Hallam wrote from dict. six versions of my dt. (EP. p. 448), which I treat as in D 26, giving one in extenso and adding variants characterised by the following numbers:

1. East Retford, from the lock-keeper, b. 1803.
2. Worksop, from a porter at the canal, b. 1823.
3. Mansfield, from a patten-maker, b. about 1819.
4. Mansfield Woodhouse, 2 n.Mansfield, from a labourer, b. 1820, the version selected.
5. Bulwell, 4 nnw.Nottingham, from a retired labourer, b. 1801.
6. Newark, from a butcher.

1. *au sai·, chaap·s, yoa see· naa·ŭŭ dhŭt au)m raeyt ŭbaaŭŭt dhaat· lit·l gyel kuom·in frŭm yon skoo·l.*

I SAY 1 prefixed *naaw* now, and 6 prefixed *we·l.*
CHAPS 1 *laad·z*, 3 *mai·ts.*
RIGHT 1 3 5 6 *rahyt.*
ABOUT 1 *ŭbaa·wt.*
GIRL 1 *laas·*, 3 6 *gyerl*, 5 *gyeŭl.*
FROM YON SCHOOL 6 *frŭm)s skool·l yondŭr.*

2. *shee)z gooin daaŭŭn dhŭ roa·d dheeŭr throo· dhŭ red gyai·t on dhŭ left aan· sah·yd ŭ)dh roa·d.*

DOWN 1 *daa·wn.*
THERE 1 *dheŭr.*
OF THE ROAD 2 3 5 *ŭv dhu rao·d*, 1 and 6 omit the words.

3. *look! t' chahyld)z gau·n straeyt uop tŭ)t' doo·ŭ ŭv dhŭ raong· aa·ŭŭs.*

LOOK 1 *shooŭ ŭnuof·*, 6 *au)m shooŭr*, used instead of 'look.'
STRAIGHT 1 *strahyt.*
TO THE 3 5 6 *tŭ dhŭ*, 2 *tŭ)th.*
HOUSE this *aa·ŭŭs* was inclined to *aa·ws.*

4. *weeŭ shee)l aap·n fahynd dhaat· druongk·n def· wiz·nd fel·ŭ kau·ld Tom.*

WIZENED 6 *slongki.*

5. *wee au·l noa· im ver·i we·l.*
6. *waey·nt dhi uuwd chaap· soo·n tee·ch ŭr not tŭ doo it ŭgye·n, poo·ŭ thing!*

WON'T 1 3 *woa·nt.*
TEACH 6 *laa·n.*

7. *loo·k, iz·nt it triw?*

LOOK 6 *luok· yŭ.*
TRUE 3 5 *troo²*, 1 *troo·*, 6 *ŭ taowd yŭ shee wur ruong·.*

This gives a practical uniformity with only an occ. deviation in the U′. The following sentences were also dictated to Mr. Hallam (EP. p. 449):

1. At Mansfield: *ee·)z got it on im tŭnau·yt*, he has got it on him, i.e. he's very tipsy, to-night.
2. At Bingham, old woman's account of what she said to a clergyman who asked her for subscriptions: *yoo see·, ser, sez ahy, ahy)v ŭnuof· tŭ doo· widh wot lit·l ahy e·v tŭ gyiv· ŭwai·, ŭn au lahyk tŭ gee· it misen·, ŭn dhen au noa· dhu)l gyet· it;* you see, sir, says I, I've enough to do with what little I have to give away, and I like to give it myself, and then I know they'll get it.

The following fragments of a cs. were dictated to me by the son of the late rector of Bingham (8 e.Nottingham), and Mr. Hallam obtained another version of them direct from a retired native tradesman. Observe that the first had *uo*, and the second *uo*² (EP. p. 449).

Fragments of a Bingham cs. dictated by

Rector's Son.	Native Tradesman.
aaym saa·tin aay hee·ŭd ŭm se·—dhat· aay did se·f ŭnuof·—dhat dh)oa·d wuom·ŭn ŭsel·f faewnd dhŭ druongk·n bee·s. wot d)yoo· thingk? shee see·d im wi hŭr oa·n auyz lauy·ing daewn on)th graewnd, tloa·s bauy dhŭ duo·ŭr ŭv ŭ haews, aan d)yŭ nao·? dhaat· haap·t on ŭ wosh·in dai, ŭz shee· ŭn ŭr duuwtŭr in lau· kuum· throo· dhŭ bak· yaa·d frŭm ing·in aewt dhŭ wet· tloa·z tŭ dree· oo· ki·ŭrz [ke·ŭz]? aay)m u goa·in hao·m tŭ suop·ŭ. guod· nauyt.	*ahy)m saa·tin shoo·ŭr ahy ee·ŭd ŭm sai·—dhaat· ahy did sai·f ŭnuof·—dhaat· dh)uuwd wuom·ŭn ŭrsen faaŭnd dhŭ druo²qk·n bee·s waur)ŭ)yŭ thingk? sh)see·d im wi ŭr oa·n ahyz, das·d druo²ngk on dhŭ gra'ŭnd, ŭgye·n iz oa·n a'ŭs doo·u. dhaat· aap·nd on)dh wesh·in dai·, ŭs shee· ŭn ŭr duuwtŭr in lau· kuum· throo· dhŭ baak· yaa·d frŭm ing·in· a'ŭt dhŭ wet tluuz tŭ draa·y. oo· ke·ŭz ŭba'ŭt yao·? au)m gooin oo·m)p')mi suo²p·ŭ. guo²d· nahyt.*

In *ao·m)p')mi suop·ŭ*, the *p'* is an assimilated *t* from *tŭ* with the vowel suppressed.

At present then Nt. shews very little affinity to any Mid. speech. But fortunately Mr. Hallam found in a family at Bulwell (4 nnw. Nottingham) a direct proof of a change since 1844. He learned from them that the words 'keen feet rain lane night,' now called *kee·n fee·t rai·n lai·n nahyt*, that is practically in received pronunciation

were in 1844 called *kyaeyn, faeyt, ree·n, laeyn, naeyt*, of which the first three agree practically with D 26. In the same place he also heard an example of the verbal pl. in *-en, if we wŭrn tau·kin too ŭ shepŭrd dung·* 'if we were-n talking to a shepherd dog,' although he did not meet with another instance. Hence I consider that the deviations from Mid. usages are comparatively recent, and that it is proper to associate Nt., D 27, with Ch. and n.St., D 25, and m. and s.Db., D 28.

D 28 = w.SM. = western South Midland.

This small district contains parts of five counties, the se. of Welsh Fl., the ne. of Dn., all detached or English Fl., a small part of n.Sh., and a small slip to the sw. of Ch. The first two contain natural Welsh speakers, but these sections have spoken English for years, and detached or English Fl. has spoken English since the Conquest, and even before, although the names of places are still Welsh. In such a district not much homogeneity of speech can be looked for, but all parts are under the influence of Ch.

The general characters are (EP. p. 451):

A- is *ee·, ai·*, as *nee·m nai·m* name.
A′ is *oo·, oa·*, as *stoo·n stoa·n* stone.
E′ is *ee·*, as *gree·n* green, with a slight leaning to *griyn greyn*.
III is *ee, aey*, as *nee·t naeyt* night, the first form most usual, the second hardly used except in 'good night.'
I′ is *uy uuy ahy auy*, say about *ahy*.
O′ is oo^2, *iw*, as noo^2n *niwn*, the former as appreciated by Mr. Hallam, who is familiar with the sound oo^2, the second as felt by others.
U is uo^2, this is regular.
U′ is *uw uuw aaw aow*, say about *aaw*.

The *r* has become Midland, say r^{10}, as opposed to the Welsh r^1 of Sh.

The sum of these characters distinguish the district from all the neighbouring forms of speech, though some of the individual pron. occur in them.

It is impossible to distinguish varieties effectively, because there is so much uncertainty in the pronunciation. I give a dt. written from the dictation of the town-crier at Ellesmere, Sh., and I add any tangible variants from Whixall, Sh., Hanmer, detached Fl., and Farndon, Ch., with the letters W, H, F prefixed. The Ellesmere and Hanmer, both taken by Mr. Hallam, agree closely, the Whixall and Farndon had to be deduced from my informants' orthography, and are therefore not so trustworthy.

ELLESMERE dt. with variants.

1. *uy sai·, laad·z, yŭ see· nuw, dhŭt uy)m ree·t ŭbuw·t dhaat· lit·l wensh kuum·in frŭm dhŭ skoo·l yaandŭr.*

SAY HF *see·*.
LADS F *mee·ts*, W *chaap·s*.
YOU SEE H *yŭ see·n*.
NOW W *nyaaw*, F *naaw*.
I'M W *ahy*, F *auy*.
ABOUT WF *ŭbaaw·t*.
COMING WHF *kuo²m·in*.
SCHOOL WF *skiwl*.
YONDER F *yondŭr*.

2. *uur)z goo·in duuwn dhŭ roa·d dhee·ŭr throo· dhŭ red wikit on dhŭ lif·t and suyd ŭ dhŭ roa·d.*

GOING W *gwin*, H *goo²in*, F *gooin*.
DOWN W *dĭaawn*, H *duwn*, F *daawn*.
ROAD W *le·ŭn*, H *roa·ŭd*, F *roo·d*, second time *wee·*.
THROUGH H *throo²*, F *thriw*.
GATE W *geŭt*, F *gee·t*.
SIDE W *sahyd*, F *sauyd*.

3. *sai·f ŭnuo²f· dhŭ chuyld)z gaw·n straeyt uo²p· tŭ dhŭ raang· doo·ŭr.*

SAFE ENOUGH W *saartinli ŭnuuf·*, H *look yŭ*, F *shiwr ŭnuo²f·*
CHILD W *chahyld*, F *chauyld*.
GONE W *gwon*, F *gon*.
WRONG DOOR H *rong· doa·ŭr*, W *dooŭr ŭ dhŭ raang· yhaaws*, F *diwr ŭv dhŭ ruong· aaws*.

4. *waa·r uur mai· fuynd dhaat· druongk·n jef uuwd chaap· kaw·ld Tuo²m·.*

WHERE W *wee·ur*, F *wiyŭr*, H *mai·bee*.
FIND W *fahynd*, F *fauynd*.
DEAF W *dai·f*, F *def·*.
OLD CHAP CALLED TOM, differently phrased in different versions, W *sriv·ŭld fel·ŭr oa dhŭ neŭm oa Tuo²mŭs*, H *ringk·ld fel·ŭ dhee·ŭr ŭz dhai kaw·ln Tuo²m*, F *wiz·nd fel·ŭr ŭ dhŭ nee·m ŭv Tuo²m·ŭs*.

5. *wi aw·l noa· ĭ·m veri wel·.*

WE W *uus·*.
KNOW WH *noa·n*, F *noo·*.
VERY W *vaar·ŭ*.

6. *wuon·ŭ dhŭ uuwd chaap· soo·n tai·ch ŭr nod tŭ doo)it ŭgye·n, poo ŭr thing!*

WON'T W *wuo²n·ŭd*.
SOON WF *siwn*, H *soo²n*.
TEACH WH *laa·rn*.
DO W *doa·*, H *doo²*, F *diw*.
POOR H *poo²ŭr*, F *piwr*.
THING W *thin*.

7. *look· yŭ! in·ŭd it troo·?*

LOOK WF *liwk*.
ISN'T H *in·ŭt*.
TRUE W *driw* (?), H *troo²*, F *triw*.

As I was unable to understand the writing of the dt. from Hawarden, Fl., called *aa·rdin*, I give a short cwl. of words heard there by Mr. Hallam (EP. p. 458).

A- *giim* game. A′- *too*^{2} two. A′: *oa·m* home. Æ- *fai·dhŭr* father. Æ: *dee·* day. Æ′- *an·i* any. *wai·t* wheat. Æ′: *del dai·l* deal. *wee·ŭr* where. E- *spai·k* speak. *ree·n* rain. E′- *ey* he. E′: *eeŭrd* heard. EA: *aeyt* eight. *uwd* old. *tuwd* told. *kau·f* calf. *fyaa·rn* fern. *gee·t* gate. EA′- *ae·d* head. EA′: *dee·f* deaf. EO: *yuo*^{2}*ng·* young. EO′- *oo*^{2} hoo = she. *foaŭr* four. I- *gyet* to get. I: *chahyld* child. *ruo*^{2}*n·* run. O: *kraaf·t* croft. O′- *skoo*^{2} *skiw* school. O′: *guo*^{2}*d·* good. *doo*^{2} do. U- *suo*^{2} *n* son. *doo·ŭr* door. U: *gruwnd* ground. U′- *naaw* now. U′: *daawn* down. *uo*^{2}*z·* us. Y: *fost* first. A.. *rai·zn* reason. E.. *tai·* tea.

D 29 = e.SM. = eastern South Midland.

This extensive district contains Sh. e. of Wem and the Severn, St. s. of Stone, a slip on the n. of Wo., the greater part of Wa., the s. tail of Db., and all Le., that is, it occupies parts of six counties, reaching right across the middle of England, and forming "the Midlands" properly so called. It is nevertheless to such a degree homogeneous in character, that I have not been able to separate it satisfactorily into independent districts, as, although it has some differences, it was impossible to draw bounding lines between them. But I distinguish four varieties, with some subforms, that have rather a geographical location than a phonetic individuality. These are as follows, where the names of towns and villages from which, among others, my information comes, must serve as indications of the regions involved (EP. p. 460).

Var. i. ne.Sh., and n. and m.St.
- i*a*. ne.Sh. Edgcombe, Hodnet, Market Drayton, Newport; in St. Eccleshall, Wootton.
- i*b*. wm.St., n. of Watling Street. Bradley, Cannock, Haughton, Stretton.
- i*c*. em.St. Barton-under-Needwood, Burton-upon-Trent, Hanbury, Hopwas, Lichfield, Tamworth, Tutbury, Yoxall.

Var. ii. me. and se.Sh., s.St. and n.Wo.
- ii*a*. me. and se.Sh. Ironbridge, Madeley, Shifnal, Wellington.
- ii*b*. s.St. Codsall, Darlaston, Dudley (politically in Wo.), Walsall, Wednesbury, West Bromwich, Willenhall, Wolverhampton.
- ii*c*. n.Wo. Cradley, Hagley, Selly Oak, Stourbridge.

Var. iii. Wa.
- iii*a*. e.Wa. Atherstone, Bedworth, Brandon, Bulkington, Coventry, Nuneaton, Polesworth.
- iii*b*. w.Wa. Birmingham, Curdworth, Elmdon, Knowle, Leamington, Warwick.

Var. iv. Le.
- Belgrave, Birstall, Cottesbach, Leicester, Loughborough, Syston, Waltham.

The characters of these varieties, and of the whole district, may be inferred from the pronunciation of the following words as given in glossic in the annexed table (EP. p. 462): 'believe, cup, day, do,

down, green, the hail *eyl*, house' (*h* always left out), 'lame, look, moon, nail, name, now, out, rain, school, shoe, soon, tail' (not 'tale'), 'three, too, up, way, wife.'

	Var. i.			Var. ii.			Var. iii.		Var. iv.
	a ne.Sh. and nm.St.	*b* wm.St.	*c* em.St.	*a* em.and s.Sh.	*b* s.St.	*c* n.Wo.	*a* e.Wa.	*b* w.Wa.	Le.
A-	*laiŭm*	*nai·m*	*nai·m* *nee·m*	*nai·m*	*naiŭm* *neym*	*naiŭm*	*naiŭm* *nai·m*	*naiŭm*	*nai·m*
ÆG-	*tee·l*	*tee·l*	—	—	—	*eyl* *naayl*	—	*tai·ul*	*tee·l*
ÆG:	*dee·*	*dee·*, *dai·*	*doe·*	*dai·*	*dai·y*	*dai·y*	*dee·*	—	*dee·*
EG	*ree·n*	*ree·n* *rai·n*	*ree·n*	*rai·n*	*rai·yn*	*raiŭn*	*rai·n*	*wai·y*(?)	*ree·n*
E′	*bilai·v*	*gree·n* *gre·yn*	*greyn*	*gree·n*	*gree·n* *grai·yn*	*grai n*	*gree·n*	—	*grai·yn*
EO′	*thrai·*	*three·*	*threy*	—	—	*three·* *thrai·*	*three·*	—	*thrai·y*
I′	*wahyf*	*wahyf*	*wahyf* *wauyf*	*wahyf*	*wahyf* *wauyf*	*wahyf*	*wahyf*	*wahyf* *wauyf*	*wahyf* *wouyf*
O′	*shiw*	*miwn*	*tiw diw* *muuwn*	*moo·n*	*tiw diw* *miwn*	*niwn* *muo²n*	*loo²k* *soo²n*	*skiwl*	*miwn*
U	*uo²p*	*uo²p*	*uo²p*	*kuo²p*	*uo²p*	*uo²p*	*uo²p*	*uo²p*	*uo²p*
U′	*uuws*	*aaws* *čaawt*	*awcs* *a'ŭs*	*nuw*	*aawt* *yaawt* *aaŭt*	*daawn* *daewn*	*aaws*	*aaws*	*daawn* *uuwt* *no·w*

In all these A=*aiŭ* is the older form, and *ey*, *ai·* modern variants. ÆG and EG=*ee·* seems also to be the older form, of which *aiŭ*, *ey* are variants. Observe the change in ii*b*, where *ai·y* is normal and characteristic. O′=*iw*, *uuw* are regular variants of *oo²*. U′=*aaw* has several local variants.

In addition to this, *h* is never heard, *r* not before a vowel is said to be untrilled, and may be r^{10}, and even before a vowel it may be the same, at any rate the trill, if it exists, is very faint.

The verbal plural in *-en* is quite distinct in Sh., St. and Wo. It is very little heard in Wa., and nearly (not quite) extinct in Le.

In Var. ii*b*, but apparently not in ii*a*, though the two together form the 'Black Country,' there is a curious way of combining the negative with auxiliary verbs. The following were heard by Mr. Hallam at Darlaston, Walsall, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Willenhall, Wolverhampton, and Cradley, some in one place, some in another (EP. p. 461).

1. *Ahy ain·t*, I a'n't or am not. 2. *ahy ai·t*, I haven't. 3. *it ai·y*, *ai·ynt*, it isn't. 4. *i·t it?* isn't it? 5. *ahy bi·t*, *beynt*, I ben't. 6. *ahy doot·*, I don't. 7. *ahy shai·*, *shai·t*, *shau·*, I shan't. 8. *ahy woa·*, *woa·w*, *woaw·*, *woo·t*, I won't. 9. *ahy kao·*, *kau·*, *kau·t*, I can't. 10. *ahy uo²d·n*, I wouldn't.

In a cs. sent from Dudley, I find (continuing the numbers) 11. *ahy doa· ke·ür*, I don't care. 12. *dhaat· doa· maat·ür*, that does not matter. 13. *woa· ür?* won't she? 14. *ahy doa· waan·t*, I don't want. 15. *doa· yü bee?* don't you be?

As illustrations, I give versions of the dt. as dictated by natives at Edgmond, Sh. (just w. of Newport), and Darlaston, St. (a little ese. of Wolverhampton), which present about the greatest contrast that can be obtained from different parts of this district. In the following examples *e*, *u*, *uo* are generally used for *ae*, *uu*, *uo²* (EP. p. 472).

EDGMOND, SH. i*a*.

(1) *au si, chaap·s, yü siyn naaw dhüt ahy)m riyt übaaw·t dhaat· lit·l wench kum·in früm dhü skuwl yaan·dür.*

(2) *ur)z gyoo²in daawn dhü roa·d dheeür throo² dhü red gyai·t on dhü lift aan·d sah·yd üv dhü roa·d.*

(3) *luok yü! dhü chahyld)z gau·n straeyt uop tü dhü ruongg aaws.*

(4) *weeür ur)l bee laaykli ünuof· tü fahynd dhaat druongk·n jef widhürd fel·ü üz dhi kau·ln Tuom.*

(5) *wee au·l noa·n im we·l.*

(6) *wuon·ü dhü uwd chaap· soo²n laarn ür not tü doo² it ügyen·, poo²ür thingg!*

(7) *loo²k! ai·nt it truw?*

DARLASTON, ST. ii*b*.

(1) *ahy sai·y, laad·z, duon yü see ahy)m royt na'ü üba'ü·t dhaat· lit·l wench kom·in früm)s)skiwl yaan·dür.*

(2) *ur)z goo·in da'ün dhü ro·wd dheeür thriw dhaat· red gye·üt on dhü lift aan·d sau·yd ü dhü ro·wd.*

(3) *luok yü! ur)z gau·n straeyt uop tü dhü ruong a'üs.*

(4) *ahy shüd thingk ur)l foynd owd ahrd eeü·rin skin·i sniv·lin Tuom·i.*

(5) *yow au·l noa·n im royt ünuof·.*

(6) *woo·)t ee mak ur bowt* [=bolt, run away], *pooür thingg! ür woo·)t* [=won't] *diw it ügyen·!*

(7) *liwk! di·t* [=didn't] *ahy tel yü?*

The following sentences (except No. 7) were noted by Mr. TH. at Burton-on-Trent, i*c*. The first was reported to have been said by a father to his daughter at dinner—the girl had lost £2 and the mother had gone to look for it (EP. pp. 477, 478).

BURTON-ON-TRENT.	TRANSLATION.
(1) *weeür)z yür modhü? ah·y noa· dhü)s) suom·üt uop, ür ur wuod·nü baey uwee·. ün dhü)s suom·üt uop wi yoa·, fü yoa kon·ür ee·t yür din·ü.*	(1) where's your mother? I know there's something up, or she wouldn't be away. and there's something up with you, for you can't eat your dinner.
(2) *yoa·)n bin ü foyn woyl.*	(2) you-have-n been a fine while.
(3) *aey)z goo·in ü dhü aawz.*	(3) he's going into the house.
(4) *aey licz ügyen· dheeür in jenüli.*	(4) he lives against there in general.
(5) *iz·nt aey goo·in tü duw it?*	(5) isn't he going to do it?
(6) *gyer)uop! yoa)n gaur)it!*	(6) get)up! you)have-n got)it!
(7) *oy)l duu)t ü dhaat·nz.*	(7) I'll do)it in that manner.

The following Carol was dictated to me by a lady who used to live in the neighbourhood, and had often heard it sung.

BARTON-UNDER-NEEDWOOD, *ic.*	TRANSLATION.
az oy saht· on ü suon·i bahngk	As I sat on a sunny bank,
on Krus·ümüs dee· i)dh mau·nin,	On Christmas day in the morning,
oy saa· threy ships kum see·lin boy,	I saw three ships come sailing by,
on Krus·ümüs dee· i)dh mau·nin.	On Christmas day in the morning.
ün iw suod bey in dheyz they ships	And who should be in these three ships
buot Joa·züf ün iz fe·ü led·i,	But Joseph and his fair lady,
ün ·aey did wis·l ün ·shey did sing,	And ·he did whistle and ·she did sing,
ün aal dhü bel·z on e·üth did ring,	And all the bells on earth did ring,
fau joy dhüt dhü Sai·viür, ·ey wüz bau·n	For joy that the Saviour, he was born
on Krus·ümüs dee· i)dh mau·nin.	On Christmas day in the morning.

The following Dialogue on the Darlaston 'Wake Beef,' or beef for the annual feast on 24 August, was dictated to Mr. Hallam by one of the speakers, and pal. in 1879.

DARLASTON, ST., ii *b*.	TRANSLATION.
laas· Froy·di noyt, wen mee ün a'wür Tuom wün goo·in uop dhü stree·t t)aav·)ü loo·k üt dhü We·ük Bee·f, wee went üs fur üz dhü	last Friday night, when I and our Tom were-n going up the street to)have)a look at the Wake Beef, we went as far

Wau·yt Lau·yün, ün turnd ügyen·, ün kum·in baak· throo dhü Aa·li, dhi wüz thrii ür fow·ür sit·in üt dhü doo·ür, kol·iür)faash·ün, lit·l Jaak·i Ren·üldz, Jo·w Kye·rlis, un tiw moo·ür üv iz paal·z, dog·ruon·ürz.	as the White Lion, and turned again, and coming back through the Alley, there were three or four sitting at the door, collier-fashion, little Jacky Reynolds, Joe Careless, and two more of his pals [=friends], dog-runners.
R. weeür üs bi·n, Aar·i?	R. where hast been, Harry?
Aa. t)aav· ü luok üt dhü bi·f.	H. to)have a look at the beef.
R. wee·)n bi·n t)aav· ü luok aa·t· it, ün dhaat·)s a'w·ür shai·ür; iz it dhau·yn?	R. we)have-n been to)have a look at it, and that's our share; is it thine?
Aa. au·, ahy rek·n it iz. guod nau yt.	H. aye, I reckon it is. Good night.

A maid-servant's account of how her brother Jim's leg was hurt and cured, palaeotyped by Mr. Hallam from her dictation.

Walsall, St., ii *b*.	Translation.
aa·r Jim wau kuomin baak· früm see·in iz aa·nt Sali, ün i kuom ükrau·s dhü fi·lz, ün gyet·in ov·ür dhü stahyl, ün i urt)s leg, ün it wau· baad· ev·ur sü longg, ün shi got suom pow·ltis too² it, ün it wau ·ev·ür sü muoch bet·ür.	our Jim was coming back from seeing his aunt Sally, and he came across the fields, and getting over the stile, and he hurt his leg, and it was bad ever so long, and she got some poultice to it, and it was ever so much better.

The Varieties iii. and iv. may be illustrated by extracts from my cs. in both cases palaeotyped from dictation by myself (EP. p. 464).

Atherstone, Wa., ii *a*.	Enderby, Le., iv.
(6) *dhü owld· wuom·ün ürsen·*	(6) *dh) oa·l wuom·ün ü sen·*
(9) *seed· im wi ür oa·n ahyz u lahy·in strecht au·l iz length o dhu graawnd wi iz goad· suon·di koo·üt on, kloo·üs tü dhü doo·ür ü dhü aawz, daawn üt dhü kor·nür oa yon le·ün.*	(9) *see·d im wi ür oa·n aayz laay·ün sprau·ld üt fuol· length on dhü gruuwnd, in iz guod· suon·di koa·t, tlos bi dhü doa·ür ü)dh uuwz, duuwn üt dhü kau·nur ü yon le·ün.*
(10) *ee wüz wahy·nin üwee·, shi sez, für au·l dhu wurld lahyk ü sik· chahyld ür ü lit·l gel in ü fret.*	(10) *ee wau·r waay·nin üwai·, shi sez·, für au·l dhü wuld laayk ü baad·li chaayld in ü fret.*

(11) *ŭn dhaat aap·nd ŭz shee· ŭn ŭr dau·tŭr in lau· wŭz ŭkoam·in thruo· dhŭ baak· ya·rd from ing·in aawt dhŭ wet· kloo·ŭz tŭ drahy ŭn ŭ wosh·in dee·,*

(12) *wahyl dhu kit·l wŭz baaylin fŭr tey won fauyn brahyt suom·ŭr aa·tŭrnuun.*

(14) *ŭn soa· ahy)m ŭgoo·in woam· tŭ suop·ŭr. goad· nahyt.*

(11) *ŭn dhat ap·nd ŭz shee· ŭn ŭr dau·tŭr ŭ lau· kum· thriw dhŭ bak· ya·d throm ing·in uuwt dhŭ wet· tloa·z tŭ draay on ŭ wesh·in dai·,*

(12) *waayl dhŭ kit·l wau·r ŭ boy·lin fŭr tai· wuon faayn braayt suomŭr aa·tŭniwn.*

(14) *ŭn soa· aa)m· goo·in om tŭ ha)m·i suop·ŭr. guod naayt.*

V.

THE NORTHERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS.

This comprehends the whole of England lying between the n. *dheeth* line 5, and the s.L line 10. It thus comprises the whole of the n. of England except a very narrow slip on the border of Scotland. This large tract of country is very diversified in physical features. The great plain of Yo. on the e., the mountainous character of the "Lake District" on the w., and the "Coal Districts" on the n., point to three distinct regions where we may expect differences of speech, and on examination it has been found best to make three distinct districts, D 30, 31, and 32, or EN., WN., and NN. But besides this, the treatment of the def. art. *the* separates the whole region into two parts, the EN. and WN. using suspended *ť*, and the NN. using full *dhŭ*. In WN. regions the fractures are found which I write *uow*, *iy*, or *oo*^{3}, *ee*^{3}. Of these *iy* occurs in the M. div., but *oo*^{2} there replaces *oo*^{3}, and the difference between these two forms must be noted. In *oo*^{2} the essential character was that the sound of *oo* commenced with an opener mouth producing the effect of *ĕĕoo*, and it particularly replaces the O′ set of sounds. But in *oo*^{3} the essential character is that the sound of *oo* begins with *uo*^{3} (which decidedly approximates to *oa*), and goes on to *oo*, so that it is properly *uo*^{3}*ŏŏ*, a very inconvenient sign, for which, on the analogy of *iy*, we may write *uow*. This modification affects the U′ words, not the O′ words, and hence has altogether a different origin. The O′ words in the N. div. have *iw* or *iŭ*. As *iy* generated *ey*, *aey*, *aay* in the M. div., so *uow* generates *oaw*, *aow*, *ahw*, *aaw* in the N., and all these forms are found. The two forms *iy*, *uow* are therefore historically valuable as the missing links in the wonderful transformation of *ee*, *oo* into *ei*, *ou*. It is only in the sw. of the N. div. to the s. of the s. *hoose* line 6 that this change occurs completely; throughout the rest of the N. div. the U′ is either represented by *oo* or *uow*, and only in Du. and some parts of Nb. do we find a closer approximation to *oaw*.

The verbal pl. in *-en* does not exist. 'I am' is replaced mostly by 'I is,' although 'I am' is heard in NN.=D 32. In most of the NN. the *r* is uvular, but this seems rather accidental, and not to be an inherited dialect mark.

D 30 = EN. = East Northern.

This comprises most of the North and East Ridings of Yo. Its boundary on the n. is the Tees as far inland as Croft, and then it passes on to Middleham, going e. of Richmond and Leyburn. Thence the border goes to Burley-on-the-Wharfe, and follows the s. *hoose* line 6 to the n. of Nt., and then joining the s. *teeth* line 4, pursues it on the n. of the Humber to Spurn Head. The e. border is the sea. The area inclosed contains i. the great plain of Yo., ii. the moors of the Cleveland iron district, iii. the wolds of Holderness and the East Riding, and iv. the Marshland by Goole and Selby. These form the four varieties, but they are rather geographical than phonetic. There is in fact a wonderful uniformity of pronunciation in all four varieties, so that it is difficult to characterise the differences.

The general characters may be roughly stated thus (EP. p. 496):

A-, A′, Æ, Æ′, EA′, O′ are usually replaced by a fracture *e·ŭ* or *i·ŭ*, as A- *ne·ŭm ni·ŭm*, A′ *twe·ŭ twi·ŭ*, Æ *de·ŭ di·ŭ* day, etc., the *e·ŭ* being more used in the s., and the *i·ŭ* in the n., but both forms occur in each. The *e·ŭ i·ŭ* are more usually but less correctly conceived, as *ai·ŭ ee·ŭ*.

The I′ is singularly enough *aa·* in i. and ii. But in iii. it frequently becomes *aay* before voiced, and *ey* before voiceless consonants, as *neyf naayvz* knife knives.

The U′ words have regularly *oo·*. The U words have *uo*, perhaps in the form *uo*[1] rather than *uo*[1], though the latter was used by an informant in Market Weighton.

The def. art. 'the' is regularly suspended *t*, although I have been told that *th* is heard in occasional use in the sw. If so, a slight alteration of the n. *dheeth* line 5 would have to be made, but my information is incomplete, and hence this notice must suffice. In the se., in Holderness, the def. art. is asserted to be entirely omitted. 'I is' = *aa)z* is universal for 'I am.'

Hence Var. i. and ii. seem to be separated chiefly because we have separate glossaries for each (Mid Yorkshire, and Cleveland with Whitby). Var. iii. is separated by the threefold treatment of I′, and Var. iv. partakes of both i. and iii., but with no clear distinctions. Under these circumstances it seems best to give only extracts from the two cs. for i. Mid Yo., and iii. Market Weighton, in parallel columns, and three dt. for ii. Stanghow in Cleveland (12 ese. Middlesborough), iii. se. Holderness, and iv. Goole, all from the dictation of different people, and printed interlinearly, with finally some of the principal words from the Mid Yo. cwl. illustrating Var. i. especially.

Two cs. for Var. i. and iii. (EP. p. 508).

i. Mid Yorkshire.

(8) *shee)ŭd·til yŭ bai·ŭth oo·gŭts ŭn weeŭr ŭn win it waaŭr ŭt shŭ faan·t' d'ruok'n bi·ŭst ŭt shŭ)z tŭ kau·ŭl ŭr uozbŭn on.*

(9) *shŭ sau· im wiv ŭr ai·ŭn i·ŭn ligin st'richt ŭt l·aang· lenth ŭtop· ŭ t' gruond iv iz gi·ŭd suondŭ koo·ŭt, tlai·ŭs biv)t' oos· diiŭr, doo·n ŭt t' niŭk ŭ yon lon.*

(11) *ŭn dhaat aap·nd ŭz shee· ŭn t' dow·t'ŭr i le·ŭ kaam· t'ruof t' baak· ge·ŭth frev ang·in t' wit tlai·ŭs oo·t tŭ d'raa ŭv ŭ weyshin di·ŭ.*

(12) *waa·l t' kit·l wŭ bauŭlin fŭ)t' ti ŭ ŭ yaan· faa n bree·t if·t'ŭni·ŭn i suomŭ nuobŭt ŭ wee·k sin kuom t' nekst thozdŭ.*

(13) *ŭz si·ŭr ŭz mi ni·ŭm)z Juo·ŭn.*

(14) *ŭn se· aa·)z gaan·in yaam· tŭ mi suopŭ. giŭd nee·t.*

iii. Market Weighton.

(8) *shee waad· tel yŭ oo und wi·ŭr ŭn wen shŭ faan· t' d'ruongk'n bi·ŭst ŭt shŭ kao·ŭlz ŭr uoz·bŭn.*

(9) *shŭ sau· im wi ŭr ai·ŭn ee·n, ligin st'richt ŭt fuol lenth uopŭ)d gruond iv iz guod suondŭ kuoŭt, tlooŭs bi)d di·ŭr ŭ t' oo·s, doo·n ŭt kaw·ŭnŭr ŭ yon luo·ŭn.*

(11) *ŭn dhaat aap·nd ŭz au·ŭr ŭn ŭ dow·t'ŭr i lau·ŭ kom· thruof baak· yaa·d frev ing·in t' wet tli·ŭs oo·t tŭ d'raa·y ŭv ŭ weshin dai·ŭ.*

(12) *waa·l t' ket·l wŭz buoylin fŭ ti·ŭ yaa· feyn bree·t suomu ef·tŭni·ŭn nobŭt ŭ wee·k sin kuom nekst thozdŭ.*

(13) *ŭz si·ŭr ŭz ma ni·ŭm)z Jon.*

(14) *ŭn si·ŭ aa)z· gaan·in yaam· tŭ ai· mi suopŭ. guod· neeŭt.*

Three Interlinear dt. for Var. ii., iii., iv. (EP. pp. 519, 522).

1 ii	Stanghow, Cleveland.	*si·*	*aa*	*sae·,*	*laad·z,*	*yŭ*	*si·*	*nuo·*	*dhŭt*		
iii	East Holderness.	*si·ŭ*	*aa*	*se·ŭ,*	*mee·ŭts,*	*yoo*	*see·*	*noo·*	*ŭt*		
iv	Goole.	*sau·*	*aa*	*sae·,*	*me·ŭts,*	*yi*	*see·*	*noo·*	*ŭt*		
ii	*aa·)z*	*ri·t*	*ŭbuo·t*	*dhaat·*	*li·ŭt'l*	*laas·*	*kuom·in*	*fre)t'*	*ski·ŭl*		
iii	*aa·)z*	*reyt*	*ŭboo·t*	*dhaat·*	*laat'l*	*laas·*	*kuom·in*	*fre*	*ski·ŭl*		
iv	*aa·)z*	*ree·t*	*ŭboo·t*	*dhaat·*	*laat'l*	*goal·*	*kuom·in*	*fre·*	*t' skuul*		
ii	*yon·dhŭ.*										
iii	*yon·dhŭr.*										
iv	*yondŭ.*										
2 ii	*shiŭ)z*	*gaayn*	*duo·n*	*t' rau·ŭd*	*dhe·ŭ*	*thruo·*	*t' riŭd*	*yaat·*	*o)t' left*		
iii	*shŭ)z*	*buon*	*doo·n*	*ruo·ŭd*	*dhe·ŭ*	*throo·f*	*raed*	*yaat·*	*au left*		
iv	*shi)z*	*goa·in*	*doo·n*	*t' rau·ŭd*	*dhi·ŭ*	*thruof*	*t' raed*	*yaat*	*o)t' left*		

ii *aan·d saa·d o)t' we·.*
iii *aan·d saayd ŭ we·.*
iv *aan·d saayd ŭ)t' we·.*

3 ii *si·ŭr ŭniŭf t' be·ŭn)z giŭn st'raayt uop ti t' di·ŭr ŭ t'*
iii *si·ŭr ŭni·ŭf be·ŭn)z gi·ŭn sthre·t uop ti di·ŭr ŭ*
iv *siw·ŭr ŭniw· t' be·ŭn)z gon stre·t uop tŭ t' duo·ŭr ŭ t'*

ii *raang· uo·s.*
iii *raang· oo·s.*
iv *raang· oo·s.*

4 ii *we·ŭ shiŭ)l meb·i fin·d dhaat· d'ruok·n di·ŭf wiz·nd fel·ŭ*
iii *wi·ŭ shŭ)l meb·i fin·d dhat dhruong·kn dee·f shriv·ld fel·ŭ*
iv *wi·ŭ shi)l mebi fin·d dhat druong·kn di·ŭf wiz·nd fel·ŭ*

ii *bi t' niŭm ŭ Tomi.*
iii *ŭ ni·ŭm ŭ Tomŭs.*
iv *ŭ t' ne·ŭm ŭ Tomŭs.*

5 ii *wi au·ŭl ken im vari wi·l.*
iii *wee au·l nau· im vari wee l.*
iv *wi au·l nau· im veri wee·l.*

6 ii *wiŭnt t' au·d chaap· siŭn liŭn ŭ nuot· ti di·ŭ·)t ŭgi·ŭn,*
iii *wi·ŭnt au·d chaap· si·ŭn tee·ch ŭ nuot ti dee· it ŭgi·ŭn,*
iv *woan·t owd chaap· si·ŭn ti·ŭch ŭ not tŭ doo·)t ŭgae·n,*

ii *puo·ŭ thing!*
iii *puo·ŭr thing!*
iv *puo·ŭ thing!*

7 ii *liŭk! iz·nt it t'riŭ?*
iii *li·ŭk! ez·nt it throo·?*
iv *li·ŭk! iz·nt it triw?*

Of these the specimens for ii. and iii. are more accurate probably than that for iv, which was a reminiscence of many years past, the use of *tr* for *t'r* is probably inaccurate. Observe both the disappearance of the def. art. and the use of *thr* for *t'r* in iii.

Mid Yo. cwl. (EP. p. 523).

I. Wessex and Norse.

A- 4 *taak·* take. 5 *maak·* make. *ti·ŭl* tale. 20 *li·ŭm* lame. 21 *ni·ŭm* name.
A: 39 *kaam·* came. 43 *aan· aan·d* hand. 56 *wesh weysh* wash.
A: *or* O: 58 *fre·ŭ fre* (the last before a vowel) from. 64 *raang·* wrong.

A'- 67 *gaang· gaan· ge·ŭ* go. 74 *twe·ŭ twi·ŭ* two. 76 *te·ŭd* toad. 81 *luo·ŭn luo·ŭnin* lane. *me·ŭ-r* more. 86 *e·ŭts wots* oats. *tle·ŭz tli·ŭz* clothes. 92 *nau·ŭ* know.

A': 104 *re·ŭd* a road. *di·ŭf* dough. 112 *yaal· wol·* whole. 115 *e·ŭm yaam· i·um yi·ŭm* home. *be·ŭn* bone. *ne·ŭn* none. 124 *ste·ŭn* a stone.

Æ- 138 *fi·ud'ŭ-r faad·'ŭr* father. 141 *ne·ŭl* a nail. 142 *sne·ŭl sni·ŭl sniil* a snail. 143 *te·ŭl tiŭl* a tail. 152 *wat·'ŭ-r* water.

Æ: 155 *thaak·* the thatch. 161 *di·ŭ* day. 166 *me·ŭd mi·ŭd* maid. 172 *gres ges* grass. 179 *waat·* what.

Æ'- 182 *si·ŭ* the sea. 183 *ti·ŭch* to teach. *li·ŭv* to leave. 190 *ki·ŭ* a key. 193 *tli·ŭn* clean. 194 *on·i uon·i* any. 195 *mon·i muon·i* many. *chee·z chi·ŭz* cheese. 200 *wi·ŭt* wheat.

Æ': 205 *thri·ŭd* thread. 207 *ni·ŭdŭl* needle. *tle·ŭ* clay. 213 *e·ŭdhŭ-r* either. *di·ŭl* deal. 218 *shiŭp sheyp* sheep. 223 *dhi·ŭ-r* there. 224 *wuo·ŭ-r* where.

E- 232 *brek* to break. 233 *spi·ŭk* to speak. *wi·ŭv* to weave. 239 *se·ŭl si·ŭl* sail. 241 *re·ŭn ri·ŭn* rain. 243 *pleŭ pli·ŭ* to play [only used in refined speech, colloquially *li·ŭk* to laik, is used]. 248 *mi·ŭr* a mare. *wi·ŭr* to wear. 250 *swi·ŭr* to swear. 251 *miŭt* meat.

E: *le·ŭ liŭ lig* lay, the last much used in the present tense. 262 *wi·ŭ* way. 265 *st're·it* straight. *wench winch* wench.

E'- 290 *ey ee·* he. 292 *mey mee·* me. 294 *fee·d* feed. *gree·n* green. 300 *kee·p kiŭp* keep.

E': 305 *ey ee·* high. 306 *eyt ee·t* height. *ney nee· naa·* nigh. 312 *i·ŭ-r* here. 314 *yi·ŭd* heard. 315 *fi·ŭt* feet, but *fiŭt* foot [observe *fi·* in plural, and *fi* in singular].

EA- 320 *ke·ŭ-r* to care.

EA: *laaf·* laugh. 323 *fowt fe·ŭt* fought. 324 *iŭt* eight. 326 *au·ŭd uo·ŭd* old. 328 *kau·ŭd* cold. 330 *au·ŭd od* hold. *kuoŭf kau·ŭf* calf. 334 *uoŭf au·ŭf* half. 335 *yaal· uoŭl* all. *fuo·ŭl* to fall. 346 *giŭt* a gate.

EA'- 347 *yi·ŭd* head. 348 *ee* eye, gen. in the pl. *ee·n* eyes. 349 *fi·ŭ* few.

EA': 350 *di·ŭd* dead, refined *did*. 351 *li·ŭd* lead, metal, refined *lid*. 353 *bri·ŭd* bread, refined *brid*. 355 *di·ŭf* deaf. 357 *dhuof* though. 360 *ti·ŭm* a team. *be·ŭn bi·ŭn* a bean. 366 *gri·ŭt* great. *di·ŭth* death.

EI- 372 *aey ae·y e·y ey* aye, very much used.

EO- 383 *siv·n si·ŭvn* seven.

EO: 388 *milk miŭlk maelk* all very short. 390 *suod siŭd* should. 396 *waak* work sb. *swau·d swu·d su·d* sword. 399 *breet·* bright. 402 *laan* learn. *st'aa-r* star. 406 *yi·ŭth* earth.

EO'- 411 *thriŭ t'riŭ* three. 412 *shiŭ shey* she. 420 *fowŭ-r* four.

EO': 423 *thee·* thigh. 424 *ri·ŭf* rough. 425 *leet·* light. 426 *feyt* to fight. 428 *siŭ sey* to see. *frind* friend. 433 *brist briŭst* breast. 435 *yow* you. 436 *t'ri·ŭ* true.

EY- 438 *dee* to die.

EY: 439 *t'ruost* to trust.

I- 440 *wik·* a week. *aa·vin* ivy. *st'aa·l* a stile. 446 *neen· naa·n* nine. 449 *git* to get.

I: 452 *aa·* I. 458 *neet· niŭt* night. 459 *reet·* right. 465 *sich* such, but *saa·k saayk* are more used. 466 *chaald* child, only used in reading, in speaking always *be·ŭn*. 472 *shringk sringk* shrink. 475 *wind* the wind. 477 *fin* to find. 479 *wind* to wind, refined *waan·d*. 485 *this·l* thistle.

I'- 492 *saa·d* side. 494 *taa·m* time.

I': 500 *laa·k* like. 502 *faa·v* five. *waa·f* a wife. 506 *wuom·ŭn* woman. 507 *wim·in* women. *waa·l* while. 511 *waa·n* wine. *aa·s* ice.

O- *fuo·ŭl* a fool. 522 *op·n uop·n* open. 524 *wau·ld* world.

O: *kuof· ki·ŭf* cough. 527 *bowt* bought. 528 *thowt* thought. 531 *dowt'ŭ-r de·ut'ŭ-r* daughter. 532 *kuo·ŭl* coal. *uo·ŭl* hole. *gowd gau·ŭd* gold. 538 *wad* would. 550 *wod* word. 552 *kau·ŭn kuo·ŭn* corn.

O'- 555 *shiŭ shoo·n* shoe, the last form both sg. and pl. 557 *ti·ŭ* too. *li·ŭk liŭk* look. *muod'ŭ-r* mother. 562 *mi·ŭn* the moon. 564 *si·ŭn* soon.

O': 569 *biŭk* book. 571 *gi·ŭd* good, always employed by Mr. C. C. Robinson, strictly analogically, but *guod·* is more usual. 572 *bli·ŭd* blood. 579 *ŭni·ŭf* enough. 581 *sowt* sought. *ki·ŭl* cool. *ti·ŭl* tool. *sti·ŭl* stool. 586 *di·ŭ* to do. 587 *di·ŭn* done. 588 *ni·ŭn* noon. 589 *spi·ŭn* spoon. 594 *bi·ŭt* boot. 595 *fi·ŭt* foot, but *fi·ŭt* feet, see No. 315. 507 *si·ŭt* soot.

U- 599 *ŭbi·ŭn ŭboo·ŭn* above. *li·ŭv luov·* love. 601 *foo·l* fowl. 602 *soo·* a sow. 603 *kuom·* come. 605 *suon siŭn* a son. 606 *di·ŭ-r* door, casually *diwŭ-r*. *buot·ŭ-r* butter.

U: 609 *fuol·* full. 612 *suom·* some. 614 *oo·nd* a hound. 615 *puon·d* a pound. 616 *gruon·d* the ground. 617 *soo·nd* sound in health. 619 *fuon·* (was) found. 629 *suon·* the sun. 632 *uop·* up. 633 *kuop·* cup. 634 *thruof· thri·ŭf* through. 639 *duos·t* dust.

U' 640 *koo·* cow. 641 *oo·* how. 643 *noo·* now. *diŭv duov·* dove. *boo·* to bow. 653 *buot·* but.

U': *shroo·d* shroud. 656 *re·ŭm ri·ŭm* room. 658 *doo·n* down. 659 *toon* town. 663 *oo·s* house. 667 *oo·t* out. *soo·th* south.

Y- 673 *mich mik·ŭl* much. *lee· laa·* a lie. 677 *d'raa* dry. 679 *kau·k kirk* church, refined *choch*. 682 *laa·tl laa·l* little.

Y: 684 *brig* bridge. *rig* ridge. 690 *kaa·nd* kind. *maa·nd* mind. *waa·s* worse, refined *wos·*. 701 *fost* first.

Y'- 705 *skaa* sky. 706 *waa* why, but not as a question, for which *waat· fu·* what for, is used.

Y': 709 *faa·ŭ-r* fire. 712 *maa·s* mice.

II. English.

A. *laad·* lad. *t're·ŭd t'ri·ŭd* trade. 736 *laas·* lass. 737 *me·ŭt* mate.

E. *skri·ŭm* scream. *chi·ŭt* cheat.

I. *and* Y. 756 *shrimp* shrimp, casually *srimp*. 758 *gol* girl, rare, usually *laas·* lass.

O. 761 *leŭd* load. *noys nuoys* noise.

U. *juog·* jug. *juomp* jump. 808 *puot·* put.

III. Romance.

A·· 811 *pliŭs* place. 813 *bi·ŭkn* bacon. 824 *che·ŭ-r* chair. *t're·ŭn t'ri·ŭn* train. 847 *de·ŭnjŭ-r di·ŭnjŭ-r* danger. 851 *aan·t'* aunt, the dental *t'* distinct. 852 *yaap·rŭn* apron.

E·· 888 *saa·tn* certain. 890 *bi·ŭst* beast, pl. *bi·ŭs*, said of horned cattle. 894 *disi·ŭv* deceive.

I·· *naa·s* nice. *faa·n* fine.

O·· *stiŭf stuof·* stuff. 916 *uon·yŭn* onion. 920 *poynt puoynt* point. 925 *voys vuoys* voice. 929 *koo·kuomŭ-r* cucumber. 939 *tluo·ŭs* close. 940 *kuo·ŭt* coat. *fuo·ŭl* fool. *buoch·ŭ-r* butcher. 947 *boyl buoyl* boil. 955 *doo·t* doubt.

U·· 965 *oyl uoyl·* oil. *si·ŭ-r* sure. 970 *juos·t jist* just.

D 31 = WN. = West Northern.

The e. border is the w. border of D 30, the n. and s. borders are the lines 7 and 5, and the w. border is the sea. The region contained is very large; the n. of the West Riding of Yo., n.La., all We., most of Cu. and s.Du. The country is full of hills and lakes, and the dialect seems to be in an older form than that of D 30, although necessarily of much more recent origin. It is probably the old history of the emigrant language remaining practically what it was at the time of emigration, while the parent speech has changed. To comparatively recent times, as the name Cumberland shews, these countries were inhabited by the Celtic Cymry, and were conquered by Northymbrians from Yo. Very possibly therefore they retained the language of the time of conquest for an appreciable time. Circumstances have certainly much affected it, as the Danish settlements, which have left a remarkable grammatical usage, still existent in s.We. and Furness, namely, *at* in place of *to* before the infinitive, as 'something at eat' (*suomŭt ŭt eyt*).

As regards pronunciation there is a surprising similarity of usage over the whole country, but it is more convenient to distinguish six varieties, thus located.

i. Craven and nw.Dales, or w.Yo.
ii. Lonsdale or n.La. on both sides the Sands.
iii. We. s. of the Watershed with Dent and Sedberg in Yo.
iv. Eden Valley, containing We. n. of the Watershed, and m.Cu.
v. w.Cu. with Keswick, Workington, and Abbey Holme.
vi. s.Du. containing Weardale and Teesdale.

For the phonology of this region I am mainly indebted to the minute care and accuracy with which Mr. J. G. Goodchild, when employed on the duty of the Government Geological Survey, succeeded in (so to speak) photographing the speech of the peasantry. It is impossible to do justice to his labours in the present abridged statement. Reference must be made to my larger work for full details carefully palaeotyped.

The s. *hoose* line 6, which passes through this district, separates it into two parts, which in one respect differ widely, but in all others are so much alike that I have been obliged to ignore this difference

in Vars. i. and iii. altogether. The case is precisely similar to the passage of the same line through D 20, and the entrance of the s. *suom* line 2 into the S. and E. div. In both cases it is merely an ancient sound which has been partially retained, U remaining *uo*, and U′ remaining *oo* in some parts, but gradually altering to *u*, *ou*, in others. In fact throughout the part of D 31 which lies n. of the s. *hoos* line 6 a great preparation for the change has been made. U′ has there become *uo*^{3}*w* (written *uow* for convenience), and this *uo*^{3}*w* resembles *oa*^{1}*w*, which readily passes into *oa*^{2}*w* and that into *ow*, whence the passage to *uw*, *aaw* is easy. The prevalence of *uow* in these regions, but its lapse into *ow* after passing line 6, shews us in a most satisfactory manner, how the great and hitherto puzzling change of *oo* into *ou* was really made—by exhibiting the change actually going on at present. In fact, when I was in Du. in 1879, I had a great difficulty in actually determining whether the change had been made or not, and have continually written *oaw* where probably *uow* was said.

The general character of all D 31 is so like Var. i. that this may be taken as the type of the district. Briefly it is as follows (EP. p. 538).

A-, A′ = *ïaa*, both elements *i*, *aa* distinctly have the stress, and this is what is meant by the diaeresis, whereas *iăă* would mean that the stress fell on *i*, and *ïaa* that it fell on *aa*. The real fracture is *ï*^{3}*aa*^{4}, but the small figures are omitted for convenience. The *i*^{3} is a deep form of *i* approaching *ai*, while *aa*^{4} is a low form of *aa*, not quite *ah*. Thus in D 31 we find *nïaam*, *klïaaz*, *hïaam*, name, clothes, home, which in D 30 are *ni·ŭm*, *tli·ŭz*, *i·ŭm*, the *aa* having sunk to the short indistinct *ŭ*. This is one of the strongest marks of difference between D 30 and D 31.

E′ = *ăïee·*, which is merely prolonged *ee·* commenced with a very brief *ăï*. This is the form in Var. i, in others it becomes *iy*, properly *i*^{3}*ĕĕ*, with which we are already familiar. Both *ăïee·*, *iy* are felt as *ee·* by natives. Thus 'me green meet' are *măïee grăïee·n măïee·t* in Var. i. and *miy griyn miyt* in Var. vi. In D 30 they vary as *mey*, *gree·n*, *miŭt mee·t*.

I′ is *aa·y*, as *taa·ym* time, occasionally, but rarely, varying, as *aey*, as in Var. v. and vi.

O′ was possibly *iw* more frequently than now, when it also frequently becomes *uow*, possibly from some false analogy. But *iw* or *ï*^{3}*uo*^{2} becomes *i·ŭ* in D 30. Thus D 31 *kiwl kuowl*, D 30 *ki·ŭl* cool.

U′ regularly becomes *uow* n. of the s. *hoos* line 6, and *ow aaw* to the s. of it, thus: D 31 *duown*, *down*, *daawn*, D 30 *doo·n*.

U is *uo*^{3}, but *uo* will be written for convenience.

These are the principal phonetic characters of D 31. The verb substantive and def. art. are the same in D 31 as in D 30, thus they would say in both districts *aa·)z t` maan·* I am the man.

In order better to bring out the differences of the different varieties,

I give extracts from six cs., illustrating the first five varieties. There is a great gap between the cs. for Muker, or Upper Swaledale, forming the n. part of Var. i., and Cartmel or Lower Furness, Var. ii. This gap, occupied by North Craven, the s. part of Var. i., is partly supplied by an extract from an old specimen, palaeotyped from the dictation of a contemporary and fellow townsman of its author, below p. 120. The whole of this specimen and many complete dt. are given in my larger work. All of these cs. were pal. from dictation, the Cartmel one by Mr. T. Hallam, the Abbey Holme one by myself, and the rest by Mr. J. G. Goodchild, being merely a specimen of his labours. The six cs. refer to the six varieties thus:

1. Var. i. from Muker in Upper Swaledale, Yo., 20 m. sw. of Appleby, We., representing the n. form of this variety with U′=*uow*.
2. Var. ii. from Cartmel, La., 12 wsw.Kendal, We., with U′=*ow*.
3. Var. iii. from Sedberg, Yo., 9 e. by n. of Kendal, We., with U′=*uow*, while Dent, Yo., close by, has U′=*aaw*, but is in other respects identical.
4. Var. iv. from Langwathby, Cu., 10 nnw.Appleton, from the dictation of the Cu. poetess, Miss Powley, then an old lady, and since deceased.
5. Var. v. Keswick, Cu., presenting many peculiarities, perhaps due to the informant.
6. Var. vi. Abbey Holme district in nw.Cu. with I′=*ey* generally.

In these cs. there are many peculiarities of pronunciation, which may occasion difficulty to the reader; and, although all are explained in the Glossic table, it seems best to draw attention to them here, referring to the paragraphs of the cs. in which they occur.

6. In Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, which are from Mr. J. G. Goodchild's palaeotype, *eor* constantly occurs, as in *heorsel·*, whereas in No. 2 by Mr. T. Hallam, and No. 6 by myself from Rev. T. Ellwood, this is replaced by *ur*, *ŭr*, as *ŭrsel·*. Mr. JGG. understood *eor* to represent French 'eur' in 'peur,' properly *poer*. His pron. however sounded to me as *eo²r* between *eor* and *oer*. He had observed speakers in D 31 many years with great attention, and hence I adopt his own sign in place of *eo²r*. But those who feel a difficulty in hitting off the sound are recommended to use *ur*, *ŭr*.—*t'*, *d'* are suspended *t* and *d* as in D 30, the tongue remaining a sensible time in the position for *t*, *d*.—*uow* has been already explained.—*t'*, *d'* are fully dental *t*, *d*, the tongue being in the position of *th*. In No. 4 *bod·d'eor*, the dental *d'* is preceded by a common English *d*, and the tongue should be felt to slide from the *d* to the *d'* position. When *t'r*, *d'r*, *t'eor*, *d'eor* occur, the *r* is necessarily dentalised as r^4; but this being sufficiently indicated by *t'*, *d'*, is not specially marked. The *r* is usually r^{12}.

7. *ăiee·* in *mĕiee* has been already explained, as also its replacement by *iy*. In Nos. 2 and 6 *ee·* is used, but this, like *oo·* for *uow*, was probably an error of appreciation, for Mr. JGG. assures me

that the native peasants are generally quite unable to pronounce pure *ee·*, *oo·*. —*ïaa* in *twïaa*, as replacing *ï*³*aa*¹, has been explained (p. 114); we shall have other examples of the use of the diæresis (··) to represent double stress in diphthongs and fractures; single stress is represented by placing a short mark (˘) over the unstressed vowel; thus *tŭoo·* in No. 5 is *oo·* commenced with *ŭ*, of which the native is unconscious, thinking he says *oo*.—*ey*, *ow*, are peculiar signs, but they have been often used for the unfamiliar *aey*, *aow*, which few non-native readers would distinguish from *ey*, *ow*.—*wŭra'ng·* is *ra'ng·* with short *a'* or *a*³, preceded by *w*, and as there is a little difficulty in saying *wra'ng* simply, a brief and very indistinct *ŭ* is inserted, and then it is not uncommon, as in No. 1, to drop the *w* altogether, and use simply *ŭra'ng·*, which ultimately becomes *ra'ng·*, as in Nos. 2, 5, 6.—*aa*ˌ·*y* in *taa*ˌ·*ymz* is a diphthong with the *aa·* nasalised. It is uncertain whether this nasalisation characterised the whole variety, or whether it was an individuality of the informant.

8. *ahy* in *wahy* differs from *aay* in beginning with a much deeper vowel, and hence being nearer to *auy*.—*iĕ* in *biĕst* No. 2 is merely a fracture beginning with the short stressed *i* in 'sit,' and ending with short *ĕ*, in place of short *ŭ*, as in *bi·ŭst* Nos. 1 and 3; and as we see by *biyst* Nos. 1 and 5, *iy*, that is *i*³*ĕĕ*, is another form, replacing *ee·*.

9. *iw* in *niwk* nook = *iŭŏ*, but the proper form is *ïuo*, with a double stress. I have not thought it necessary to make the distinction, and I fear lest I should have been too minute already.—*rooŭd*, *luoŭn*, the distinction *oo*, *uo* here need not be insisted on.—*lwuoŭ·nin* is rather a ponderous sign for an easy sound; *uoŭ* is the same as before, but labialises the preceding *l*, producing a subsequent *w*. —*duw·eor* almost rhymes to French *sueur* sweat, not exactly, but near enough as a guide, for neither *ue* nor *eo* (which stand for *ue*², *eo*³) has the pure French sound; the word 'door' seems troublesome to dialect speakers; what is wanted is *dooŭr*, the *ŭr* falls into *eor*, and the *oo* is commenced with *ĭ* or *ï* in *dïooĕŏr* with a double stress, or the *ïoo* falls into *ue*; in No. 6 the *oo* is quite lost, and *di·ŭr* results, and sometimes the *oo* begins with *ŭ* as in *dŭoo·ĕŭr*. There is a similar difficulty with 'swore, sware,' of which the only noteworthy form is *swue·aa°rt* for 'sweared'; here the *aa°*, which occurs elsewhere, represents simply a very indistinct *aa* (the ° symbolises indistinctness everywhere), which however is not quite *ŭ*, but retains a flavour of *aa*. It seems to be an individuality of the informant, and I have not met with it elsewhere.—*i'* properly represents the very indeterminate vowel hovering between *e*, *i*, often used in 'houses,' etc. But this was slightly modified in No. 5 *gri'nd*, which I leave in this form, as even Mr. JGG. when hearing it was unable to analyse the sound satisfactorily.

11. *ŭt d'raa*ˌ·*y* at dry = to dry. In the instances cited, this only occurs at Sedberg, No. 3, but as already mentioned in Var. ii. and iii., it is the regular custom to use *at* for *to* before the infinitive, a remnant of the old Danes.—*thrŭuow* through, observe the common *uow* led up to by a short *ŭ*; this form *ŭuow* is one of the passages from *oo* to *ou*; it is evident that a slight alteration of stress changes *ŭuo* into *uŭŏ* or *uw*.

13. *nhaa* = know, the old *kn-* replaced by a voiceless *n*, sometimes heard as *tnhaa*, sometimes *nhnaa*: it is a remnant of older pronunciation once heard in received speech which preluded the entire expulsion of *k*, and is preserved still in the peasant speech of D 31.—*ni't* had the same vowel as *gri'nd*, par. 9, No. 5. —'sure' is another varied dialectal word. In *sïoo·ĕŏr* there is a double-stressed *ïoo·* gliding on to *eor*, in *sï*)*oo·eŏr* a short *ĭ* is prefixed, but is entirely disjoined from following *oo·* as shewn by the mark).

Extracts from Six cs.

being Nos. 2, 4, 8, 16, 18, and 20 respectively, of the interlinear cs. in EP. pp. 563 to 594.

6. 1 Muker. *ŭn d' aa·ld bod·ee heorsel· ŭl tel aan·ee o*
2 Cartmel. *ŭn t' aa·d woom·ŭn ŭrsel· wool tel en·i ŭ*
3 Sedberg. *ŭn t' aa·ld wuom·ŭn heorsel· ŭl tel en·i o*
4 Langwathby. *bŭt t' au·ld wuom·ŭn heorsel· ŭl tel on·ee o*
5 Keswick. *ŭn t' au·ld wuom·ŭn heorsel ŭl tel en·i o*
6 Abbey Holme. *ŭn t' au·l wuom·ŭn ŭrsel· ŭl tel an·i o*

1 *yŭ withuow·t mik·l bod'eor.*
2 *yŭ wi)ow·t en·i bodh·ŭr.*
3 *yŭ widhuow·t en·ee bod·'eor.*
4 *yŭ widuow·t mik·l bod·d'eor.*
5 *yŭ wid'uow·t muoch bod'·eor.*
6 *yi ŭd'uw·t muoch bod'·ŭr.*

7. 1 *aan·ee wai sheo teld mŭlee· sĭaa twĭaa·threy· taa·ymz ow·eor,*
2 *liŭst shi telt mee· too· ŭr three· tahymz ow·ŭr,*
3 *en·i wae· shi teld miy sĭaa tuow ŭ thriy taa·ymz ow·eor,*
4 *on·i wae· shi telt miy ıt twiy·ŭthriy taa·ymz oweor,*
5 *en·i wae· shi telt miy sĭaa tŭoo· ŭ thriy taa·ymz owr,*
6 *en·i we· shi telt mee· too· ŭr three· teymz owŭr,*

1 *ŭn shi suod·nt bi faa'r ŭraang·.*
2 *ŭn wi waad·nt tak ur tŭ bi raang·.*
3 *ŭn shiy sahd·nt bi wŭraang·.*
4 *ŭn shiy suod·nt bi wŭraang·.*
5 *ŭn shiy suod·nt bi raang·.*
6 *ŭn shee· suod·nt bi raang·.*

8. 1 *waa·yŭ shuo waad· tel· dhŭ huow whaa·r ŭn when·*
2 *wahy shee·)d tel· yŭ ow waa·r ŭn wen·*
3 *vaar ŭ wee·l shiy wŭd tel· dhŭ huow whaa·r ŭn when·*
4 *waa·yŭ shuo wŭd tel· yŭ huow when ŭn whau·r*
5 *wel shiy wŭd tel· dhŭ huow whau·r ŭn when*
6 *wey shi·)l tel· yee hoo· whau·ŭr ŭn when*

1 *sheo faan·d d' d'ruong·kn bi·ŭst ŭd sheo kau·lz eor maan.*
2 *shi faan·d t' d'ruok·n biăăst ŭt shi kau·z ŭr uo²z·bun.*
3 *shi faan·d t' d'ruong·kn bi·ŭst ŭt shi kau·z eor huoz·bŭnd.*
4 *shi faan·d t' d'ruok·n biyst ŭt shi kau·z eor huozbŭnt.*
5 *shi faand t' d'ruok·n biyst ŭt shi kau·z eor huozbŭnt.*
6 *shi faan)t' d'ruok·n ruob·ish ŭt shi kau·z eor maan·*

9. 1 *shi swaar ŭd sheo saa· im wiv eor aa·n ăłee·n ligŭn*
2 *shi swiŭr shi saa· im wi eŭr aa·n ahyz ligin*
3 *shi swĭ·aar ŭt shi saa· im widh eor aa·n iyn ligŭn*
4 *shi swue·eor shŭ saw· ŭm wid' eor au·n iyn ligŭn*
5 *shi swue·aa°rt ŭt shŭ saw· im wid' eor au·n iyn ligaa°n*
6 *shi swi·ŭr ŭt shi saw· im wuod' ŭr au·n aayz laay·ŭn*

1 *laang· st'rĭaak·t ŭtop· ŭ d' gruon·d, iv iz*
2 *ŭt fuol· raach· on t' gruond, in iz*
3 *ŭtop· ŭ t' gruownd, in iz*
4 *laang· st'riykt on t' gruon·d, iv iz*
5 *st'raiŭt uowt ŭt fuol lenth on t' gri'nd, ŭv iz*
6 *lang st'ree·t on t' gruon, iv iz*

1 *guod suon·dee kwuoŭt, kłwuoŭs bi)·d' due·eŏr ŭv iz aa·n*
2 *bes·t kooŭt, tłooŭs ŭ sahyd ŭv iz aa·n*
3 *best suon·dŭ kuoŭt, kłuoŭs bisaa,·yd t'*
4 *guod suon·dŭ kwuoŭt, kłwŭoaas bi)t*
5 *guod suon·dŭ kwuoŭt, kłwuoŭs bi)t*
6 *guod suon·dŭ kwaw·ŭt, kłwaw·s bi)t'*

1 *huows, duown i)d' niwk ŭ yon łwoŭ·nin.*
2 *dooŭr, down ŭt kaw·rnŭr ŭ yon rooŭd.*
3 *huows dłooĕŏr, duown i)t niwk ŭ yon luoŭn.*
4 *huows due·eor duown ŭt yon łwuoŭnin niwk.*
5 *huows dŭuowĕŏr duown i t' niwk ŭ yon łwuoŭnin.*
6 *huuz di·ŭr duun t' kaurnŭ ŭ yon le n.*

11. 1 *ŭn dhaat· haap·mpt ŭz heor ŭn t' suon waayf*
2 *ŭn dhaat· aap·nt, ŭz ·ur ŭn ŭr dowt'ŭr i law· wus*
3 *ŭn dhaat· haap·nd ŭz heor ŭn eor dowt'eor i laa·*
4 *ŭn dhaat· haap·mt ŭz heo·r ŭn eor dowt'eor i law·*
5 *ŭn dhaat· haap·mpt ŭz ·heor ŭn eor dowt'eor in law·*
6 *ŭn dhaat· waaz ŭz hur ŭn eor suon weyf*

1 *kuo t'ruow d' baak· saay·d fre hing·ŭn d' wet*
2 *kuomin throo· t' baak· yaard fre ing in t'*
3 *kuom· thruow d' baak· saa,y·d frae hing·in t' wet*
4 *kuo thruow t' baak· fauld fre hingŭn uowt t' wet*
5 *kuom· thrŭuow t' baak· saay·d fre hingaa°n t' wet*
6 *koo·m thruo· t' baak· yaa rd fre hingŭn oo·t t' wet*

1 *kłĭaaz uowt tŭ d'raa·y ŭ d' weshin de·.*
2 *tłĭŭz owt on t' wesh·in dai·.*
3 *kłĭaaz uowt ŭt d'raa,y yaa· waesh·in dae·.*
4 *kłi·ŭz tŭ d'raa·y yaa· wesh·ŭn de·.*
5 *kłĭaaz uowt tŭ d'raai yaa· wesh·in dae·.*
6 *kłi·ŭz tŭ drey o)t' wesh·ŭn de·.*

12. 1 *yaa·* *faa·yn* *brăĭee·t* *suom·eor* *ef·t'eorniwn·.*
2 *yaan·* *riŭl* *fahyn* *suom·eor* *aaf·t'ŭrnoo·n.*
3 *yaa* *briyt* *suom·eor* *ef·t'eorniw·n.*
4 *yaa* *faay·n* *briyt* *suom·eor* *ef·t'eorniw·n.*
5 *yaa* *faay·n* *briyt* *suom·eor* *ef·t'eorniwn.*
6 *yen* *feyn* *bree·t* *suom·eor* *ef·t'ŭrniŭn.*

13 1 *ŭn* *duos·* *tŭ* *nhaa·?* *aay* *ni'veor* *hey·eord* *nowt* *ni* *maar*
2 *ŭn* *see·* *yŭ* *ah* *niv·ŭr* *aard* *ŭ* *thing*
3 *ŭn* *duos·* *tŭ* *nhaa·?* *aa·* *niv·eor* *laa·rŭnd* *nowt* *ni* *mĭar*
4 *ŭn* *dŭs)tŭ* *tnhaw·?* *aa·* *niveor* *haa·rd* *nŭ* *sau·* *ni* *ma·r*
5 *ŭn* *dus* *tŭ* *nau·?* *aa·* *niveor* *laarnt* *nowt* *ni* *mair*
6 *ŭn* *di* *yŭ* *nau·?* *aa* *nivŭr* *faan·* *oo·t* *owt* *me·ŭr*

1 *ŭ* *dhis* *whel* *tŭde·,* *ŭz* *sĭoo·ĕŏr* *ŭz* *maay* *nĭaam)z*
2 *ŭbow·t* *it* *til* *tŭdai·,* *ŭz* *t'riw* *ŭz* *ahy)z* *standin*
3 *neor* *dhis* *whahl* *tŭdae·* *ŭz* *sĭ)ooĕŏr* *ŭz* *maa(·y* *nĭaam)z*
4 *nŭ* *dhaat·* *whel* *tŭdae·* *ŭz* *sĭooĕŏr* *ŭz* *maay* *nĭaam)z*
5 *neor* *dhis* *tŭl* *tŭdae·* *ŭz* *shŭoo·r* *ŭz* *maay* *nĭaam)z*
6 *ŭboo·t* *it* *til* *tude·* *ŭz* *siwŭr* *ŭz* *mey* *niŭm)z*

1 *Jaak·,* *ŭn* *i* *duo·t* *waan·t* *tŭ* *nhaa* *ne·dheor.*
2 *iŭr,* *ŭn* *ahy* *doa·nt* *waan·t* *tŭ* *iŭr* *nŭ* *miŭr.*
3 *Juo·ŭn,* *ŭn* *aa·y* *duon·ŭt* *wahn·t* *tu* *nhaa* *nŭ* *mĭaar.*
4 *Jon,* *·ŭt* *duod)ee* *ni't* [*nuot*].
5 *Jwuoŭn,* *ŭn* *aa·* *duoŭnt* *waan·t* *ow·d'eor.*
6 *Jon,* *ŭn* *ŭ* *div·nt* *waan·t* *now·d'ŭr.*

14. 1 *ŭn* *sĭaa* *aay* *mŭn* *bi* *gaa·ŭn* *hĭaam* *tŭ* *mi* *suop·eor.*
2 *ŭn* *sŭ* *now* *ahy)z* *gaa..in* *yaa·m* *tŭ* *mi* *suop·eor.*
3 *ŭn* *sĭaa* *aa(·y)l* *ŭwae·* *hĭaam* *tŭ* *mi* *suop·eor.*
4 *ŭu* *sĭŭ* *aa·)z* *gaa·ŭn* *hĭaam* *tŭ* *mi* *suop·eor.*
5 *ŭn* *sĭaa°* *aa·)z* *gaa·n* *hĭaam* *tŭ* *mi* *suop·eor.*
6 *ŭn* *aa·)z* *gaa·n* *yem* *tŭ* *mi* *suop·eor.*

1 *guod neyt* *tŭ dhŭ.*
2 *guo'd nee·t.*
3 *guod năĭ·e·t.*
4 *guod niyt.*
5 *guod niyt.*
6 *guod ni·t.*

Extract from W. Seward's "Attempt to illustrate the Dialect of Burton-in-Lonsdale [13 ne. Lancaster, but in Yo.] and its Vicinity in a familiar dialogue," 1801, rare. The dialogue is between a young woman Molly and her sweetheart Harry. This illustrates the southern form of Var. i. with U'=*aaw*. The numbers refer to the numbers of the speeches in the dialogue (EP. pp. 608–616).

Pronunciation.	Translation.
(20) Haari. *dhaaw nhaa·z aay laa·yk dhú úz wálee·l úz ee kaan aeew. aan·tú hed·nt ú faa·rdin. aay wúd he,dhú vfwúr on·i út iv·eor,ee sta· i,mi laayf.*	*H.* thou knowest I like thee as well as I can do. as [if] thou hadn't a farthing. I would have thee above any that ever I saw in my life.
(21) Maal·i. *foa·k suod laayk yan únwod·'eor rálee·t wálee·l wen dhai,r gaan tú wed, fúr ú dálee·l ú foa·k fau· aawt út ef·f'eor.*	*M.* folk should like one another right well when they're going to wed, for a deal of folk fall out at-after [afterwards].
(22) H. *aay wuon·d'eor waht dhai fau· aawt úbaaw·t!*	*H.* I wonder what they fall out about!
(23) M. *aay wahd·nt wish tú nhaa. aay oaúp ·wi,z bi thik úz laang· úz wú baayd túgid·'eor. ún dhaaw nálee·d git nowt úge·n aaw·s-kálee·pin. mi muod'·eor úl gi'(mú ú dálee·l úv od·múnts, ún au· maa·ks ú stuof· iz soa di·úr út wu mún slav au· t' braas· wú kaan·. yaan· nhaaz nowt waht wú)z wahnt, ún dhaaw suod bigin· suom t'rai·d wid· d' bit ú muoni út wú ·hev.*	*M.* I wouldn't wish to know. I hope we shall be thick as long as we bide [remain] together. and thou need get nought against house-keeping. my mother will give me a deal of odds and ends, and all makes [kinds] of stuff [food] is so dear that we must save all the brass [money] we can. one knows nought what we shall want, and thou should begin some trade with the bit of money that we ·have.
(24) H. *aaw mich brahs ez tú slaard, Maal·?*	*H.* how much brass hast thou saved, Moll?
(25) M. *aay)v uobút úbaaw·t yan ún twenti paawnd. ·haaw mich úz ·taaw?*	*M.* I've nought-but about one and twenty pound. how much hast thou?
(26) H. *aay ev·nt úz mich. aay nobút úbaaw·t ten úr úlev·n, wen)ee pai d t' shuow·maak·eor, bút dhaaw nhaa·z it·l bi ú gai· dálee·l wen it)s au· túgid'·eor.*	*H.* I haven't as much. I [have] nought-but about ten or eleven, when I [have] paid the shoemaker, but thou knowest it'll be a gay deal when it's all together.
(27) M. *maar·i, nút ·it.*	*M.* marry, not it.
(34) H. *aayz git·n suom kuop·s ún saa·seorz for dhú. dhai·l deew úgai·n t' wed in. dhaaw nhaaz it)s nobút úbaaw·t ú muon·th tuol naaw, muon· wi bi ekst út keo·rk, eor wi mún wed tuod'·eor wai?*	*H.* I have gotten some cups and saucers for thee. they'll do against the wedding. thou knows it)s nought-but about a month till now, must we be asked at church, or we must wed t'other way?

(35) M. *wi)l tau·k ŭbaaw·t dhaat· suom· năĭee·t els. waht sez ti fahd'·eor ŭn muod'·eor ŭbaaw·t it?*

M. we'll talk about that some night else. what says thy father and mother about it?

(36) H. *mi faad'·eor)z raiĕŏrli pliĕzd, ŭn sez ŭt ŭ)l gi)mŭ thrăĭee· kaa·y, ŭn aa·y)z git ·au· ef·t'eor i dăĭee·z. ŭn mi muod'·eor sez: "leewk ŭt yŭ bĭaath puow t)ĭaa wai·, ŭn kăĭee·p dhisel· frai)t' yel·ŭs, ŭn dhen yŭ)l deew." waht sez ti muod'eor?*

H. my father's rarely pleased, and says that he'll give me three kine [cows], and I shall get all after he dies. and my mother says: "look that you both pull the-one [same] way, and keep thyself from the alehouse, and then you'll do." what says thy mother?

(37) M. *shuo)wŭz nin sŭ wel pliĕzd ŭt aay)z gaa·n tŭ liĕv eor. dhaaw săĭee·z aay)z au· t' baa·rnz shi hez, bĭaath ruof ŭn smuowdh. muon shŭ lăĭee·v wi)ŭs?*

M. she was none so well pleased that I'm going to leave her. thou see'st I'm all the bairns she has, both rough and smooth. must she live with us?

(38) H. *aay·i seew·eor, ŭz laang ŭz shu wil. wŭ mŭn git fai·veor wi)t' aa·l foa·k, eor wi)z git nowt.*

H. aye, sure, as long as she will. we must get favour with the old folk, or we shall get nought.

(48) *aay huo·ŭp dhaaw)l bi ŭ guod ŭn, bŭt aay mŭn ŭwai· tŭ bed.*

I hope thou'lt be a good one, but I must away to bed.

(49) M. *wen·)l tŭ kuom ŭgai·n?*

M. when wilt thou come again?

(50) H. *tŭ muo·ŭrn ŭt năĭee·t.*

H. to-morrow at night.

(51) M. *maaynd tŭ deew. guod năĭee·t tŭ dhŭ!*

M. mind thou dost. good night to thee!

(52) H. *guod năĭee·t tu dhŭ, joy!*

H. good night to thee, joy!

Variety vi. will be illustrated by a brief cwl. from St. John's Weardale, near the head of the Dale, about 12 e.-by-n.Durham, as it was taken from dictation by Mr. JGG., and presents some peculiarities (EP. p. 634). I have also other examples, but they had not the advantage of being taken from dictation. This Var. vi. is a direct transition to D 32, but is closely connected with the n. form of Var. i.

A- 20 *liŭm* lame. 21 *niŭm* name, etc.
A: 43 *haan·d* hand. 54 *waan·t* want, etc.
A: *or* O: 61 *ŭma'ng·* among. 64 *ra'ng·* wrong, etc.
A'- 72 *whiy?* who? 74 *twiy* two. 89 *biŭth* both. 92 *noa·n* known.
A': 101 *yaak·* oak. 107 *liŭf* loaf. 115 *hiŭm* home.
Æ- 138 *faad'·eor* father. 142 *snai·l* snail. 152 *waat·t'eor* water.

Æ: 158 *ef·t'eor* after. 161 *dai·* day. 172 *geo·rs* grass.

Æ'- 182 *siy* sea. *riyd* read. 194 *on·ee* any. 202 *hiyt* heat.

Æ': 203 *spiych* speech. *klai·* clay. *sliyp* sleep.

E- 232 *briyk* break. *wiyv* weave. 241 *rai·n* rain.

E: 261 *sai·* say. 262 *wai·* way. 274 *bengk bensh* bench. 281 *lenth* length. *buoz·ŭm* a besom, common word for a broom, 'bosom' then becomes *boa·zŭm*.

E'- 290 *hiy* he, etc. 299 *griyn* green. 302 *miyt* to meet, etc.

E': 305 *hăĭee·* high. *niy* nigh. 312 *hiy·ĕŏr* here. 314 *hee·ĕŏrd* heard.

EA- *giŭp* gape. 320 *kai·r* care.

EA: *lăăf·* laugh, vowel very short. 323 *fi·ŭt* fought. 324 *aey·t* eight. 326 *oa·d* old. 330 *hod* hold. 333 *kaw·f* calf. 335 *au·* all. *fau·* fall. 342 *er·ŭm* arm. 343 *waa·rŭm* warm. *dua·r* dare. 346 *yaat·* gate.

EA'- 347 *hiyd* head. 348 *ăĭee·* eye.

EA': 350 *diyd* dead. 353 *briyd* bread. *biyn* bean. 366 *geo·rt* great. *slau·* slow. 371 *st'raiy* straw.

EI- 372 *aay·i* aye. 373 *dhai·* they. *nai·y* nay.

EI: *stiŭk* steak. 378 *wai·k* weak.

EO- 383 *siy·bn* seven. 384 *hev·n* heaven. 386 *yuw* ewe.

EO: 388 *millhk* milk, a voiceless *lh* inserted between voiced *l* and *k*. 390 *suod* should. *sweo·rd* sword. 399 *briyt* bright. 402 *li·ĕŏrn* learn. *staa·r* star. 406 *yer·th* earth.

EO'- 410 *bey* bee. 411 *threy* three. 412 *shey* she. *fley* a fly. *liy* to tell a lie. 420 *fuw·eor* four.

EO': 423 *they* thigh. *fowrt* fourth. 433 *briyst* breast. 436 *t'reew* true.

EY- 438 *diy* die. 439 *t'ruos·t* trust.

I- 440 *wiyk* week. *staeyl* stile. 446 *naeyn* nine. 448 *dhuo·r* thor = these those. *teewzdi* tuesday. *seew* to sew.

I: 452 *aay* I. *maayt* might 458 *niyt* night. 459 *riyt* right. 460 *waeyt* weight. *siyt* sight. 473 *blind* blind. 475 *waaynd* the wind. *wind* to wind. 488 *yit* yet.

I'- 490 *biy* by = near. *saay* to sigh. 494 *taeym* time. 498 *raeyt* to write.

I': 500 *laeyk* like. 502 *faayv* five. *naeyf* knife. 506 *wuom·ŭn* woman. 507 *wuom·in* women. *maeyl* mile. 511 *waeyn* wine. *aeys* ice.

O- *buw* a bow (archery). *fuo·ŭl* a foal. 522 *op·n* open. *huwp* to hope.

O: *kof* cough. 527 *bowt* bought. 531 *dow·t'eor* daughter. 532 *kuoŭl* coal. *huoŭl* hole. *guwld* gold. 538 *wuod· waad·* would. *hol·ŭn* holly. 552 *kuor·n* corn.

O'- 555 *shŭoo·* shoe, a brief *ŭ* as nearly as could be ascertained prefixed to *oo·*, but there was much difficulty in ascertaining this sound, which seemed to be of two kinds (see No. 640), not clearly differentiated, and which are therefore here not distinguished. *li·ŭk* look. *muod'·eor* mother. 562 *miŭn* moon. 564 *si·ŭn* soon.

O': 569 *bi·ŭk* book. 571 *guod·* good. 572 *bluod·* blood. 573 *fli·ŭd* flood. *brŭoo·d* brood. *stiŭ·d* stood. *buw* a bough. 579 *ŭni·ŭf* enough. *tiŭf* tough. *ki·ŭl* cool. *tŭoo·l* tool. 588 *niŭn* noon. *flŭoo·eor* floor. 595 *fiŭt* foot. 315 *fiyt* feet.

U- 599 *ŭbi·ŭn* above. 601 *fŭoo·l* a fowl. 602 *sŭoo·* a sow. 605 *suon* a son. 606 *duw·eor* door.

U: 609 *fuol·* full. 610 *wŭoo·* wool. 616 *gruon·d* ground. 617 *sŭuon·d* sound. 629 *suon* the sun. 634 *through* thrŭoo·.

U'- 640 *kŭoo·* cow, this is the second form, see No. 555. 641 *hŭoo* how. 643 *nŭoo* now. *bŭoo·* to bow or bend. *ŭoo·l* an owl. *thŭoo·zŭnd* thousand. *kuod* could.

U': *shŭrŭoo·d* shroud. 655 *fŭoo·l* foul. 656 *rŭoo·m* room. 657 *brŭoo·n* brown. 658 *dŭoo·n* down. 663 *hŭoo·s* house. 665 *mŭoo·s* mouse. 667 *ŭoo·t* out.

Y- 673 *mik·l* much. 674 *duod* did [also 'do it,' thus at St. John's, *duod·tŭ duo)d·, ŭr dhoo duod·nt duo)d?* didst thou do it, or thou didst not do it? but at Stanhope (7 e.St. John's), *did tŭ di)d*, and *did* is used for both *did* and *do it* through most of Du.]. 677 *d'raa·y* dry. 679 *chuorch* church. 682 *lit·l* little.

Y: 684 *brig* bridge. 690 *kaeynd* kind. *maeynd* mind. 694 *weo·rk* to work, the sb. is *waa·rk*. *wars* worse 701 *fuorst* first.

U'- 705 *skaay* sky. 706 *whaey* why. *theortiy·n* thirteen.

Y': 709 *faay·eor* fire. 712 *maeys* mice.

Many of these fine distinctions are not generally recognised, so that *ŭoo·* is taken as simple *oo·*, and *iy* as *ee·*. Thus the annexed, which was sent me with full indications from Mr Egglestone, of Stanhope, the author of *Betty Podkins*, contains no hint of such differences.

STANHOPE, WEARDALE, DU., dt. (EP. p. 617).

1. *waay aa sai·, laad·s, yŭ see· noo· ŭd aa·)z ree·t ŭboo·t yon lit·l las· kuomŭn fre yon skiŭl.*

2. *shi)z gan·ŭn doo·n)d' lon·ŭn dhiŭr, throo·)d' ree·d yit on)t' lef·t haan·d saayd ŭ)d' raw·d.*

3. *shuoŭr ŭniŭf·, t' be·rn)z giŭn st'raayt uop ti)d' doo·ŭr ŭ)d' raang· hoo·s.*

4. *we·r shi)l meb·i fin·d dhaat· d'ruoqk·n deef shruongk·ŭn fel·ŭ ŭ)d' niŭm ŭ Tom·i.*

5. *wee au·l naa·)m var·ŭ wiil.*

6. *win·ŭt t' au·d fel·ŭ siŭn liŭrn ŭr nuot tu di)d ŭgiŭn·, poo·ŭr thing!*

7. *liŭk! iz·nt it t'reew?*

D 32 = NN. = North Northern.

This district is bounded on the n. by the s. L. line 10, and on the s. by the n. *tee* line 7, and extends from sea to sea. It comprises a small strip of n.Cu. about Carlisle and Brampton, but does not include the extreme n. of Cu. about Longtown and Bewcastle (8 n-by-w. and 16 nne.Carlisle), which belong to the L. div. D 33; it further contains the n. of Du. and all Nb. except the n. slopes of the Cheviots, principally inhabited by Lowland Scotch shepherds. Six Varieties are here recognised: i. n.Cu., ii. n.Du., iii. Hexham or sw.Nb., iv. the Pitmen's or se.Nb., v. m.Nb., and vi. n.Nb.

The essential character of this region is that of a transition from

D 30 and 31 to D 33, that is, from EN. and WN. to L. Historically this transition is rather in the opposite direction. Phonetically the marked peculiarity is the fading away of the *uo*[1] or *uo*[3] into *u*[2], generating by the way the singular *oe*[3], which is quite similar to the *uo*[2] generated in the same transition between lines 1 and 2 in the S. div. These three sounds will henceforth be conveniently represented by their approximate signs *uo*, *u*, *oe*. The *uo* of Cu. seems to be the deep *uo*[3], the *u* of the L. div. is also the deep *u*[2] which we found in the S. div. The middle form *oe*[3] is not precisely the German *oe* or *ö*, or the French *eu* in *peur*, but is very like them in effect, and resident informants have recognised the similarity. I heard the sound frequently myself in Nb., where it seems to be generally considered as *u*[2], but it is far from being so, although I was not able to give a precise analysis. It differs from the German and French sounds properly represented by *oe*, in not being at all labialised. It is not unlike the London 'ur' in 'curd' or *kur*[7]*d*, only taken somewhat shorter, but not so short as in 'cud,' that is, *koe*[3]*d*, *kur*[7]*d* differ little but in length. They are however perceptibly different. In Var. i., n.Cu., the *uo*[3] is quite pure, and it passes into *u*[2] at Longtown and Bewcastle directly without any approach to an intermediate *oe*[3]. In Var. vi. or n.Nb. the *u*[2] is thoroughly established, and remains through the whole L. div. It is in Var. ii., iii., iv., and v. that the transition takes place. The *oe*[3] is strongly developed in Var. iii., but I heard it also distinctly in ii. and iv. In dialect books 'u' is written for both *uo*[3], *oe*[3], and no indication of the difference of pronunciation is furnished.

The fractures *iy* from E′, and *uow* from U, the first drifting into *aiy* and the second into *oaw*, probably occur throughout D 32, and I got them from speakers, although writers, almost of course, used *ee*, *oo* only.

The A is generally fine *a*′=*a*[2] or *a*[3], though the dialect orthography is 'aw,' which would imply *au*. In Var. iii. it is often *oa*.

The I′ gives rise to two diphthongs, one conceived as *ey*, which I heard as *uy*, *a*′*y*, *aey*, and the other as *aay*. The last occurs in Var. i. occasionally, but not consistently; *draayv faayv waayd* drive five wide, having been found at Brampton (9 ene.Carlisle).

The treatment of O′ varies, compare 'school, soon, look,' *skeewl skiˑŭl skiŏĕl skooˑl skooˑŭl, seewn siŭn siˑŭn syoen siŏĕ sooˑn, leewk luok liŏĕk looˑk*, of which I take either *iŏĕ* or *yoe* to be the normal form. The dialect writers use 'ui' as 'suin.'

The def. art. is always *dhŭ*. Both *aa*)*m*, *aa*)*z*, I am, I is, are used, but the latter is most frequent.

The guttural *kh* has practically vanished, although on the verge

of L, but one informant recognises it as faintly pronounced in Var. iii. in 'thought, brought, wrought, daughter.'

The letter 'r' is notoriously 'burred' throughout Nb. and a little beyond. This 'burr' as it is called consists in allowing the uvula (or little tongue-like pendant to the soft palate at the back of the mouth), in place of the tip of the tongue, as in L., to 'flap' quickly by the passage of the vocalised or unvocalised breath, thus making the rapid beats or interruptions which give rise to the sensation of 'trill.' The same phenomenon occurs in n.France and n.Germany, but it seems in no case to be a dialectal characteristic, either at home or abroad. It may be very varied in effect arising from the degree of stiffness of the uvula, the rapidity or sluggishness of its flap, the position of the tongue on which the uvula lies with its point towards the teeth while flapping (in Nb. this position is generally that for *o* or *au*), and the greater or less closing of the lips, as for *au* or *oa*. It is generally said that the burr is rough in V. ii. and iii., finer in V. iv., and at its perfection in V. v. at Alnwick. I have, however, not had an opportunity of hearing it in each place from a sufficient number of people to analyse the different forms. The uvula trill will be in general written r^5, and when distinctly labialised r^6. Between two vowels the uvula trill seems to be imperfect, from a stiffening of the uvula which simply impedes, instead of periodically interrupting the passage of sound. In this case the effect bears the same relation to r^5 as r^7 does to r^1, and we may write it as r^{O5}, a cumbrous sign like all the other varieties of *r*, and used only in discussions. Thus 'to marry a very merry lass' in V. iv. sounds *tü* $ma'r^{O5}\cdot i$ *ü* $va'r^{O5}\cdot i$ $ma'r^{O5}\cdot i$ *la's·*, merry and marry being pronounced identically. But it requires close attention to hear anything but *tü ma'·y ü va'·y ma'·y la's·*. The burr seemed also, to my hearing, often confused with *ü* when not before a vowel. The final '-er, -or' is usually $-or^5$ or $-or^6$. At South Shields, Du., and North Shields, Nb., however, no burr exists. At both places the *r* when not before a vowel is quite vocalised, as in London, becoming *ü*, and being absolutely lost after *au*, *aa*, so far as my sense of hearing extended, but my informant at South Shields said he "felt it," in what way I could not elicit. At South Shields before a vowel it is like a mild London r^7 at most. At North Shields it became a stiff labial r^{11} or w^2, sounding like the *w* which those who cannot pronounce their *r*s are credited with using. It would therefore be generally sufficient to write the first *r* and the second *w*, but the necessity of distinguishing the *r* in the examples compels me to use the full form.

Although the burr has no dialectal value, being in fact a mere defect of utterance, evidently of recent origin, which is very infectious,

and has become endemic, yet it is interesting to note its present extent. Beginning in the n. it is in full force at Berwick-upon-Tweed, and its Liberties, although these and the town are on the n. side of the Tweed. But immediately beyond the Liberties people find the burr very difficult, if not impossible, to utter. Beyond Berwick on the Scotch side of the river it is unknown, but on the English side it is strong at Spittal (1 se.Berwick), at Horncliffe (4 sw.Berwick), at Norham (7 sw.Berwick), and at Cornhill (1 e.Coldstream). On the other hand it is weak at Wark and Carham (1 sw. and 3 wsw. Coldstream). It is well marked at Wooler. The w. border of Nb. now passes over the crest of the Cheviot Hills, and, the n. slopes being scantily inhabited chiefly by Lowlanders, one would not expect to hear any burr. Nevertheless it has been heard strongly at Falstone and Keilder (19 and 26 nw.Hexham). The burr is on the other hand weak at Haltwhistle and Allendale (14 w. and 9 sw. Hexham), though quite within D 32. It is also weak at Edmundbyers, Du. (10 se. Hexham), at Minster Acres, Nb., and Castleside, Du. (8 and 13 se. Hexham), at Benfieldside, Du. (13 wnw.Durham), and Shotley, Nb. (13 nw.Durham). But it is strong close by at Whittonshall, Nb. (9 ese.Hexham), and at Prudhoe, Nb. (9 sw.Newcastle), and thence strong all the way to S. Shields, where the pitmen have it markedly, though, as we have seen, the town does not possess it. At Ebchester, Du. (11 se.Hexham), it is weak, and at Iveston, Du. (10 nw.Durham), there is no burr at all. On the other hand, I heard it from a native of Killoe, Du. (18 s.-by-e.Gateshead). And sporadically I have heard it in Edinburgh, and often in England; while also sporadically I have found Nb. men who could not burr their *r*. It is the large extent of ground which the burr covers in Nb., within the limits named, that has brought it into notice. But, as is evident from the above information, collected with considerable difficulty, it is valueless as a dialectal character (EP. pp. 641–644).

Var. i. is like D 31, with the exception of the use of *dhŭ* for the def. art. I′ becomes *aey*. In Carlisle 'name home' are *niŭm hiŭm*, with indistinct *ŭ*, but in Knaresdale, Nb. (17 e.Carlisle, Cu.), they say *neeĕm heeĕm* with distinct *ĕ*, and in Brampton (9 ene.Carlisle), they say *ni·e°m hi·e°m* with indistinct *e°*, not yet quite *ŭ*. These are evidently very minor differences. There is no use of *oe*.

Var. ii. The *oe* begins to be used for U, and *uow* greatly resembles *oaw*, so much as to have led me to write it so several times from dictation. Sunderland hardly belongs to the dialect, as there are strong Scotch and Irish elements, which render the real speech of the people difficult to elicit.

Var. iii. The Hexham dialect is recognised by the people of Newcastle as a distinct variety. The favourite example is an old woman telling a girl to get "a hap'orth of salt," bring "a halfpenny back, and here's the saucer to put it in." This at Newcastle they would pronounce *ŭ ha'·por⁵th oa sa'·t, ŭn ŭ ha'·pni ba'k·, ŭn heeor⁵)z dhŭ sa'·sor⁵ tŭ puot it in;* while at Hexham it runs *ŭ hoa·por⁵th oa soa·ŭt, ŭn ŭ hoa·pni ba'k·, ŭu heeor⁵)z dhŭ soa·sor⁵ tu poet· it in.* A similar sentence concocted a century ago, shewing that the difference has long been recognised, from a school a little n. of Birtley (9 n.-by-w. Hexham), is in ordinary English, "I went to serve (=feed) the calves, and it snowed and it blowed, and my feet balled (with snow sticking to the soles of the boots), and ah! it ·was cold." At Woodburn (4 ne.Bellingham, and in the Redesdale district), (Var. v., and the same would be the case for Var. iv.), they said: *a' went tŭ sa'r⁵·a' dhŭ ka'·z, ŭn it sna'·d ŭn it bla'·d, ŭn maa fee·t ba'·d, ŭn ae·y! it ·wa'z· ka'·d.* But at Birtle and s. of the Rede, in the valley of the North Tyne, they said: *a' went tŭ sa'r'·a' dhŭ koaz, ŭn it snoa·d ŭn it bloa·d, ŭn ma' fee·t boa·d, ŭn, ae·y! it ·wa'z· koa·d.*

Another difference between Var. iii. and Var. iv. is that in words like 'name, home, soon,' Var. iii. has *nee·ŭm, hee·ŭm, see·ŭn,* with the stress on the first vowel, and the second vowel indistinct, whereas Var. iv. has *nĭem, hĭem, sĭoen,* where the first element is short and nearly consonantal, so that it is generally written *y,* and the stress lies on the second element. This Var. has also a great predilection for *oe*; this is remarkable at Haltwhistle (13 w.Hexham), because of its propinquity to Var. i., which has no *oe.* The Var. includes Bellingham *Bel·injŭm* on the nw., and Ovingham *Or·injŭm* on the se., while Stamfordham (11 nw.Newcastle) is just e. of it.

Var. iv. is the classical Nb. dialect, being that of T. Wilson's *Pitman's Pay,* and that of the various dialectal books that have been published. The pitmen, ploughmen, and keelmen have each their own peculiar intonation, which I cannot attempt to render. The burr varies much in strength. The principal peculiarities have already been given in Var. iii.

Var. v. occupies the middle of the county from the Wansbeck to line 9, and scarcely differs from Var. iv. The town of Alnwick seems to have thoroughly adopted *u*² exclusively, altogether ignoring *uo.* But I have not been able to verify this personally, and if it is the case, it is merely a town refinement.

Just before reaching line 9 are the towns of Chillingham and Chatton, which are credited with pronouncing the initial 'ch' as *sh,* and also with making the termination -ingham=*-ingŭm,* all other

places in -ingham in Nb. using *-injŭm*. Thus an informant at Rothbury gave me the sentence as from Chillingham, *dhi sheez ŭ Shet·n is nae· me·r⁵ leyk dhi shee·z ŭ Shil·ingŭm nor⁵ shaa·k)s leyk shee·z* = the cheese of Chatton is no more like the cheese of Chillingham than chalk's like cheese. At Chatton they turn the sentence the other way over. At Chirnside (9 nw.Berwick-on-Tweed), Bw., D 33, they have a similar phrase (Murray, Dial. of S. of Scotland, p. 85), thus (well-trilled *r*): *dheer)z ŭz geod shiiz i Shirset ŭz wŭz ev·ŭr showd wi shaaf·ts*=there's as good cheese in Chirnside as was ever chewed with chafts (i.e. jaws).

Var. vi. has quite adopted *u*² for *uo* as in L., which it greatly resembles, but differs from it in the absence of *kh* and inability to trill the *r*.

The illustrations here given are interlinear extracts from three cs. for Var. i. Carlisle (EP. p. 563, No. 21), Var. iv. Newcastle, Var. vi. Berwick (these two from EP. p. 645), and four dt. complete for Var. ii. Bishop Middleham (7 sse.Durham), Var. iii. Hexham, Var. iv. North Shields, and Var. v. Warksworth (6 se.Alnwick) (EP. p. 656, Nos. 4, 8, 13, and 17). In these I draw attention to the burr by writing *r*⁵, the Carlisle cs. has no burr. Observe the North Shields *r*¹¹, or stiff lip trill. In Berwick the *u* is full *u*² as in Scotland.

EXTRACTS FROM THREE INTERLINEAR CS.

9. C Carlisle, Var. i. *shi siyd im wi eor ai·n iyn ligŭn*
N Newcastle, Var. iv. *shee see·d im widh or⁵ a'·n uyz luy·in*
B Berwick, Var. vi. *shee see·d im wi or⁵ aawn ahyz lahy·in*

C *st'ree·kt uot hiz hiŭl lenth on dhŭ gruon in iz guod·*
N *str⁵icht ŭt fuol lenth on dhi gr⁵uon·d in iz*
B *str⁵icht ŭt fu²l lenth on dhŭ gr⁵un·d in iz gu²d·*

C *suon·dŭ kuoŭt, kluoŭs bi dhŭ huows duečŏr, duown*
N *soen·dŭ kuo·t, kloa·s bi dhŭ dor⁵ iv dhŭ huows, duown*
B *sun diz koa·t, klau·s bahy dhŭ dau·r⁵ ŭ dhŭ haaws, duun*

C *ŭt dhŭ kaw·rneor ŭ yon lonin.*
N *ŭt dhŭ kor⁵nor⁵ ŭv yon lyen.*
B *ŭt dhŭ koa·ŭnŭr⁵ ŭ yon le·n.*

11. C *ŭn dhis haap·nd ŭz heor ŭn eor suon· waeyf kaam·*
N *ŭn dha't ha'p·nt iz shiy ŭn or⁵ dow·tor⁵ in la'· kom*
B *ŭn dhaat· haap·nt ŭz shee· ŭn ŭ gu²d· daawtŭr⁵ ke·m*

C *thruow dhŭ baak·saayd frai hing·ŭn ·uot dhŭ wet kliŭz tŭ*
N *thr⁵uow dhi ba'k yaa·d fr⁵e hing·in uowt dhŭ wet kle·z ti*
B *thr⁵oo· dhŭ baak ye·ŭd fr⁵e hing·in oot· dhŭ wet kle·z tŭ*

C *d'raay on ü wesh·in dai,*
N *dr⁵uy on ü wesh·ün dae·,*
B *dr⁵ahy on ü wesh·in de·,*

12. C *whaeyil dhü ket·l wüz boy·l ün feor tiy, yae· faeyn*
N *whuyl dhü ket·l wüz boy·lün for⁵ tiy, won fuyn br⁵uyt*
B *when dhü ket·l wüz boy·lin fü tee·, wau·n fahyin br⁵ahyt*

C *ef·teorniyoo·n, nobüt ü wee·k saeyn kuom· naiyst*
N *suom·or⁵ ef·tor⁵nyoen, oa·ni ü wee·k ügyen· nikst*
B *sum·üz ef·tünoo·n, oa·nli ü wee·k ügoa· kum· nikst*

C *thorzdü.*
N *thor⁵zdü kuom·z.*
B *thur⁵·üzde.*

13. C *ün di)yü ken? aa·y niveor hiyeord mai·r ü dhis*
N *ün di yi na'·? a' niv·or⁵ leŏr⁵nd on·i meor⁵ nor⁵ dhis*
B *ün d)yü ken? aa nev·ür⁵ leor⁵nd au·ni mau·ü nü dhis*

C *uop· til tü dai·, üz süčoo·ĕör üz maey niüm)z Jon·i*
N *oep· tü dhü dae·, üz shoor⁵ üz ma' nyem)z Ja'k*
B *til dhü de·, üz shooü)z mü ne·m)z Jaak·*

C *Ship·eord, ün aay div·n kai r tü ken mair· ow·dheor,*
N *Ship·or⁵d, ün a' din·ü wa'nt ow·dhor⁵,*
B *Ship·üd, ün aa dev·nt wont tü ken ne·dhor⁵,*

C *dhiy·eor nuow!*
N *dheŏr⁵ nuow!*
B *dheü naaw!*

14. C *ün siü aa·y)z gaa·n hiyüm feor suop·eor.*
N *ün soa· a')z ga'n hyem tü he· mi suop·or⁵.*
B *ün sau· aa)m gau·n hoa·m tü maa sup·ü.*

C *guod nee·t.*
N *guod nee·t.*
B *gud· naayt.*

15. C *it)s büt ü pueĕör sil·ee fiy·uoül üt chaatt'eorz widhuowt*
N *hee·)z nob·üt ü wee·k feewl dhüt ba'b·lz widhoo·t*
B *it)s ü wee·k fuol· üt gaub·lz üdhuot·*

C *ow·dheor wit eor wizdüm. ün dhaat)s iz mi vaar·ü laast*
N *r⁵iyz·n. ün dha't iz ma' la'st*
B *r⁵ee·zn. ün dhaat·)s mae laas·t*

C *wuord. siü guod· dai·.*
N *wor⁵d. guod· buy.*
B *wor⁵üd. gud· bahy.*

FOUR INTERLINEAR dt. (EP. p. 656).

1. M	Bishop Middleham.	Var. ii.	*soa·*	*aa*	*se·ŭ,*	*me·ŭts,*	*yŭ*	*sai·*
H	Hexham.	Var. iii.	*soa·*	*aa*	*see·,*	*mar⁵oaz,*	*yŭ*	*see·*
S	North Shields.	Var. iv.	*soa·*	*aa·*	*se·ŭ,*	*me·ts,*	*yŭ*	*sey*
W	Warkworth.	Var. v.	*sii·*	*a*	*se·*	*laad·z,*	*yŭ*	*siy*

M *noaw dhŭt aa·)z reyt ŭboaw·t dhaat lit·l laas· kuom·ŭn fre·*
H *now dhŭt aa·)m r⁵ee·t ŭboo·t dhaat· lit·l laas· koem·ŭn fr⁵e*
S *noaw dhŭt aa·)m r¹¹ee·t ŭboo·t dhaat· lit·l laas· kuom·ŭn fr¹¹e*
W *nuow dhŭt a')z r⁵ee·t ŭboo·t dha't lit·l laa·s koem·ŭn fr⁵e*

M *dhŭ skiŭl yon·dŭr.*
H *dhŭ skyoel yon·dŭr⁵.*
S *dhŭ skyoel dhon·dŭ.*
W *dhŭ skyoo·l yon·dor⁵.*

2. M *shee·)z gaan·ŭn doawn dhŭ rau·ŭd dhae·ŭ throo· dhŭ re·d*
H *shee·)z gaan·ŭn doo·n dhŭ r⁵oa·d dhar⁵ thr⁵oo dhŭ r⁵iid*
S *shee·)z gau·n doo·n dhŭ r¹¹au·d dhe·ŭ thr¹¹oo· dhŭ r¹¹ee·d*
W *shŭ)z ga'n·ŭn duown dhŭ r⁵oa·d dhe·r⁵ thr⁵uow dhŭ r⁵ee·d*

M *gai·ŭt, ŭ dhŭ left aan· saayd.*
H *yet, ŭ dhŭ left aan·d suyd ŭ dhŭ we·.*
S *ge·ŭt on dhŭ left haan· suyd ŭ dhŭ we·.*
W *ge·t on dhŭ left ha'n·d saeyd i dhŭ we·.*

3. M *shoo·ŭr ŭneewf dhŭ be·ŭrn)z gau·n struyt uop· tŭ dhŭ dowŭr*
H *shoor⁵ ŭnyoef· dhŭ be·r⁵n)z gi·ŭn str⁵uyt oep· tŭ dhŭ duoŭr⁵*
S *shoo·ŭ ŭneew·f dhŭ be·ŭn)z giŭn str¹¹uyt uop· tŭ dhŭ dau·ŭ*
W *shoo·ŭ ŭneew·f dhŭ be·r⁵n)z giĕn str⁵aeyt uop· ti dhŭ dau·r⁵*

M *ŭ dhŭ rahng· hoaws.*
H *ŭ dhŭ r⁵aang hoo·s.*
S *ŭ dhŭ r¹¹aang· hoo·s.*
W *i dhu r⁵a'ng· huo·s.*

4. M *we·ŭ shee·)l meb·i fin·d dhaat· druok·n dee·f wiz·nd*
H *whe·r⁵ shee·)l haap'n tŭ fin·d dhaat· dr⁵oek'n dee·f wiz nd*
S *we·ŭ shee·)l meb·i fin·d dhaat dr¹¹uok·n dee·f shr¹¹iv·ld*
W *whe·r⁵ shŭ)l mev·iz fin·d dhaat· dr⁵uok·n dee·f wiz·nd*

M *fel·ŭ ŭ dhŭ ne·ŭm ŭ Tomŭs.*
H *fel·ŭ ŭ dhŭ neeŭm ŭ Tomŭs.*
S *fel·ŭ ŭv dhŭ nyem ŭv Tomŭs.*
W *fel·ŭ ŭ dhŭ nyem ŭ Tomŭs.*

5. M *wi aa·l naa· im ver·i we·l.*
H *wi oa· ken üm vaar^{5}·u wee·l.*
S *wi aa·l naa· im vahr^{11}·i wee·l.*
W *wiy a'·l ken im va'r^{5}·ü wiyl.*

6. M *win·üt dhü aa·d chaap siün te·ch ür noat· tü di)d ügiün,*
H *wuon·üt dhi oa·d chaap· seeün leŏr^{5}n ür not tü di)d ügee·ün,*
S *win·it dhü aa·d chep siün laa·n ü not tü di)d ügee·ün,*
W *win·üt dhu a'·d chep siŏën le·r^{5}n or^{5} not tü di)d ügiën·,*

M *poa·ür thing!*
H *pue·r thing!*
S *poa·ü thing!*
W *puor^{5}· thing!*

7. M *luok·! iz·nt it truo·?*
H *lee·ük! iz·nt it see·?*
S *luk! iz·nt it tr^{11}oo·?*
W *luok·! iz·nt it tr^{5}uow?*

VI.

LOWLAND DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS.

Scotch is a misnomer. Up to the time of Barbour 1513 the Highland speech was called Scottish, and the Lowland English. Here, as a compromise, the Lowland speech is spoken of, and English is confined to the first five divisions. L. is a child of Northymbria, which has gradually spread, and only the SL., D 33, and ML., D 34, are really remnants of the ancient English speech, the other districts being comparatively recent.

Of L. intonation, with a rising inflexion of the voice at the end of affirmative sentences, and a remarkable sing-song, I, as usual, am unable to give an account. The general character of the pron. is as follows: U is *u*[2], for which *u* is written, as *sum* some, and U′ is *oo*· perfectly pure, and not at all *oo*[3] or *uow*, the change in Cu. being sharp and sudden. The so-called short vowels are of medial length, and the long vowels are very long, but they are here written simply short and long, as *theef*·, *thee·vz* thief, thieves, the latter being conditioned by the following voiced consonant. Among consonants *r* is well trilled as *r*[1] even when not before a vowel, which is quite distinctive. The guttural *kh* is freely used, in all three forms *kh*[1], *kh*[2], *kh*[3]. These peculiarities are common to all the L. districts.

There are four distinctly characterised groups, SL. in D 33, ML. in D 34, 35, 36, 37, NL. in D 38, 39, 40, and IL. in D 41, 42. The different districts are here taken (with a slight alteration in D 33, and with the addition of D 41, 42) from Dr. Murray's *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, 1873 (cited as DSS.), from which I have borrowed all I could, while I have also received much help from him personally. My account must be considered therefore as merely supplementary to his.

To give a bird's eye view of the principal dialectal differences of

these groups and districts, I give an extract from eight cs. arranged interlinearly, and reduced from pal. to glossic, as follows:

1. D 33, Var. i., Bewcastle to Longtown, Cu., written in pal. by Mr. J. G. Goodchild.
2. D 33, Var. ii., Hawick, Rx., written in pal. by Dr. Murray.
3. D 34, Edinburgh, written in pal. by Dr. Murray from dict. of his sister-in-law.
4. D 36, Stranraer, Wg., pal. by AJE. from native dictation.
5. D 38, Arbroath, Fo., pal. by Dr. Murray from the writing of Mr. J. Anderson.
6. D 39, Keith, Ba., pal. by Dr. Murray from the writing of Rev. Walter Gregor.
7. D 40, Wick, Cs., pal. by AJE. from native dictation at the same time as No. 4.
8. D 42, Dunrossness, s.Sd., pal. by AJE. from Miss Malcolmson's reading of Mr. R. Cogle's writing.

The paragraphs refer to the original cs.; e^2 and e^3, and also u^1 and u^2, are not distinguished, but are written as *e* and *u*. Many very fine distinctions are purposely omitted. See the account of each separate district given below.

COMPARATIVE SPECIMEN (EP. pp. 682–697).

6. 1	Bewcastle.	*dhü*	*aa·l*	*wuomün*	*he°rsel·*	*wul*	*tel*	*st're·yt*
2	Hawick.	*dhü*	*aa·ld*	*weyf*	*hersael·*	*'l*	*tael·*	*straekyh·t*
3	Edinburgh.	*dhu*	*au·ld*	*wuyf*	*hürsel·*	*il*	*tel*	*rekh·t*
4	Stranraer.	*dhi*	*aal·*	*weyf*	*hürsel·*	*wul*	*tel*	*stre·t*
5	Arbroath.	*dhü*	*ahl·d*	*wum·ün*	*hürsel·*	*'l*	*tel*	*straikh·t*
6	Keith.	*dhi*	*aa·l*	*um·üm*	*hirsel·*	*'l*	*tel*	*at*
7	Wick.	*e*	*gid*	*waayf*	*hürsel·*	*'l*	*tel·*	*stre·kht*
8	Dunrossness.	*dhü*	*aa·ld*	*waayf*	*hersel·*	*ül*	*tel*	*stre·kyht*

1	*of,*	*teo,*	*if·*	*yü)l*	*nob·üt*	*aas·*	*e°r,*	*wun·üt*	*shue?*
2	*of,*	*teo·,*	*if·*	*ee)l·*	*on·li*	*spee·r*	*at ür, aey*	*wul*	*shi.*
3	*af,*	*ti·*	*gen·*	*yi)l·*	*oan·li*	*aak·s*	*ür,*	*wul*	*shi noa·?*
4	*of,*	*tee,*	*ef·*	*yee)l*	*on·li*	*aak·s*	*ür,*	*wud'nt*	*shi?*
5	*af,*	*tue·,*	*ef·*	*yü)·l*	*oan·li*	*spee·r*	*at ür,*	*wul*	*shi noa·?*
6	*ain·s,*	*tee·,*	*gen·*	*yü)l*	*oan·li*	*spee·r*	*at ir,*	*wi)n·ü*	*shi?*
7	*af,*		*gef·*	*yi*	*on·li*	*aks*	*hür*	*wul*	*shi noa?*
8	*af,*		*if*	*yee·)l*	*on·li*	*aks*	*hür*	*wil)ü*	*sheo?*

7.	1		on·i	wai·	shue	telt		·mey	seeü	kwhen·	aa	aast
	2		on·ee	wai·	sheo	tael·d		mey		kwhun	ah	ahk·st
	3	üt	oan·i	rait·	shü	tel·t		mee·,		kwhun	aa	spee·rd
	4		lees·twaiz·		shee	tel·t		mee	see·,	whün	aa	aak·st
	5		oan·i	waa·y	shi	tel·d	it	mee·,		fün	aa	spee rd
	6	aat·	oan·i	rait·	shü	taal·	ti	mee·		fin·	aa	spee·rt
	7	üt	en·i	re·t	shü	tel·t	it	mee·		faan·	aa	aas·ket
	8	üt	les·t		shü	taa·ld		mee·	üt	whin	ei	aak·st

1	e°r	twi·	ü	threy	taeymz	oweor,		did	shü,	ün
2	ür	twiü	or	threy	teymz	owr,	üt	ded	shi,	ün
3	aat·ür	twau·		khree·	tuymz	uwr,		shü	ded,	ün
4	ür	twaa·r		three·	teymz	owr,		deed·	shee	aan
5	aat· ür	twah·	ür	three·	tuymz	uwr,		ded·	shi	ün
6	aat·)ir	twaa·	ür	three·	teymz	owr,		ded	shü,	in
7		twah·r		three·	taaymz	owr,		shee	did,	ün
8	hür	twar·tri			teimz	owür,	daat·	shü	did·,	ün

1	shue·	owt·nt		tü	bey	raaq.
2	shue·	sood·nü	[sud·nü]		bey	würang·.
3	shee·	shood·nü			bee	raang·.
4	shee·	okh·t	nüt	tü	bee	raang·.
5	shee·	okh·t	nü	tü	bee	vraang·.
6	shee·	sud·ni	ni		bi	vraang·.
7	shee·	okh·t	nü	tü	bi	rwaang·.
8	shue·	owkh·t	nü	tü	bee	wrang·.

8.	1	shoo	wood	tel	yü	haew		kwheer	ün	kwhen·	shue	fun·
	2	shue·	wud	tael·	ee	heow		kwheer	ün	kwhahn·	sheo	fahn·
	3	shee·	wüd	tel	yi	hoo·		kwhair·	ün	kwhaan·	shee	faan·
	4	shee·	wüd	tel·ee		hoo·		whaa·r	ün	whaan·	shee	fun·
	5	shee·	wüd	tel·yü,		foo·		faa·r	ün	faan·	shee	fun d
	6	shü	wüd	tail·yi		faat·	waa·y	faa·r	ün	faan·	shü	faan·
	7	shee·	wüd	tel·yee		hoo·		faa·r	ün	faan·	shee	faan·
	8	sheo·	wüd	tel·yoo,		foo·		whaa·r	ün	whaan·	shü	fen·

1	dhü	d'ruk·n	bees·t	üt	shue	kaa·z	e°r	huzbünd.
2	dhü	druk·n	bees·t		shü	kah·z	ür	mahn·.
3	dhi	druk·n	bruet·		shü	kau·z	ür	maan·.
4	dhee	druk·n	bees t		shee	kaa·z	hür geod·	man·.
5	dhü	druk·n	bai·st		shee	kah·z	ür	maan·.
6	dhaat·	drungk·n	bai·st	üt	shee	kau·z	ür	maan·.
7	i	d'rungk·n	be·st	fut	shee	kaa·z	ür	maan·.
8	dü	druk n	bes·t	üt	sheo	kae·z	hür	maen·.

9. 1	*shue*	*swoe·r*			*shue*	*saa)im*	*widh*	*e°r*	*aa·n*	*ee·n*
2	*shü*	*sweo·r*			*shü*	*sah·)m*	*weo*	*ürn*	*ai·n*	*een·*
3	*shee*	*took·*	*ür*	*ai·th* *üt*	*shü*	*sau·)em*	*wi*	*ür*	*ai·n*	*een·*
4	*shee*	*soo·r*			*shee*	*saa)m·*	*wee*	*her*	*e·n*	*een·*
5	*shee*	*swoa·r*			*shee*	*sah·)m*	*wi*	*ür*	*ai·n*	*een·*
6	*shü*	*swee·r*			*shü*	*saa·)im*	*wee*	*irn*	*ai·n*	*een·*
7	*shee*	*swoa·r*			*shi*	*saa)m·*	*wi*	*ür*	*e·n*	*een·*
8	*sheo*	*sweo·r*		*üt*	*shü*	*sae· him*	*wee*	*hür*	*ae·ün*	*een·*

1	*laa·yün*	*st'rik·t*	*oot·*	*üt*	*iz*	*ful·*	*len·th*	*on*	*dhü*	*grun·*	*üv üz*
2	*lahy·ün*	*strik·it*	*oot·*		*ez*	*ful·*	*laen·th*	*on·ü*	*dhü*	*grun·d*	*en ez*
3		*strik·üt*	*oot·*	*aat*	*iz*	*hai·l*	*len·th*	*on*	*dhü*	*grun·*	*in iz*
4	*laay·ün*	*streek·it*		*üt*		*foo·*	*len·th*	*on*	*dhü*	*grun·*	*in hiz*
5	*laay·ün*	*streek·it*		*üt*		*ful·*	*len·th*	*on*	*dhü*	*grun·d*	*en üz*
6	*laay·ün*	*strey·kit*	*oot·*	*aa·)iz*			*len·th*	*oa*	*dhi*	*grun·*	*wee)z*
7	*laay·ün*	*st're·cht*		*aa*	*iz*		*len·th*	*on*	*i*	*grun·*	*in iz*
8	*lei·ün*	*st'rech·t*		*üt*	*hiz*	*hai·l*	*len·t*	*up·ü*	*dü*	*grun·d*	*üntil·*

1	*gued·*	*sun·dü*	*kli·z,*	*kluoüs*	*bi*	*dhü*	*doe·r*	*ü*
2	*geod·*	*sahb·dhüdaiz*	*kuoüt*	*kluoüs*	*bi*	*dhü*	*hus·* *doo·r,*	
3	*gyid·*	*sun·daiz*	*bes·t,*	*jues·t*	*fürnen·t*	*dhü*	*doa·r*	*o*
4	*geod·*	*sahb·eeth*	*kle·z*	*jeos·t*	*bi*	*dhü*	*doa·r*	*o*
5	*gyued·*	*sun·dai*	*koat·,*	*kloas·*	*bi*	*dhü*	*doa·r*	*ü*
6	*gweed·*	*sun·di*	*koat·,*	*kloas·*	*aat*	*dhi*	*doa·r*	*i*
7	*gid·*	*saab·eeth*	*kle·z,*	*kloaz·*	*aat*	*i*	*doa·r*	*o*
8	*hiz gued·*	*sun·dai*	*kot·,*	*klos·*	*bi*	*dü*	*doa·r*	*o*

1	*dhü*	*hoos·,*	*doo·n*	*üt*	*dhi*	*kor·ne°r*	*ü*	*yon·*	*lon·in.*
2			*doon·*	*üt*	*dhü*	*kor·nür*	*ü*	*yon·* [*dhon·*]	*li·ün.*
3	*dhü*	*hoos·,*	*doon·*		*dhü*	*kloas·*	*yoan·dür*	*aat dhü*	*koar·nür.*
4	*dhü*	*hoo·s,*	*doo·n*	*üt*	*dhi*	*kor·nür*	*ü*	*dhü*	*lo·nin.*
5	*dhü*	*hoos·,*	*doon·*	*aat*	*dhü*	*kor·nür*	*ü*	*yoan·*	*lai·n.*
6	*dhi*	*hoos·,*	*doon·*	*it*	*dhi*	*kor·nür*	*ü*	*yoan·*	*lai·n.*
7	*i*	*hoo·s,*	*doo·n*	*üt*	*ü*	*kor·nür*	*ü*	*yen·*	*rod·i.*
8	*dü*	*hoo·s,*	*doo·n*	*üt*	*dü*	*kor·nür*	*oa*	*yon·*	*rod·.*

11. 1	*ün*	*dhaat·*	*hep·ünt*		*üz*	*hoe·r*	*ün*	*ü*		*dow·t'e°r*
2	*ün*	*dhes·*	*hahp·nt*	*deos·t*	*üz*	*her·*	*en*	*ür*	*geod·*	*dokwh·tür*
3	*ün*	*dhaat·*	*wiz*	*jues·t*	*üz*	*her·*	*ün*	*ür*	*gyued·*	*doakh·tür*
4	*ün*	*dhaat·*	*hap·ünd*		*aaz*	*hur·*	*ün*	*hür*	*geod·*	*dokh tür*
5	*ün*	*dhaat·*	*haap·nt*		*üz*	*hur·*	*ün*	*ür*	*gued·*	*daa·khtür*
6	*in)t*		*haap·int*		*üz*	*hur·*	*ün*	*ür*	*gweed·*	*doa·thür*
7	*ün*	*aat·*	*haap'end*		*faan·*	*hur·*	*ün*	*hür*	*geed·*	*dokht'ür*
8	*ün*	*daat·*	*haap·nd*		*üz*	*sheo*	*ün*	*hür*	*gued·*	*daaw·khtür*

1	*in laa·*	*kom*	*throo·*	*dhü*	*baak·*	*faa·l*	*frai*	*hing·in*
2	*wüz*	*kum·ün*	*thruw*	*dhe*	*bahk·*	*yae·rd*	*thre*	*heng·in*
3		*kaam·*	*throo*	*dhü*	*baak·*	*yai·rd*	*fai*	*heng·ün*
4		*kaam·*	*throo*	*dhü*	*baak·*	*yaar·d*	*frai*	*haang·ün*
5		*kaam·*	*throo*	*dhü*	*baak·*	*yai·rd*	*fai*	*heng·ün*
6		*kaam·*	*throw*	*dhi*	*baak·*	*yai·rd*	*aif·tür*	*heng·ün*
7		*kaam·*	*fe·*	*i*	*baak·*	*üv i hoos·*	*fe·*	*haang·ün*
8		*kem·*	*troa*	*dü*	*baak·*	*ye·rd*	*fae·*	*heng·ün*

1	*oo·t dhü*	*wet·*	*klee·üz*	*tü*	*d'raa·y*	*üv*	*ü*	*wesh·een*	*dai·ü*	
2	*oot· dhü*	*waht·*	*klee·üz*	*tü*	*drahy·*	*on·*	*ü*	*waesh·in*	*dai·*	
3	*oot· dhi*		*klai·z*			*et wiz*		*waash·ün*	*dai·*	*ye ken·*
4	*oo·t dhü*	*waht·*	*klai·z*	*tü*	*draay·*	*on·*	*ü*	*wesh·ün*	*de·*	
5	*oot· dhü*	*weet·*	*klai·z*	*tül*	*draa·y*	*on·*	*ü*	*waash·ün*	*dai·*	
6	*oot· dhi*	*weet·*	*klai·z*	*ti*	*draa·y*	*on*	*ü*	*waash·ün*	*dai·*	
7	*oo·t i*	*weet·*	*kle·z*	*tü*	*d'raay*	*on*	*ü*	*waash·ün*	*dai·*	
8	*oot· dü*	*weet·*	*klae·z*	*tü*	*drei*	*whin*	*dai·*	*wür bee·n*	*waa·shün*	

12. 1	*yen·*			*breyt*	*sum·e°r*	*aaf t'e°rnue·n*	*oan·li*	
2	*ye·*	*feyn*		*brekyh·t*	*sem·ür*	*aef·türneon·*	*neeü*	*mair*
3	*ün et wiz aa brau· ün*			*brekh·t*	*sem·ür*	*aif·türnuen·,*	*ün*	*nai·*
4	*ye·*	*feyn*		*brekh·t*	*sum·ür*	*ef·türnin·*	*jes·t*	
5	*ai·*	*fuyn*		*brekh·t*	*sem·ür*	*aif·türnuen·*	*oan·li*	
6	*ai·*	*feyn*		*brekh·t*	*sem·ür*	*ai·ftürneen·*	*oan·li*	
7	*ey*	*faayn*		*brekh·t*	*sem·ür*	*ef·türneen·,*	*onli*	
8	*ee*	*fein*			*sum·ürz*	*ef·türneo·n,*	*onli*	

1		*ü*	*week·*		*kum·*		*thoer·zdü,*	*üz*
2	*dhün [ner, ez]*	*ü*	*week·*	*ow·r giün*	*kum·*	*nees·t*	*feor·zdai,*	*üz*
3	*faar·ür gain·*		*dhin*			*laas·t*	*thurzdai,*	*üz*
4		*ü*	*week·*		*kum·*	*fer·st*	*dhur·zdee,*	*aaz*
5		*ü*	*week·*	*suyn*	*kum·*	*neek·st*	*fue·rzdai,*	*üs*
6		*ü*	*week·*	*suyn*	*kum·*	*fee·rzdai*	*fer·st,*	*üs*
7		*ü*	*week·*	*sin· seyn*	*kum·*	*fur·sht*	*feu·rzde,*	*üz*
8		*ü*	*week·*	*whin dü*	*nees·t*	*feor·zdü*	*kum·z,*	*üz*

1	*soe·r*	*üz*	*mi*	*ni·ümz*	*Joo·ün.*
2	*seo·r*	*üz*	*mü*	*ni·ümz*	*Juoün.*
3	*shue·r*	*üz*	*dhai*	*kau· mee*	*Joak·.*
4	*sheo·r*	*üz*	*maa*	*neem)z*	*Jon·i.*
5	*sue·r)z*		*mü*	*nai·m)z*	*Joa·n.*
6	*shoo·r)z*		*mi*	*nai·m)z*	*Joan·.*
7	*shoo·r)z*		*maa*	*ne·m)z*	*Chok·.*
8	*sheo·r)z*	*üz*	*mei*	*nem·)z*	*Jon·i.*

14.	1 *ŭn*	*see·ŭ*	*aa)z·*	*gaa·n*		*hi·em*	*tŭ*	*mi*	*sup·e°r.*
	2 *nuw*	*dhen*	*aa)m·*	*gaah·n*		*hĭem*	*tŭ*	*mŭ*	*sup·ŭr.*
	3 *weel·!*		*aa)m·*	*gau·n*		*hain*	*ti*	*mi*	*sup·ŭr.*
	4 *aan*	*se·*	*aa)m·*	*gaan·*	*ŭwaa·*	*hem*	*tŭ*	*maa*	*sup·ŭr.*
	5 *ŭn*	*sai·*	*aa)m·*	*gai·ŭn*	*ŭwah·*	*hai·m*	*tŭ*	*mŭ*	*sup·ŭr.*
	6 *in*	*sai·*	*aa)m·*	*jaa·in*	*ŭwah·*	*hai·m*	*tŭ*	*mŭ*	*sup·ŭr.*
	7 *ŭn*	*se·*	*aa)m*	*gyaa·n*		*he·m*	*tŭ*	*ma*	*sup·ŭr.*
	8 *ŭn*	*se·*	*ei)m*	*gae·ŭn*		*hem·*	*tŭ*	*mi*	*sup·ŭr.*

1	*gue·d*	*neyt.*
2	*geod·*	*nekyh·t.*
3	*gued·*	*nekh·t.*
4	*geod·*	*nekh·t.*
5	*gyued·*	*nekh·t.*
6	*gweed·*	*nekh·t.*
7	*geed·*	*nekh·t.*
8	*gued·*	*nei·kyht.*

D 33 = SL. = South Lowland, = Dr. Murray's SOUTHERN COUNTIES with an addition at the s.

Var. i. contains a small strip of n.Cu. and that portion of nw.Nb. which is nw. of the Cheviot Hills.

Var. ii. contains e.Df., Sc. and Rx.

The n. boundary where it fades into D 34 is rather uncertain. Canobie (6 s.Langholm), e.Df., and Liddlesdale are considered English by Dr. Murray. From my information through Mr. J. G. Goodchild they seem inseparable from Rx., and I include them in Var. ii.

The vowel system recognised by Dr. Murray is 1 *ee*, 2 *i*, 3 *iŭ*, 4 *ai*, 5 *e*, 6 a^1, 7 *ah*, 8 u^2, 9 o^2, 10 *uoŭ*, 11 *oo*, 12 *eo*, all short, or rather medial, in length, but capable of being prolonged. He doubts 2 *i*, and prefers using *ee*. 3 *iŭ* is a fracture where *ŭ* is excessively short, so that the oral effect to me approaches i^3 or ai^1, as heard from Dr. M. himself; at the commencement of words it develops into *ye yu*. It helps to distinguish pairs of words, compare *meel·*, *seen·*, *heel·*, *beet·*, *feet·*, for meal (flour), seen, heel, beet, feet; but *miŭl*, *siŭn*, *hiŭl*, *biŭt*, *fiŭt*, for meal (repast), scene, heal, beat, feat. 4 *ai* sounded to me rather (e), and is opener than Fr. *é*; it is quite simple, and has no tendency to a vanish. 5 *e* is a difficulty, it represents a kind of *i*, and to my ear was *i*, i^3, or ai^2, and not at all the fine sound meant by *e*; but I retain Dr. M.'s notation. When it is final, Dr. Murray identifies it with *ŭ*. It seems to partake of the character of the "thick i^3" or i^4 of D 39. 6 a^1 sounded to me *ae*, and I have so represented it; it

had to my ear no resemblance to a^1. 7 *ah* is the peculiar deep sound of 'a' in Fr. *pâte* *pah·t*, very distinctive of D 33. 8 u^2, here written *u*, possibly between *u* and u^2. 9 o^2 or *ao*, but written *o*, is the true "open *o*," between *oa* and *au*. 10 *uoŭ* is a fracture, but *ŭ* being extremely short, the result approaches oa^2. It is observable that pure *uo* does not occur in L. 11 *oo*, but used short in place of *uo*. 12 *eo*, this is very doubtful here as elsewhere; it is often taken as ue^1, but is at most ue^2. The Lowlanders as a rule are rather uncertain about 'Fr. u, eu, eu' in 't*u*, p*eu*, p*eu*ple,' and it is impossible to trust any account they give of the sound as *ue*, *eo*, *oe*.

The guttural *kh* appears in the three forms kh^1, kh^2, kh^3, written *kyh*, *kh*, *kwh*, but their use is not determined precisely by the same rule as in German. Thus (EP. p. 711):

1. faugh! ugh! = *feekh·* *hookh*,
2. high, eight = *hekyh·* *aekyh·t*,
3. laugh, loch, rough, laughed, low, dough = *lahkwh·*, *lokwh·*, *ru²kwh*, *leokwh·*, *li·ŭkwh*, *di·ŭkwh*,

and *kwh* frequently occurs initial.

The general characters of D 33 are (EP. p. 712):

A- = *iŭ*, as *niŭm* *tiŭl* name tale, as in D 30, distinctive among all L.

A: = *ah*, as *lahn·d* land, distinctive.

A′ frequently = *iŭ*, as *tiŭ*, *tiŭd* toe, toad.

E′-, EO′- generally *ey*, also frequent in N. div.

I generally *ee*, or at most i^1.

I′ has two forms, *ey* or perhaps *aey* most generally, and *ahy* when open accented or before any voiced consonant but *l*, *m*, *n*.

O frequently *uoŭ*, especially before *r*, but also often o^2.

O′ most generally *eo*, occasionally *ao·*.

U: regularly u^2.

U′ final, or open, is regularly u^2w, but *uw* is written; distinctive among L. dialects, though found in D 32, Var. vi.; but when a consonant follows, it is pure *oo*, as *ŭ* *broon·* ku^2w a brown cow.

The distinctive marks of D 33 as against D 34 are shewn by the fractures *iŭ* *uoŭ*, the use of *ey* for E′, EO′, and of *uw* for U′ final, and the three forms of the guttural.

Illustrations of Var. i. Bewcastle, and Var. ii. Hawick, have been given as Nos. 1 and 2 of the eight extracts from the cs. in the introduction to the L. division, p. 133. It will therefore suffice to add Mr. Melville Bell's sentences from his *Visible Speech* corrected by himself, his son, and Dr. Murray, and Dr. Murray's curious example of the 100th Psalm.

Mr. Melville Bell's Teviotdale Sentences (EP. p. 714).

Glossic.	Translation.
(1) *dhŭ be·rnz wŭz laa·kwhŭn ŭn skraa·kwhŭn a'maang· dhŭ saa·kwhs doon· e)dhŭ haa·kwh.*	(1) the bairns were laughing and scratching among the willows down in the haugh [=meadow].
(2) *dhe)r teokwh· saa·kwhs grow·ŭn e)dhŭ Reokwh· Heokwh· Haa·kwh.*	(2) there are tough willows growing in the Reugh Heugh Haugh [name of a meadow near Hawick].
(3) *whŭt ŭr ee o·nd ŭm? ŭ)m o·nd ŭm nokwht.*	(3) what are you owing him? I'm owing him nought.
(4) *hey leokwh ŭt dhŭ li·ŭkwh do·r-heed·.*	(4) he laughed at the low door-head [=lintel].
(5) *hae ee eneokwh· ŭ di·ŭkwh?*	(5) have you enough of dough?
(6) *ai· whow! be·rnz, et)s aa rukwh· nekyht. huw dhŭ wund)z suw·kwhŭn e)dhŭ chim·le heed·!*	(6) ah woe! bairns, it's a rough night. how the wind's soughing in the chimney head [=top]!
(7) *hey'l bey owr dhŭ now nuw!*	(7) he'll be over the knoll now!
(8) *yuw ŭn mey)l gahng· owr dhŭ deyk ŭn puw ŭ pey.*	(8) you and me [=I]'ll go over the dyke [=wall] and pull a pea.
(9) *kum tŭ mey ŭ)dhŭ munth ŭ Mai·y.*	(9) come to me in the month of May.
(10) *puw eer chey·ŭr foret tŭ dhŭ fey·ŭr.*	(10) pull your chair forward to the fire.
(11) *ez eer fe·dhŭr ŭt yhem· dhu yhel· dai· long?*	(11) is your father at home the whole day long?
(12) *hey giŭd tŭ dhŭ wŭraang· seyd ŭ dhŭ giŭt fŭr dhŭ wŭrekyh·ts shop.*	(12) he went to the wrong side of the gate [=street] for the wright's shop.
(13) *el·kŭ bliŭd ŭ gaer·s kae·ps ets ai·ŭn drop ŭ deow.*	(13) each blade of grass keeps [=catches] its own drop of dew.
(14) *mi·ŭ be·rnz, ŭn mai·r tŭ gee· dhŭm!*	(14) mo [pl. of more] bairns, and more [sg.] to give them.
(15) *ee·)v eneow· ŭ pooch·ez ef ee)d eneokwh· tŭ fel dhŭm.*	(15) you've enow [pl.] of pouches if you'd enough [sg.] to fill them.
(16) *dhŭ waekyh·t gaar·z dhŭ streng· heng· straekyh·t.*	(16) the weight makes the string hang straight.
(17) *dhu kaat· maew·z ŭn dhŭ ket·len waew·z.*	(17) the cat mews, and the kitten wews [invented word to imitate the invented word in the original].

(18) *oo·r Ker·sti wŭz waesh·ŭn ŭt dhŭ waesh·in ŭ dhŭ blaangk·ets.*

(18) our Christie was washing [participle] at the washing [verbal noun] of the blankets.

(19) *kwhai·r)ee gah·n?*

(19) where are you going?

(20) *ŭ deol· mer·k nekyh·t, ŭn ni·ŭ meon·.*

(20) a sad [comp. Fr. deuil] mirky night, and no moon.

THE (LOWLAND) HUNDREDTH PSALM (EP. p. 715),

from Dr. Murray's DSS. pp. 138–140. "Scotch-English" is mainly "liturgical" or used for the language of the Bible, prayers, and psalms. It is here given in three forms.

1. Pure liturgical Scotch-English as it was read in school and from the pulpit, within Dr. Murray's own recollection, and might (at least in 1873, when his book was published) be heard in any cottage in Teviotdale.

2. Genuine SL. pronunciation, leaving the English idioms unaltered.

3. Idiomatic SL. rendering.

Here all three are given in approximative glossic. In the original, and in my larger book they are given in palaeotype.

1. 1 Liturgical. *ah·l pee·p'l dhaht· on aerth doo dwael·,*
2 Local Pron. *ah· fuoŭk ŭt on yer·th dez dwahl·,*
3 Idiomatic. *ah· fuoŭk ŭt lee·vz [dwael·z, wonz] on·ŭ dhŭ yer·th,*

1 *seeng· too dhŭ Lo·rd weeth· chee·rfool vois;*
2 *seng· tŭ dhŭ Luo·ŭrd weo chee·rfŭ vois;*
3 *seng· teo dhŭ Luoŭr·d weo ŭ chee·rfŭ vois;*

1 *heem· saer·v weeth· mer·th, heez· prai·z for·th tael·,*
2 *hem· sae·r weo mer·th, hŭz prai·z fur·th tael·,*
3 *saer· ŭm weo mer·th, tael· fur·th ez prai·z,*

1 *kum· ee· beefo·r heem·, aan·d reejoi·s.*
2 *kum· ee· ŭfuo·ŭr ŭm, ŭn reejoi·s.*
3 *kum· ee· ŭfuour· ŭm, ŭn reejoi·s.*

2. 1 *no· dhaht· dhŭ Lo·rd ees Go·d eendee·d,*
2 *kaen· ŭt dhŭ Luo·ŭrd ŭz Go·d ŭndee d,*
3 *kaen· ee· dhŭ Luoŭrd ez Go·d en trowth,*

1 *weethuw t uwr aid· hee dŭd us· mai·k;*
2 *wŭthoo·t oo·r hael·p hey dŭd ŭs miŭk;*
3 *hey miŭd us wuthoo·t o·nee hael·p o oo·rz;*

1 *wee ah·r heez· flok·, hee doth us feed·,*
2 *wey er· hez· her·sŭl, hey dez ŭs feed·,*
3 *wey)r hez her·sŭl, ŭt hey feed·z,*

1 *aend fo·r heez sheep· hee doth· us tai·k.*
2 *ün fo r hez sheep· hey dez üs tiük·.*
3 *ün hey tiük·s üs for ez sheep·.*

3. 1 *o· ! aen·tür dhaen· heez· gai·ts weeth· prai·z,*
2 *o· ! kum· en·, dhün, üt üz yae·ts weo prai·z,*
3 *o· ! kum en·, dhün, aht· üz yae·ts weo prai·z,*

1 *üpro·ch weeth joi heez· kor·ts untoo·,*
2 *gahng· for·üt weo joi hüz koor ts teo·,*
3 *gahng· for·üt teo ez ko·rts weo joi,*

1 *prai·z, lah·d ünd bles· heez· naim· ah·lwai·z,*
2 *prai·z, lahw·d ün bles· üz niüm· aiy·,*
3 *ey prai·z, ün lahw·d ün bles· üz niüm,*

1 *for· it iz seem·lee so· too doo·.*
2 *for et)s fahr·ünt si·ü tü deo·.*
3 *for et)s fahr·ünt tü deo· siü.*

4. 1 *for· whahy· ? dhü Lo·rd uwr Go·d eez· good·,*
2 *for· kwhahy· ? dhü Luo·ürd oo·r Go·d ez geod·,*
3 *kwhaht· for· ? dhü Luoür·d oo·r Go·d)z geod,*

1 *heez· good·nüs eez· for· ev·ür sheow·r,*
2 *hüz geod·nüs ez for· ev·ür seo·r,*
3 *hez geod·nüs ez seo·r for· aiy·,*

1 *heez treowth aht ahl· tahy·mz fer·mlee stood·,*
2 *hez treoth· üt ah· tey·mz fer·mlee steod·,*
3 *hez treoth· steod· sek·ür üt ah· tey·mz,*

1 *aend shahl· from aij· too aij· ündeow·r !*
2 *ün sahl· frae iüj· tü iüj· ündeo·r !*
3 *ün et·)l laes·t frae iüj· teo iüj· !*

D 34 to D 37 form Dr. Murray's Central Group of L. dialects. Of these D 34 is the principal.

D 34 = c.ML. = eastern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's Lothian and Fife.

This district contains Bw., the three Lothians *Loa·dhiünz*, namely, East Lothian or Hd., Mid Lothian or Ed., and West Lothian or Ll., together with Pb., part of Sg., Cc., Kr., and most of Fi., comprising the country on each side of the Firth of Forth. This was the seat of government, and the home of early L. literature. It was the abode

of Sir Walter Scott, and has the language of his Scotch novels. It is therefore the typical L. dialect, what is now meant by Scotch simply.

The following are the principal distinctive points (EP. p. 724).

A- generally *ai*, *ai·*, or rather *ai*², which is nearer *i* than *ai*, as *tai*²*l·* *nai*²*m* tale name, for which *ai* will be used. This is quite distinct from the *tiŭl niŭm* of D 33.

A: regularly *aa*, not *ah*, as in D 33, and not *au*.

A′ is *ai*, *ai·*, the same as A-, but *ah*, *au·*, *o*, are occasionally heard as *whah* *whau·*, *to·d*, *rod·*, who, toad, road.

Æ tends the same way as A-, thus *faidh·ŭr*, *wai·tŭr*, *dai*², father, water, day.

Æ′ is usually *ee·*, as *wee·*, *whee·t* weigh, wheat, but there are many exceptions.

E′ is normally *ee·*, as *hee·*, *mee·*, he, me, not *hey*, *mey*, as in D 33.

EA′, EO′ are also normally *ee·* with few exceptions.

I′ has two sounds, as to the exact analysis of which informants differ, (1) *aay* or *u*²*y* final or before voiced consonants, (2) but *ey* or *aey* before voiceless consonants and liquids.

O′ is regularly *ue·* inclining to *ue*² and *eo*, and varying as *iw*, *ee*; thus *skeo·l*, *suen·*, *ŭniw·kh*, *feet·*, school, soon, enough, foot.

U: is regularly *u*², as *gru*²*n*, *u*²*p*, ground, up, but I generally write *u* simply.

U′ is always *oo*, *oo·*, even in open syllables and at the end of a word, as *koo·*, *hoos·* cow, house, never *kuw*, as in D 33.

Among the consonants *kh* is used in one form only, *kh*², the other two, *kh*¹, *kh*³, being unknown, thus differing from D 33; also *wh* is used as the form of the initial, and not *kwh*. At Chirnside, 8 wnw.Berwick, *sh* is used for *ch* initial, see D 32, Var. v., Chillingham (p. 128, l. 2), and the Chirnside dt. (p. 144) below.

An illustration of Edinburgh pron. was given in the introduction to L. No. 3, shewing its difference from D 33. To these may be added the following.

LOTHIAN SENTENCES FROM MR. MELVILLE BELL'S VISIBLE SPEECH, corrected in the same way as those given in D 33 (EP. p. 724).

GLOSSIC.	TRANSLATION.
(1) *her·sŭl i*³*n baaŭ yŭr kreep·i, i*³*n ber·sŭl yŭr tai·z i*³*t dhee eng·l.*	(1) hirsle [shove] in by [push forward] your stool, and birsle [warm] your toes at the ingle [fire]. [The *i*³ is used to shew Mr. Bell's deep form of *i*, here and below.]
(2) *e· feekh! klep·sheerz ŭn gol·ukhs!*	(2) ah faugh! earwigs and clocks [beetles].
(3) *just aa rek·l ŭ stain·z.*	(3) just a loose heap of stones.
(4) *hoa·t, mŭn! whu*⁷*m·l)t u*⁷*p.*	(4) hout, man! turn it up. [The *u*⁷ for *u*² must have been a peculiarity of the speaker, it is not the usual sound.]
(5) *sek nai·ri*³*li*³ *nep·i*³*tni*³*s bait·s au· dhi*³*t i*³*v·ŭr ŭ har·d oa!*	(5) such narrowly nippitness [niggardness] beats all that ever I heard of.

(6) *niv·ür kuel·yee)z nai· kenni³s.*	(6) never culye [coax] is no kindness.
(7) *shü)z noa· skrem·i³t oa kuen·zi [kuen·i] bi³t kun·aa bee faash·t.*	(7) she's not so stingy of coin [money] but can't be bothered.
(8) *ü)l noa· fekh·t yee bai·th üt yens, bi³t aa)l· taak· yi bi yensi³z.*	(8) I'll not fight you both at once, but I'll take you by once-s [one at a time].
(9) *whaur· er i³ gau·n?*	(9) where are you going?
(10) *shü)z ü seev·ül weed·i wum·ün.*	(10) she's a civil widow woman.
(11) *ai·! sek aa peet·i! ti³ see· dhi³ wee· bi³t laa·mi stek·et.*	(11) ah! such a pity! to see the wee bit lambkin stuck.
(12) *frai Deom·eedeks dhi idh·ür dai·,* *ti³ Jeen·i Dee·nz ü bent mi wey,* *but deel·)hed kued· ei deo· or sai·* *but—whus·ül owr dhi lai·v oa)t·*	(12) from Dumbledykes the other day, to Jeany Dean's I bent my way, but devil-head [devil a bit] could I do or say but—whistle o'er the leave [remainder] of it. [Several exceptional pron. are here given by Bell, for which usual ones are substituted.]
(13) *kahn·ti kar·l [kair·l] kum pree· mi³ moo·.*	(13) lively fellow, come prove [try] my mouth [kiss me].
(14) *he·, mün! kau· dhi³ yuwz ti³ dhi³ nuwz.*	(14) heh, man! call thy ewes to the knolls.
(15) *whah whu⁶p·et dhi³ laa·dhi? heez faidh·ür deed· wuz)d, tü maak i³m gaang ti³ dhi³ skuel·.*	(15) who whipped the laddie? his father indeed was it, to make him go to the school.
(16) *hoo·)z au· wee i üt hai·m? gaiy·liz, thaangk· yi für spee·r ün.*	(16) how's all with you at home? gaily [very well], thank you for speering [asking].

Fife Sentences from Melville Bell's Visible Speech, corrected in the same manner as the last (EP. p. 725).

Glossic.	Translation.
(1) *oad·, dhi³r)z twau· Wu²l·i Wu²l·seesünz, ün twau· ku¹t lu¹g·üt sooz!*	(1) 'od, there's two Willy Willison's, and two cut lugged [=eared] sows!
(2) *oe²r yee en, Jeen·i Wil·ümsün? —whoe²t ür yi waan·-ün? dee i noa ken et)s dhi³ sau·bi³th dai· ?—ü)m waan·-ün aa bau·bee wurth ü sau·t,*	(2) are you in, Jeannie Williamson?—what are you wanting? do you not know it's the Sabbath day?—I'm wanting a bawby [halfpenny] worth of salt, and a

ün aa pen·iwurth ü mus·turt, aa len i ür [yür] ket·l, ün aa blaw· i ür [yür] be·lüs, ün hee·r)z mi³ midh·ürz much tül mun·i³ndai· !

pennyworth of mustard, a loan of your kettle, and a blow of your bellows, and here's my mother's mutch [cap] till Monday.

(3) *dhi³)r kintri kuz·unz yü ki³n.*

(3) they are country cousins, you ken [know].

(4) *od)iv)i)kai·r)i)mee· ! sek ü blee·dhürün cheel· !*

(4) 'od-have-a-care-of-me ! such a blethering [nonsense-talking] fellow.

CHIRNSIDE DIALECT TEST (EP. p. 726).

1. *se· aa sai·, neeb·ürz, ee see· naaw aat aa)m· rikh·t aaboot· dhaat· lut·l wun·sh kum·in thre [fre] dhü skuel· dhon·ür.*

2. *shue)z· gaang·ün doon· dhü rod· dhe·r throo· dhü rid· ye·t on dhü würaang· seyd oa dhü ge·t (ro·d).*

3. *shue·r üniw·kh dhü be·rn)z ge·n strekh·t up tü dhü doa·r oa dhü würaang· hoos·,*

4. *whe·r shue)l yib·lz [me)bee] find dhat druk·n deef· wuz·nd ful·i aat·)s kau·d Taam·.*

5. *oo au· ken· him ver·ü weel·.*

6. *wu)nü dhü au·ld shaup· suen· ler·n ür no· tü due)d ügen·, pue·r theq !*

7. *see· ! iz)naa dhaat· troo· ? [iz dhaat· no· troo·].*

D 35 = w.ML. = western Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's CLYDESDALE.

This adjoins D 34, and contains Dm., Lk., Rf. with n.Ay., with small pieces of Bt. and Ar. The s. part, containing Kyle in n.Ay., has the greatest interest as the land of Burns. It differs but slightly from D 34. It is probable that there are many varieties in different parts of the district. Thus I have reason to suppose that the use of *ee·* or *ai·* for *ue·*, *eo·* (which arises from speaking the latter with the mouth too open, a practice widely prevalent in Germany), is not the general habit, but exceptional, although widely spread. The most remarkable point of difference is the use of *aa* for *o* in many words, as *paat·*, *taap·*, *paar·ich*, *draap·*, *baan·et*, *aaf·*, *aaf·t*, *haap·*, *waar·lt*, pot, top, porridge, drop, bonnet, off, oft, hap, world, which is of recent origin. The following gives the approximate general character of the district, principally derived from Coylton (5 e.Ayr), and Ochiltree (11 e.Ayr) (EP. p. 742).

A- is *ai ai·*, as *naim· nai·m* name.

A' is generally *ai·*, as *ai·k brai·d hai·m* oak broad home.

Æ is also mainly *ai·*, as *dai·* day, but sometimes *ee·*, as *blee·z* blaze.

Æ′ is generally *ee·*, as *klee·n* clean, but occ. *ai·*, as *mai·st* most.

E varies from *ee· ai·* to *ae*, for which I generally write *e*, as *mee·t wee·v rai·n plai· maen·* meat weave rain play men.

E′ is regularly *ee·*, as *wee· fee·t* we feet.

EAL is *au·* or *au·l*, as *au· au·ld* all old.

EA′ is mostly *ee·*, as *heed dee·d* head dead, but occ. *ai·*, as *grai·t dai·th* great death.

EO′ is *ee·*, as *three· thee· free·n* three thigh friend, but *lekht* light.

I′ is usually *ey*, as *leyf* life, but *faayv* five.

O is principally *oa*, but as already mentioned becomes *aa* occ., thus *foal· oap·n broakh·t boal·t* foal open brought bolt, and this is an alternative to *aa*, as *haap. hoap·* hop.

O′ varies; its proper form is *ue· eo·*, as *blue·d bleo·d* blood, but *blid·* also occurs, and even *yu²* is found, as *byu²k* with *book·* book.

U is regularly *u²* (written *u*), as *u²p* up.

U′ is also regularly *oo oo·*, as *hoos· prood·* house proud.

This is not very sensibly different from D 34, of which it is an offshoot, though of long standing.

As an illustration I give three sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech, a dialect test for the Kyle district, and the first 78 lines of *Tam o' Shanter* as written for me originally in the phonetic alphabet I used in 1848 by a Scotchman resident at Kilmarnock, and revised by six Glasgow students, and subsequently several times revised. I have added a literal translation to the last, as an explanation, which is of course not in Burns's orthography. It should be observed that much of this poem is pure English, but that the local pron. of these parts is given while the English idiom is preserved as in the 100th Psalm of D 33, No. 2, p. 140.

Mr. Melville Bell's Clydesdale Sentences (EP. p. 730).

Glossic.	Translation.
(1) *aa)m· gŭn up dhi³ Gaal·ŭgi³t tŭ ko· ŭpi³n Saan·i Mŭkfair·sŭn.*	(1) I am going up the Gallowgate to call upon Alexander Macpherson.
(2) *wŭ)l ait· wŭr bred ŭn bu²-ŭr doon· dhŭ waa-ŭr.*	(2) we'll eat our bread and butter down the water. [The hiatus marked (-) is accompanied by a catch, preserving the preceding vowel short.]
(3) *maaŭ koan·shŭns! haang· ŭ baey lee!*	(3) my conscience! hang a baillie!

Kyle Dialect Test (EP. p. 731).

This is for the middle district of Ay., and was supplied by Rev. Neil Livingston, of Coylton.

1. *sai· aa sai·, mai·ts, yee see· noo· dhaat aa)m· raikh·t* [written *ai*[2]] *ŭboo· dhaat· wee· gair·l kum·ŭn fre dhi skue·l yoan·ŭr.*

2. *shee·)z gau·n doon· dhi roa·d dhai·r throo· dhi reed· yet· oan· dhi lef· haa·n seyd oa dhi wey·.*

3. *shue·r ŭnyukh·* [*ŭnukh·*] *dhi we·n hiz gai·n straakh·t up te dhi doa·r oa dhi raang· hoos·,*

4. *whau·r shee)l· ms)b·ee fin· dhaat· druk·n dee·f wiz·nt faal·oa oa dhi nai·n oa Tum·ŭs.*

5. *wee au· ken·)ŭm ver·aa weel·.*

6. *wu)n·ŭ dhi au·l chaap· shue·n lai·rn ŭr noa· tŭ dai·)t ŭgai·n, pue·r thiq ·*

7. *luk·, iz)nŭ it troo· ?*

The Commencement of Tam o' Shanter (EP. p. 732).

Glossic.	Translation.
whŭn chap·mŭn bil·iz lee·v dhŭ street· ŭn drooth·i neeb·ŭrz neeb·ŭrz meet·.	When pedlar fellows leave the street And thirsty neighbours neighbours meet, 2
aaz maar·ket dai·z aar wee·rŭn lait·,	As market days are wearing late,
un foak· beegin· tŭ taak· dhŭ gait·,	And folk begin to take the street [leave their shops], 4
wheyl wee sit boo·zin aat dhŭ naap·i,	While we sit bousing at the ale [with a 'nap' or head],
ŭn get·ŭn foo· ŭn ungkŭ haap·i,	And getting drunk and very happy, 6
wee thingk· nŭ oan· dhŭ laang· Skoat·s meylz,	We think not on the long Scotch miles,
dhŭ moas·iz, waat·ŭrz, slaap·s ŭn steyl·z	The mosses, waters, narrow passes between hills, and gaps 8
dhit laay beetween· ŭs aan oor· haim·,	That lie between us and our home,
whaur· sit·s oor· sul·ki sul·n daim·	Where sits our sulky sullen dame 10
gaidh·rŭn hŭr broo·z leyk gaidh·rŭn stoar·m,	Gathering her brows like gathering storm,
nur·sŭn hŭr raath· tŭ keep· it waar·m.	Nursing her wrath to keep it warm. 12
dhis· trooth· faan· oan·est Taam· oa Shaan·tŭr,	This truth found honest Tam of Shanter,
aaz hee·fre Ai·r yai· nekht did kaan·tŭr	As he from Ayr one night did canter 14
(au·l Ai·r, whaam· nee·r ŭ toon· sŭr-paas·ŭz,	(Old Ayr which ne'er a town surpasses,
faur· oan·est men, ŭn boan·i laas·ŭz !).	For honest men, and bonny lasses !). 16

oa Taam·! haadst dhoo· but been· se weys
aaz tai·n dhaay ai·n weyf Kai·ts advey·s!
shee tau·l dhee weel· dhoo wuz aa skel·üm
aa bledh·rün, blus·trün, druk·n blel·üm,

Oh Tam! hadst thou but been so wise
As [to have] taken thy own wife Kate's advice! 18

She told thee well thou wast a worthless fellow,
A boasting, blustering, drunken idler, 20

dhüt fre· Novem·bür til Octoa·bür
yai· mar·ket de· dhoo wuz)nü soa·bür;
dhüt il kü mel·dür wi· dhü mil·ür
dhoo saat· aaz laang aaz dhoo· had sil·ür;

That from November to October
One market day thou wast not sober; 22
That every grinding-time [properly quantity of corn to be ground] with the miller
Thou satst as long as thou hadst silver; 24

dhüt ev·ri naig· wüz kau·d aa shue· [shoo·] oan,
dhü smith ün dhee· gaat· roa·rin foo· oan;

That every nag [that] was driven a shoe on,
The smith and thou got roaring drunk on; 26

dhüt aat· dhu Loa·rdz hoos· een· oan Sun·dai,
dhoo draangk wi Ker·tn Jeen· til Mun·dai.

That at the Lord's house, even on Sunday,
Thou drank'st with Kirton Jane [? the landlady] till Monday. 28

shee proaf·esaayd, dhüt lai·t aar· shuen·
dhoo waad· bee fun· deep· droon·d in Duen·,

She prophesied, that late or soon,
Thou wouldst be found deep drowned in Doon, 30

aur kaach·t wi wau·rlüks i dhü mer·k
bi Al·oawüz au·l haantid ker·k.

Or caught with wizards in the darkness
By Alloways old haunted church. 32

aa·! jent'l daim·z! it garz mee greet,
tü thingk hoo mun·i koon·slz sweet·,

Ah! gentle dames! it makes me weep,
To think how many counsels sweet, 34

hoo mun·i len·thnd sai·j advey·süz,
dhü huzbün fre dhe weyf despaay·züz.

How many lengthened sage advices,
The husband from the wife despises. 36

but tue· wür tai·l:—yai· mar·ket nekht
Taam haad goat· plaan·ted ung·kü rekht

But to our tale:—one market night
Tam had got planted very rightly 38

faas·t baay aan· ing'l, blee·zin feynli
wi ree·min swaat·s, dhaat· draangk· deevey·nli,

Close by a fire blazing finely
With creaming newly-brewed-ale that drank divinely, 40

aan·d aat hiz el·bü soot·ür Joan·i,
hiz aan·shünt, trus·ti, drooth·i kroan·i.

And at his elbow cobbler Johnny,
His ancient trusty thirsty crony [intimate friend]. 42

Taam· lue·d him leyk aa vur·aa bridh·ür;
dhai· haad bin foo· faur· week·s dhee-gidh·ür!

Tam loved him like a very brother;
They had been drunk for weeks together! 44

dhŭ nekht drai·v oan· wi saang·z ŭn klaat·ŭr,
ŭn ey dhi yail· wŭz growing but·er,
dhŭ laan·ledi ŭn Tam groo grai·shŭs,
wi see·kret fai·vŭrz, sweet·, ŭn presh·ŭs,
dhŭ soot·ŭr tau·ld hiz kwee·rest stoar·ŭz,
dhŭ laan·lŭrdz laakh· wŭz red·i koar·ŭs.
dhŭ stoar·m ŭdhoot· mekht rai·r ŭn rus·l,
Tam did)nŭ meyn dhŭ stoar·m aa whus·l.

The night drove on with songs and clatter,
And aye the ale was growing better, 46

The landlady and Tam grew gracious,
With secret favours, sweet, and precious, 48

The cobbler told his queerest stories,
The landlord's laugh was ready chorus. 50

The storm without might roar and rustle,
Tam did not mind the storm a farthing [any change however small]. 52

kai·r, maad tu see· aa maan· se haap·i,
een· droon·d himsel· aamaang· dhŭ naap·i!

Care, mad to see a man so happy,
Even drowned himself among the ale! 54

aaz bee·z flee hai·m wi lai·ds oa trezh·ŭr,
dhŭ meen·its wing·d dher wey wi plezh·ŭr.

As bees fly home with loads of treasure,
The minutes winged their way with pleasure. 56

king·z me bee blees·t, bŭt Tam wŭs gloa·riŭs,
oar· au· dhee il·z oa leyf viktoa·riŭs.

Kings may be blessed, but Tam was glorious,
Over all the ills of life victorious. 58

but· plezh·ŭrz aar· leyk poap·eez spred·,
yu see·z dhŭ floo·r, it·s bloo·m iz shed·!

But pleasures are like poppies spread,
You seize the flower, its bloom is shed! 60

aur· leyk dhŭ snau·faus in dhŭ riv·ŭr,
aa moa·mŭnt wheyt—dhen mel·ts faur ev·ŭr;

Or like the snowfalls in the river,
A moment white—then melt for ever; 62

aur leyk dhŭ boar·iaa·lis rai·s
dhaat flit· ee·r yoo kaan· peynt dhŭr plais·,

Or like the Borealis race
That flit, ere you can point their place, 64

or leyk dhŭ rai·nboa·z luv·li foar·m
eevaan·ishin aamid· dhŭ stoar·m.

Or like the rainbows lovely form
Evanishing amid the storm. 66

nai maan· kaan tedh·ŭr teym aur teyd,
dhŭ oo·r aaproach·ez Tam mŭn reyd,

No man can bind time or tide,
The hour approaches Tam must ride, 68

dhaat oo·r, oa nekhts blaak· ai·rch dhŭ kee·stai·n,

That hour, of night's black arch the keystone,

dhaat dree·ri oo·r hee mun·ts hiz bee·st in,

That dreary hour he mounts his beast in, 70

aan sik aa nekht hee took· dhŭ roa·d in,
aaz nee·r pue·r sin·ŭr wŭz aabroa·d in.

And such a night he took the road in,
As never poor sinner was abroad in. 72

dhŭ wun bloo· aaz t)wŭd blau·n its laas·t;	The wind blew as it would [have] blown its last;
dhŭ raat·lin shoo·rz roa·z on dhŭ blaas·t;	The rattling showers rose on the blast; 74
dhŭ speed·i gleem·z dhŭ daa·rknes swaul·ŭd,	The speedy gleams the darkness swallowed,
lood·, deep· aan laung· dhŭ thun·ŭr bel·ŭd;	Loud deep and long the thunder bellowed;
dhaat· nekht aa cheyld mekht un·ŭr-staau·n	That night a child might understand
dhŭ deel· haad biz·nes on hiz hau·n!	The devil had business on his hand. 78

D 36 = s.ML. = southern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's Galloway and Carrick.

This contains the s. of Ay. or Carrick, w.Df., Kb., and Wg. or Galloway.

Dr. Murray in a very brief notice mentions that 'the' is contracted into *ee*, especially after *i* for 'in,' as *i)ee* in the, as in Cs. This I did not notice when I took down the cs. for Stranraer, Wg., of which an extract is given in the introduction to the L. div. No. 4, and as I took down the example from Cs. the same evening, it is unlikely that I should have omitted to notice this point of similarity. I also failed to notice the dwelling on the final consonant and the contraction of *hiz·*, *her* into z, *r* which Dr. Murray mentions, but both of these might easily have been overlooked. My own feeling is that D 36 is a mere variety of D 34. It could hardly be otherwise, for Gaelic was still spoken in Galloway in the xvi th century, and the dialect has evidently been formed on literary L. The line through Df. very sharply separates D 36 and D 33. In w.Df. the names of places are Gaelic; in e.Df. they are English.

As an example in addition to the cs. No. 4, p. 133, I give the first piece of dialect I wrote from dictation, in 1848. The reader was a native of New Cumnock, 18 wsw.Ayr. I transcribe it as I wrote it at the time, but it can have been only approximately correct.

Duncan Gray by Burns (EP. p. 748).

Glossic.	Translation.
Dung·kaan Grai· kaam· hee·r tŭ woo·	Duncan Gray came heer to woo 1
oan· blaay·th yuel naikh·t when wee· wer foo·.	On blithe Christmas night, when we were full [had had enough to eat].
Maag·i kyoes·t her heed· foo heekh·,	Maggie cast her head full high,
luok·t aasklen·t aan ung·kŭ skyeekh·	Looked askant and very shy [disdainful],
gert poe·r Dung·kaan staan aabeekh·.	Made poor Duncan stand aside [at a distance].
Dung·kaan fleech·t aan Dung·kaan prae·d,	Duncan wheedled and Duncan prayed, 2
Meg wuz· deef· aaz Yel·zaa Krai·g,	Mag was deaf as Ailsa Craig [a rock near Ayr, there should be no *y*],
Dung·kaan saikh·t bae·th uut aan en·,	Duncan sighed both out [aloud] and in [to himself],
graa·t haiz· ee·n bae·th blee·rt aan blain·,	Wept his eyes both bleared and blind,
spaa·k oa loa·pain aaw·r aa lain·.	Spoke of leaping over a waterfall.
tuym aan chaa·ns aa·r but aa tuy·d,	Time and chance are but a tide, 3
slaikh·ted luv· ez· sai·r tŭ buy·d;	Slighted love is hard to bide;
shaal· aay luyk aa fuel· kwoa hee·,	Shall I, like a fool, quoth he,
for aa haukh·ti haiz·i dee·?	For a haughty huzzy die?
shee· mai· gai· tŭ—Fraa·ns fŭr mee·!	She may go to—France, for me [for what I care]!
hoo· ait kumz let dok·tŭrz tel,	How it comes let doctors tell, 4
Meg graiw· seek· aaz hee· graiw· hai·l,	Mag grew sick as he grew hale [hardy, strong, well],
sum·thaing ain· her· bo·z·m raing·z	Something in her bosom rings
for reelee·f aa saikh· shee braing·z;	For relief a sigh she brings;
aand oa! her· ee·n, dhai spaa·k sek thaing·z!	And, oh! her eyes, they speak such things!
Dung·kaan wuz aa lau·d aa grai·s;	Duncan was a lad of grace; 5
Maag·iz wuz aa peet·iŭs kai·s;	Maggie's was a piteous case;
Dung·kaan kuod naa bee her· dai·th;	Duncan could not be her death;
swel·in peet·i smoe·rd haiz· rai·th;	Swelling pity smothered his wrath;
noo· dhai·)r kroo·s aan kaan·ti bae·th.	Now they're brisk and lively both.

D 37 = n.ML. = northern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's Highland Border.

A long slip of land to the se. of Pr. with small piece of Sg., Fi., and Fo. This is a part of L. where English is still struggling against Gaelic to such an extent that the Celtic Border has been driven sensibly westward during living memory. It has been little explored and is little known, but probably all the w. portion is either book-English or literary L., practically the same as D 34. The information I have obtained is from Newburgh-on-Tay, and from the neighbourhood of Perth, in the shape of two dialect tests which I print side by side, but these places are only just within the e. border, and hence probably partake somewhat of the character of D 38. Dr. Murray's notes (DSS. p. 239) are remarkably scanty. He remarks that 'hill, mill, milk, silk,' are called *hul· mul· mul·k sul·k*, which is confirmed by my authorities for these particular words, but no further; also that 'bread, head, meal' (but whether 'meal' means 'repast' or 'flour' is not stated, though important, see p. 137, l. 8 and 9 from bottom), are called *brai·d, hai·d, mai·l*, which again must be considered as particular words, and not as characterising classes. Dr. Murray also mentions the contraction of 'the' into *ee*, especially after *i* for *in*, as *i)ee* in the. Of this I received no confirmation.

I also got a short list of words pron. to me, but the words were not enough, and were confined to the neighbourhood of Perth, so that I cannot deduce characters for the district from them.

Newburgh-on-Tay (EP. p. 752).

(1) *so· ü saay, lau·dz, ee see· noo· dhüt aa)m· rikh·t üboo·t dhaat· laas·ee kum·in fe dhü skuel· dhon·dür.*

(2) *shi)z gau·n dhe·r throo· dhü rid ge·t on dhü lef·t hau·nd seyd oa dhe ro·d.*

(3) *shue·r enukh· dhü bai·rn)z ge·n strekh·t up· tü dhü do·r ü)dhü raang· hoos,*

Perth Neighbourhood (EP. p. 753).

(1) *soa· aay se·y, men·, yoo· see· noo· dhaat· aa)m· raikh·t aaboo·t dhaat· wee· laas·ee kum·en fe· dhü skuel· dhon·dür.*

(2) *shee·)z gai·en [gau·n] doon· dhu ro·d dhe·r throo· dhü red giüt [yet] on dhü lef·t hahn·d seyd oa dhü we·y.*

(3) *sheo·r ünukh· [ünokh·] dhee be·rn hez ge·n strekh·t up· ti dhü do·ür oa dhü raaq· hoos·,*

(4) *whaa·r shee)l leykli fin·d dhaat· druk·n def· wiz·nd fel·i ŭ)dhŭ nee·m ŭ Taam·ŭs.*

(5) *wee au ken)m veri weel·.*

(6) *wu)n·ŭ dhŭ au·ld chaap· shue·n le·rn ŭr no· tŭ due· it ŭgen·, pue·r thiq!*

(7) *look·! ee see· it)s troo·!*

(4) *whaur shee)l me)b·ee fen·d dhaat· druk·n de·f wiz·nd fel·i oa dhŭ ne·m oa Tom·ŭs.*

(5) *wee au· ken·)ŭm ver·i weel·.*

(6) *wul· dhŭ au·ld)n noa· suen· le·rn er· no· tŭ di·)t ŭgen·, pue·r theng!*

(7) *look·! iz)t noa troo·?*

D 38, 39, 40 = NL. = North Lowland = Dr. Murray's North Eastern Group.

The peculiarities of this group are most developed in D 39. The one character of using *f* for *wh* runs with more or less completeness through the entire group, which occupies the mainland of Scotland lying e. of the CB. and e. of the border of D 37, as far as and including ne.Cs.

D 38 = s.NL. = southern North Lowland = Dr. Murray's Angus.

This occupies the e. of Fo. and nearly all Kc.

The use of *f* for *wh* seems to be limited to the words 'who, when, where, what, whose, whilk, whether, how (used for 'why'), quhittret = weasel, and whorl = wheel,' pronounced *faa*, *fen·*, *faa·r*, *faat·*, *foos·*, *ful·*, *fodh·ŭr*, *foo·*, *fut·ŭret*, *foo·rl*, and, as far as my informant knew, in no others, and this distinguished it from D 39, where there is no such limit. Dr. Murray thinks the vowel system much like that of ML., but I get for 'good' not *gued·* but *gud·*, *gyud·*, and find that the *gweed·* of D 39 is not unknown, while 'blood, flood, stood, stool, floor' are *blud·*, *flud·*, *stud·*, *stul·*, *flur·*, and other O′ vary as *oo*, *ue*. Here also begins the peculiar thick i^4 of NL., which to my ear varies as *i*, i^3, *e*, u^2, although the dialect speakers consider it uniform. Here Dr. Murray recognises *hum·*, *tul·*, *hur·*, *mul·k*, him, till, her, milk; and from Brechin, Fo., I have *mul·k*. My informant from Glenfarquhar (11 w. by s. Stonehaven, Kc.), called i^4 in 'sit, fit, pin,' etc., "an ugly thick sound compared with the English, but very extensively used in Scotland," meaning in NL. only, and adds, "an Englishman says *sut·*, *but·*, *pun·* as his nearest approximation," but my informant thinks i^4 "lies between *i* in pity, *a* in gnat, and *u* in nut." Dr. Murray in transcribing the Arbroath cs., No. 5 of those given in the

what! Glasgow distinct [C]

introduction to L. (p. 133), belonging to D 38, almost invariably uses *e* for this *i*[4]. The North Lowlander frequently writes *i* where I hear *ŭ*. See more on this singular vowel in D 39 (pp. 154–5). There is also the thin sound of *ai*[2], very like *i*, but which in the Glenfarquhar examples I will write *ai*[2] to draw attention to it; and in the same example I use *i*[4] where this "thick *i*" was written by my informant. The Dundee example, which was written from dictation, shews how these sounds struck my ear.

Two Dialect Tests (EP. p. 758).

Dundee.	Glenfarquhar.
(1) *soa· ŭ sai, neeb·ŭrz, yee see· noo dhaat· aa)m rekht ŭboo·t dhaat· wee laas·ee kum·en fe dhee skuel· dhondŭr.*	(1) *so· ŭ sai·², si⁴rs, yŭ see· noo· ŭt aay)m ri⁴kyh·t ŭboot· dhaat· li⁴t·l laas·ee kum·i⁴n fi⁴ dhŭ skyue·l yun·dŭr.*
(2) *shee)z· ge·en dee·n dhŭ rod· dhai·r throo dhŭ reed· geŭt on dhŭ lef·t haan· seyd dhŭ waay.*	(2) *shŭ)z gae·i⁴n doon· dhŭ waay dhe·r thraaw dhŭ reed· yi⁴t o)dhŭ lef·t haa·nd saey·d i⁴)dhŭ rod·*
(3) *shai·r ŭnookh· dhŭ ber·n)z gain· strekh·t up· tee dhŭ do·r ŭ dhŭ raang· hoos.*	(3) *shue·r i⁴nyookh· dhŭ li⁴t·l)i⁴n)z gai²n straakh·t up·ti⁴)dhŭ do·r i⁴ dhŭ wi⁴raang· hoos·.*
(4) *faa·r shee)l· leyklee fen· dhaat· druk·n deef· weez·nd fel·ee kaad· Tom·ŭs.*	(4) *faa·r shŭ)l me)bai² fi⁴nd dhaat· druk·ng dai²f wi⁴z·nd fel·ŭ i⁴)dhŭ nai²m· ŭ Taam.*
(5) *wee aa· ken·ŭm rai²ŭl weel·.*	(5) *wŭ aa· ken hi⁴m ver·aa weel·.*
(6) *wŭl· nee dh)aal d chaap· suen· ler·n ŭr noa· tee dee)t· ŭgen·, pai·r theng·.*	(6) *wi⁴n·ŭ dhŭ aa·ld chaap· shue·n ler·n i⁴r nai² tŭ dee·)d ŭge·n, pue·r theng·.*
(7) *look·, es)t noa troo·?*	(7) *look·! i⁴z)n)t troo· ?*

D 39 = m.NL. = mid North Lowland. = Dr. Murray's Moray and Aberdeen.

This district contains the extreme e. of Cromarty, and all except the sw. portions of Ab., Ba., El. and Na.

The most marked character is the use of *f* for *wh* in all cases. Mr. Melville Bell thinks that this is only a complication of *wh* produced by bringing the lower lip against the teeth, leaving the back of the tongue high, written *f*[2]. This would alter the conformation of the lips, and the *w* character would consequently disappear; so the result would be almost indistinguishable from *f*[1], which is the sound

universally assumed. In the few cases I have heard from natives I could detect no difference from the usual *f*[1].

The other marked consonant characters are the pron. *kn-*, *gn-* initial, as *kneev gnyaav·* knave gnaw; the change of *wr-* initial into *vr-*, as *vreyt* write, and the occasional use of *-aav* final for Ws. AG or A'W, as *blyaa·v snyaa·v* blow snow; and the singular form *shaa·v*, for to sow seed. The guttural *kh* seems occ. to become *kyh*, as *heekyh·* high, but *kh* usually remains.

Among the vowels there is a remarkable use of *aay*, *ey*, where generally *ai·*, but sometimes *ee*, would have been expected. I have collected the following examples, the capitals shewing the corresponding Ws. vowels. The unanalysed *ei* is written where the real form of the diphthong is unknown (EP. p. 766).

A: *weim* womb belly. *weit* I wot.

Æ: *dei* day.

Æ' *kei* key. *taay·chŭr* teacher. *faay·t* wheat (and exceptionally *whaay·t* about Keith, Ba.). *waay· waay·t* weigh weighed.

E: *spaay·k* speak. *waay·v* weave. *plaay·* play, from old people. *kwaay·n* a quean, a woman without offensive meaning. *sei* say, by old people. *waay* way, usual pron. *aay·lyŭr* church elder, more commonly *el·yŭr*.

EA' *greit* great.

EI: *way·k* weak

EO': *thaay·* thigh.

I: *steil* style. *tuy·zdŭ* tuesday. *aay·vi* ivy.

O: *kweil* coal.

O' *heiv* hoof.

English : *swei* sway.

Romance: *thein* chain. *chaaynj* change. *konraay·* convey. *gyaay·lee* gayly, quite. *wuyt*, *weit*, wait. *vei·ŭkl* vehicle. *raaynz*, *reinz*, the reins of a horse. *kweit* coat. *jei·lin* gaoling, sending to gaol.

According to the late Mr. Innes of Tarland (5 nw.Aboyne, 30 w.Aberdeen), whose manuscript I possess, the following vowels occur: 1, 2 *ee· ee*. 3, 4 *ai·*[2] *ai*[2]. 5, 6 *e· e*. 7, 8 *aa·*[3] *aa*[3]. 9, 10 *aa· aa*. 11, 12 *ao· ao*, generally written *o· o*. 13, 14 *oa·*[2] *oa*[2]. 15, 16 *oo· oo*. 17 *u*[2]. 18 *ue*[2]. 19, 20 *i*[4] *i*[3], to be especially considered presently. 21 *aay·*. 22 *aa*[3]*y*, generally conceived as *ey*, *aey*. 23 *aaĕ*. 24 *yoo*, *yoo·*, the *y* being properly *ĕĕ*. 25 *aa*[3]*w* or occ. *aa*[3]*ŭĕ*.

The 19, 20 have been spoken of in D 38 (p. 152). But here Mr. Innes decidedly wished to distinguish two sounds, though he frequently confused them in writing. He says 19 *i*[4] "is the obscure sound in *sir*, *her*, *fit*, not the English *i* in fit, but a deader sound between net and nut. It is the vocal heard in *but'n* prolonged into a vowel." 20 *i*[3], "is near to, but distinct from 19. The final *a* in *idea* is this sound in careless colloquial conversation. The English *i* in fit is

the best substitute for this sound." When I came to hear Rev. W. Gregor, native of Keith, Ba., and Jane Morrison, a servant fresh from Tarland, I seemed to hear i^1, e^2, u^2, *ü*, for these sounds, but not at all discriminated. In the interlinear example from Tarland, the vowels of Mr. Innes and my appreciation of the vowels heard from Jane Morrison are contrasted. Generally the two principal sounds of the Aberdeen "thick *i*" are comparable with the two sounds of n. Welsh *y* in 'd*y*n d*y*nion' man men, which are not exactly i^3, u^2, but are very near them, and these two sounds reduce practically to i^2 in s. Wales.

The following are roughly the characters of D 39 so far as Ws. vowels are concerned, omitting the *ei* words already cited (EP. p. 779).

A- ai^1 or ai^2, as $nai^2m\cdot$ name.

A: *aa*, as *saang·* sang, but 'want' is $wu^2n\cdot t$, written 'wint' by Ab. writers.

A′ is practically similar to A-, as *ben·* bone, but is apt to fall into *ee*, as *een·* one, *steen·* stone.

Æ: Æ′ E- nearly all follow the same rule.

E′ is mainly *ee*, *ee·*.

EA: is mainly *aa*, but EA′ is *ai*, ai^2, or *ee*, as rai^2d or *reed·* red.

EO′ is chiefly *ee*, as *freen·* friend.

I is constantly ai^2, as $blai^2n$ blind.

I′ is regularly *ey*, occ. *aay*.

O′ is regularly *ee*, as *bleed·* blood, and this gives a character to the dialect.

U, U′ are regularly *u·*, *oo* as usual.

The sound *au·* does not occur, but dialect writers have a habit of using 'au, aw' for *aa·*.

Examples.

In the introduction to L., p. 133, among the eight cs., No. 6, is one for Keith, pal. by Dr. Murray from the writing, not dictation, of the Rev. Walter Gregor, in which the thick *i* (Mr. Innes's 19 and 20) is generally represented by *e*.

Aberdeenshire Sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's 'Visible Speech,' corrected in same way as in D 33 (EP. p. 777).

Glossic.	Translation.
(1) *wi)r gaa·n tü dhi³ kwin·tri dhi³ morn.*	(1) we're going to the country tomorrow.
(2) *mi³ midhi³r)z vreet·n aa² let·i³r tl i³r gweed· dakh·ti³r.*	(2) my mother 's written a letter till (to) her good-daughter = daughter-in-law.
(3) *dhi³ styoop·eed laad·ee)z brokh·t dhi³ vraang· byook· fi dhi³ skweel·.*	(3) the stupid lad 's brought the wrong book from the school.

(4) *aa)l· gee ŭ aa³ baa·bee gin yi· tel)z faa·)z aiyh·t ye·.*

(4) I'll give you a halfpenny if you tell us who's owned thee (=who is owner of you, who's your father).

(5) *dhi³ peeŭr aa·l bu²dŭ got foo· ŭt Eek·ee feeŭr laas·t fiŭr·z·di, i³n deet· ŭn dhi³ waaŭ he²m.*

(5) The poor old body got drunk at Icky fair last Thursday, and died on the way home.

(6) *far· ee i gai·n?*

(6) where are you going?

(7) *faat·oa dee·d ee? fat deet· (dee·t) ee oa?*

(7) what of died he? what died he of?

Short sentences written by me from the dictation of Rev. Walter Gregor, author of the Banffshire Glossary (EP. p. 777).

(1) Alphabetic names of the letters at Keith, 100 years ago, heard in 1836 from a woman between 60 and 70.

muk·l aa, lai²t·l aa, be se de e ef je eech· ee jaa·y ke el· em· en· o· pe kiw e²r [a hard rattle] *es te oo ai²v oovŭ·loo eks waay ai²zai²t ep·ers-haan·d.*

Big A, little a, b c d e
f g h i j k l m n o
p q r s t u
v w x y z
and-per-se-and.

(2) Counting. *ai²n twaa three fowr faayv saak·s sai²v·n aakh·t naa³yn tai²n ŭle·vn twaa²l ther·teen for·teen faay·fteen sak·steen se·vn-teen aakh·teen naa²ynteen twun·tee hu²n·ŭr thoo·zŭn.*

(2)		1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13
14		15		16
17	18		19	20
100	1000.			

(3) *faat·)s dhŭ me·tŭr wee ee kre·tŭr? pai²t· ai²t· ai²n tŭ ee heed· o ee pres·.*

(3) what's the matter with the [as in Cs. D 40, No. 2, old, rare] creature? put it into the head of the press = cupboard.

(4) *aay)l dee)t·, mŭn.*

(4) I'll do it, man.

(5) *aay, wu²l·)ŭ?*

(5) yes, will I?

(6) *be·th)ee)ŭ mŭn gjaa·n.*

(6) both of you must go.

(7) *iz it ŭ laad·ee or ŭ laas·ee?*

(7) is it a boy or a girl?

(8) *wai²l ŭ waayt, aay·)l dee)t, mun, tŭ ple·z yŭ.*

(8) well I wot, I'll do't, man, to please you.

(9) *yee vraach· yŭ)v vrut·n dhaat· aa· vraang·.*

(9) you wretch, you've written that all wrong.

(10) *sai²k ŭ mod·eewer·t ŭv ŭ ber·n.*

(10) such a mole of a child.

(11) *fol o· ee did it?*

(11) which [rare form of whilk] of you did it?

(12) *ku²m· ai¹n·)zh)ee go baay.*

(12) come in as you go by.

(13) *hee wet·ŭd ŭ laang· faayl; wet· ŭ wee fey·lee.*

(13) he waited a long while; wait a wee while.

(14) *hee)z no yaav· ov dhi² be·rnz; aay ger ŭm staan· in yaav· o mee.*

(14) he's no awe (fear) of the children; I make them stand in awe of me.

(15) *hee)l· ee·zeelee wun· owr tŭ see ee dhi³ nekyh·t; hee waan· owr dhi³ streem·.*

(15) he'll easily get over to see you to-night; he got over the stream.

(16) *yee)l· dee dhaat·, tee·.*

(16) you'll do that, too.

(17) *Jon gyaa hai²z twaa· kyaa·ks tai²l twaa loon·z, aan Saan·i gyaa· hai²z twaa tee· tai²l twaa tee·.*

(17) John gave his two cakes to two boys, an Sandy gave his two, too, to two, too [the last five words are alike in English, but very different in NL.].

(18) *gweed· see·th aay)l gar· yee dee)t· wee ŭ du²n·t oa yŭr ri³gi³n.*

(18) good sooth, I'll make you do't with a dint (blow) in your back.

The following dialogue was written by Mr. Innes before he discriminated his vowels 19 and 20 (p. 154). I write it as I appreciated the pron. of Jane Morrison, p. 155, l. 2 (EP. p. 769).

Glossic.	Translation.
Jon. Weel· Tuam·, faat· waay aar ye? en foo· he· yee been· dhes· laaq taa³ym?	John. Well, Tom, what way (=how) are you? and how have you been this long time?
Tom. Aa, ne· dhaat· el·, Jok, faat· waay aar yee yersel·? en foo·)z yer waa³yf en dhe let·l enz?	Tom. Ah, not so ill, Jock, what way are you yourself? and how's your wife and the little ones?
Jon. Dhe wer aa· braa·li fen aay kam ŭwaa. aay hi)ne seen· ye dhes luang· taa³ym. dee ye maa³yn, men, fan wee eer·t te fekyh·t kum·en fe dhe skweel·? en foo· dhe mes·ter skelpet)s dhe neesh·t de·?	John. They were all bravely [very well] when I came away. I have not seen you this long time. do you remember, man, when we used to fight coming from the school? and how the master beat us the next day?
Tom. Braa·lee dee ee maa³yn dhaat·, Jok. en aay haa·rd et dhe mes·ter dee·t aa twalv·munth saa³ym paas·t en lent'n, en wez ne ver·e weel· of· oar· hee ded dee·.	Tom. Excellently do I remember that, Jock. and I heard that the master died a twelvemonth since past in spring, and was not very well off ere he did die.

The next specimen was written by Mr. Innes after he had distinguished his vowels 19 and 20, i^4 i^3, and I give (1) a transcription

of his writing distinguishing these letters, as well as *u*², with (2) my appreciation of Jane Morrison's reading, and (3) a translation, all interlinear. The specimen is supposed to be the answer of a farmer to his landlord's greeting and question, about 1780: "A happy new year to you, John. What sort of Christmas have you had?" and may hence be called

CHRISTMAS-TIDE (EP. p. 770).

1. 1 *I*³ *weel·*, *si*⁴*r*, *li*⁴*t·l* *oo·)t.* *dhi·*⁴*r)z* *li*⁴*t·l* *wi*³*r·d* *i*³ *yeel·*
2 *aa* *weel·*, *mes·tür*, *let·l* *oa)t·.* *dhe·r)z* *let·l* *wer·d* *oa* *yeel·*
3 Oh well, sir, little of it. There's little word of Christmas

1 *bee·z* *dhi*³*r·* *ees·)ti*³ *bee·.*
2 *beesaa*²*yd* *dhür* *ees·t* *tü* *bee·.*
3 besides there used to be.

2. 1 *aač)v* *see·n* *dhü* *taa*³*ym* *fi*³*n* *wee·* *wi*³*d* *i*³ *haad·n* *foa*²*r·teen*
2 *aay)v* *see·n* *dhe* *taaym* *fen* *wee·* *wüd* *ü* *haad·n* *foa*²*r·teen*
3 I've seen the time when we would have holden fourteen

1 *de·z* *o·)t.* *naa·*, *naa·!* *dhi*³ *foa*²*k)s* *ne·* *si*⁴ *her·te* *i*³*z* *dhi*³
2 *dai·*²*z* *oa·t·.* *naa*, *naa·!* *dhü* *foa*²*k)s* *ne·* *see* *her·te* *es* *dhe*
3 days of it. No, no! the folk 's not so hearty as they

1 *ees·* *ti*³ *bee.*
2 *ees·t* *tü* *bee.*
3 used to be.

3. 1 *i*⁴ *maa·ě* *yu*²*ng·i*⁴*r* *de·z* *dhi*³*r* *wi*³*z* *li*⁴*t·l* *ri*⁴*st* *dhi*⁴ *ni*⁴*kht*
2 *en* *máa·y* *yoang·ür* *de·z* *dher* *wez* *let·l* *rest* *dhü* *nekyht*
3 In my younger days there was little rest the night

1 *i*³*foa·*²*r* *yeel·*, *bi*⁴*t* *i*³*l·kyü* *boa*²*dee* *traa·yt* *faa·* *wi*³*d* *win* *feer·st*
2 *üfoa·*²*r* *yeel·*, *bet·* *ul·kee* *boad·ee* *tráayt* *faa·* *wed* *wen* *fer·st*
3 afore Christmas, but every body tried who would get first

1 *ti*³ *dhi*³ *waal·* *i*³ *dhi*³ *mo·rni*⁴*n.* *aač* *kyen* *ni*⁴ *gi*³*n)t* *maa*³*d*
2 *tü* *dhü* *waa*³*l·* *en* *dhe* *mo·rnen.* *aay* *kyen* *ne* *gen)t* *med·*
3 to the well in the morning. I know not if it made

1 *o·ne* *oa*²*dz*, *bi*⁴*t* *dhi*⁴ *mes·t* *i*³ *foa*²*k* *thokh·t* *i*⁴*t* *gyaa*³*y*
2 *on·ee* *odz*, *bet* *dhe* *mes·t* *ü* *foa*²*k* *thoakh·t* *et* *gyaay*
3 any difference, but the most of folk thought it rather

1 *i*³*n* *lu*²*k·e.*
2 *en* *lu*²*k·e.*
3 fortunate.

4. 1 *i*³*n* *saa*³*yn* *dhi*³*r·* *wi*³*d* *i*³ *been·* *dhi*³ *ter·i*⁴*bli*⁴*st* *gaa*³*di*³*ri*³*n*
2 *en* *saay*³*n* *dher·* *wüd* *ü* *been·* *dhü* *ter·eblest* *gedh·ürün*
3 And then there would have been the terriblest (=largest) gathering

1 *i*³ *dhi*³ *mo·rni*⁴*n* *ti*³ *dhi*³ *soa·*²*i*³*nz* *i*³*t* *i*³*vi*³*r*
2 *en* *dhe* *mo·rnŭn* *tŭ* *dhŭ* *soa·*²*ŭnz* *dhŭt* *ev·ŭr*
3 in the morning to the sowans (=oatmeal porridge) that ever

1 *yi*³ *saa·*, *en* *dhem·* *i*⁴*t* *di*³*d* *ni*³ *dri*³*ng·ky* *oot·* *dhi*³*r* *soa·*²*i*³*nz*
2 *yŭ* *saa·*, *ŭn* *dhem* *et* *did* *ne* *dringk* *oot·* *dher·* *soa·*²*ŭnz*
3 you saw, and those that did not drink out their sowans

1 *wi*³*z* *shoo·r* *tŭ* *he·* *baa*³*ylz* *e* *he·rst.*
2 *wŭz* *shoo·r* *tŭ* *he·* *baa*³*ylz* *en* *he·rst.*
3 were sure to have boils in harvest.

5. 1 *aač)z* *i*⁴*see·r* *yi*³ *dhi*³ *aa·* *got* *e* *gweed·* *braak·fi*⁴*st* *i*⁴
2 *aa·y)z* *ensh·oo·r* *ye* *dhe* *aa·* *got* *ŭ* *gweed·* *braak·faast* *en*
3 I shall assure you they all got a good breakfast of

1 *dri*³*ng·kyen* *soa·*²*i*³*nz* *i*³*n* *i*³ *faang·* *aaf·* *i*⁴ *dhi*⁴ *yeel·* *kyaa·*²*b·i*³*ky.*
2 *dring·kŭn* *soa·*²*ŭnz* *ŭn* *ŭ* *faang·* *of·* *ŭ* *dhŭ* *yeel·* *kyab·ŭk.*
3 drinking sowans and a slice off of the Christmas cheese.

6. 1 *i*³*n* *i*³*l·kyee* *bai·*²*st* *i*³*boot·* *dhi*³ *toon·* *got* *i*³ *ri*⁴*p*
2 *en* *el·kee* *bees·t* *aaboot·* *dhe* *toon·* *got·* *ŭ* *rep·*
3 and every beast about the farm got a reap (=small bundle)

1 *i*⁴ *ko·rn,* *i*³ *dhi*³ *waa*³*yner* *aa*³*ws* *got* *dhi*⁴
2 *oa* *koa·rn,* *ŭn* *dhe* *waay·nŭr* *oak·s* *got* *dhe*
3 of corn, and the wainer (=leading) ox got the

1 *glaa*³*y·ek* *shef·.*
2 *glaay·ŭk* *shef·.*
3 glyack (=last reaped) sheaf.

7. 1 *i*³*n,* *gi*³*n* *de·li*⁴*kyht,* *aa·* *dhi*⁴ *yu*²*ng·* *cheel·z* *gaa*³*di*³*rt* *ti*³ *dhi*³
2 *en* *gen* *de·lekyht,* *aa·* *dhŭ* *yoang·* *cheel·z* *gidh·ŭrd* *tŭ* *dhŭ*
3 and, by daylight, all the young lads gathered to the

1 *laa*³*y·* *i*³ *Maa·moa·*²*r* *ti*³ *dhi*³ *baa·* *i*³*n* *aač* *kaan·* *tel·* *yi*⁴
2 *laa*³*y* *ŭ* *dhŭ* *park* *tŭ* *dhŭ* *baa·l* *ŭn* *aa·y* *kaan·* *tel·* *ye*
3 lea of Big-meadow to the football, and I can tell you

1 *dhe·* *skri*⁴*m·t* *i*⁴*t* *u*²*p,* *dhi*³*n* *wi*³*d* *ni*³ *been·* *ŭ* *draa*³*y* *heer*
2 *dhŭ* *skremp·t* *et* *u*²*p,* *dher·* *wŭd* *ne·* *been·* *e* *draa*³*y* *stik·*
3 they kept it up, there would not [have] been a dry hair

1 *i*⁴*pon·)z.*
2 *ŭpon·)z.*
3 [perhaps *stik·* meant *stitch*] upon us.

D 40 = n.NL. = northern North Lowland = Dr. Murray's CAITHNESS.

This district contains only the extreme ne. of Cs., which was originally Celtic, then became Norse, afterwards Celtic again, and finally L. But although the L. is so recent it is quite dialectal, for the L. speech came probably from D 39. It however changed its character in some degree, and is now quite distinct from m.NL.

The following notes were obtained from Rev. R. Macbeth, Scotch minister in Hammersmith, and they give the principal characters (EP. p. 786).

1. *Ch* initial becomes *sh*, as *shaay·ld shil·dŭr shaa³p·el* or *shai·pŭl* child children, chapel.

2. The initial *dh* in 'the this that they then there' is usually altogether omitted, these words being pronounced *ai²* *is·* *aat·* *em·* *e·r*. This change does not seem to go further. We have already met with *ee* as an old form of 'the' in D 39, p. 156, No. 3.

3. The combinations 'tr- dr-' are decidedly dental *t'r-* *d'r-*, as they were occ. indicated in D 38 (EP. p. 757, last line), and partly in D 39, so that the dentals may have once extended over all NL.

4. The initial *k-* *g-* are not labialised; they say *geed·* *skeel·* good school, not *gweed·* *skweel·*.

5. Initial 'wr-' does not become *vr-*, as in D 39 I heard *wraang·* or *rwaang* wrong, distinctly, not *wŭraang·*.

6. Initial *f* is used for *wh* as in D 39.

7. The two forms *been·* *steen·*, occasionally heard for bone stone in Ab., are not found in D 40, where *be·n* *ste·n* are used.

8. The words 'son sun' are distinguished as *sin·* *su²n* respectively.

9. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 238) said that 'made tale' and 'maid tail' are distinguished as *meyd teyl* and *me·d te·l*, this I could not verify, but I heard 'name,' which belongs to the first class, as *ne·m*, and 'home' as *he·m*.

10. 'Wife' seemed to me *waayf*, not *woif* as reported by Dr. Murray, though I was told that *poip* pipe was common. Such pron. occurs also near Fraserburgh, Ab., in D 39.

11. The high *aa³* which I heard from Mr. Macbeth I did not afterwards notice in the dictation of a cs.

Mr. Macbeth kindly asked two other Wick men to join in dictating to me the cs. already given in the introduction to L., No. 7, p. 133.

D 41 & D 42 = IL. = Insular Lowland, not considered by Dr. Murray.

The languages of the two groups of islands at the ne. of Scotland known as the Orkneys and Shetlands stand in a peculiar relation to that of the mainland, but are quite L. in character. In A.D. 89 the islands were discovered and reduced by Agricola. In A.D. 396 the Saxons seem to have been established in Orkney. In A.D. 682 the islands were laid waste by Brute, a Pictish king, presumably a Christian. But these events had no influence on the history of the present language, which commences with the conquest and settlement by the Norse. From A.D. 872 to 1231 there were Norse Jarls in Orkney, but subsequently the islands were governed by the Scotch earls of Angus 1231–1321, Strathern 1321 to 1379, and St. Clair 1379–1468, but owned allegiance to Denmark. In 1468, when the language was distinctly Norn (as they call it, that is, Old Norse), Margaret, daughter of Christian I., King of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, married by contract James III. of Scotland, and the islands were pledged for her dower. The pledge was meant to be temporary, and the language, laws, and customs were strictly protected. But the pledge was never redeemed. After 1611 the Norse laws and customs were not respected, and the two groups of islands now form an English borough, returning a single member to the House of Commons. Thomas Flell, of Furso in Harray, Pomona, Or., who died an old man in 1810, spoke Norse. Men old in 1858 informed Prince L.-L. Bonaparte that they had heard very old people speak Norn in 1780. No one now speaks Norn. The present language is English, taught to Norwegians by immigrating Lowlanders. Hence it is an acquired tongue, and has not lasted long enough to be a true dialect, though it is far from being book-English, and the two groups of islands present some points of difference in speech. Between the two groups lie Foula and Fair Isle, reckoned as belonging to the Shetlands. From these I have not been able to obtain information, but they are thought to contain some peculiarities.

The general and distinctive character of Orkney and Shetland as against the mainland speech consists of the treatment of 'th,' usually *th* or *dh*, but here most frequently *t* or *d*, though in some words *th*, *dh* are preserved, and sometimes medial *d* or *t* becomes *dh*. In the following lists, containing all the words I have noted, O is Orkney, S Shetland, and when affixed to a pronunciation they imply that the words have only been found in the one named, without asserting that they are not also found in the other.

Treatment of *TII*, *DII* (EP. p. 789).

I. *Dh* becomes *d*.

blithe *bleid* S
bother *bod·ŭr* S
brother *bridŭr* S
father *faed·ŭr* S
farther *far·der* S
gathered *gaad·ŭrd* S
mother *mid·ŭr* S
neither *nai·dŭr nae·dŭr* S
other *id·ŭr*
rather *red·ŭr*
that *daat aat* OS
the *dŭ* OS
thee *dee· dee* OS
them *dŭm* OS
their *der·* OS
then *dan* O, *den* S
there *de·r der·* OS
they *dey*, they're *du²r* S
thine *daa³yn*
this *dis* O, *du²s* S
thou *doo* S
thy *dee· daa³y* OS
together *tooged·ŭr* S
whither *whid·ŭr* S
worthy *wu²r·dee* S

Note.—The words *the them their then there they this* also commence with *d* in D 9, but there is no connection between the two cases.

II. *Th* becomes *t*.

although *aato·* OS
athwart *aatwaar·t* O
earth *ert* OS.

II. continued.

firth *fer·t* O
fourth *for·t* S
length *len·t* OS
mouth *moo·t* S
north *nor·t* O
strength *stren·t* O
thanked *tang·kit* O
thanks *tang·ks* S
thatch *tai·k* O
thick *tik·* O
thief *teef·* OS
thigh *tee·* O
think *ting·k* OS
thinkst *teng·kst* S
thirst *ter·st* O occ.
thirty *tret·i* O
though *to·* OS
thought *towkht* OS
thread *treed·* S
threat *tret·* S
three *tree·* OS
thrashing *tresh·in* O, *trash·in* S
thrift *trif·t* S
thrive *treiv* O
through *trow* OS, *troo· tro·* S
thropple *traap·l* O
thumb *too·m* OS
unearthly *uner·tli* S
worth *wer·t* OS

III. *Th* remains.

beneath *eneeth·* O
both *bai·th* OS, *bae·th* S
nothing *nai·then* O, *ne·thŭn* S

III. continued.

froth *froth·* O
heathen *hae·then* S
oath *o·th* S
thing *thing· theng* S, rarely *ting·* S
thole *tho·l* O
thousand *thoo·sŭn* O
troth *traath·* O
truth *treo·th* O
without *ŭthoo·t* S
wrath *rai·th* O

IV. *Dh* remains.

both *bae·dhth*, *dh* touched slightly, S
mother *midh·ŭr* O
neither *nai·dhŭr* O
weather *waadh·ŭr* O
without *ŭdhoo·t* S

V. *D* or *t* becomes *dh*, observed in Orkney only.

body *bodhi* O
bottom *bodh·ŭm* O
lady *ledh·i* O
shoulder *shoodh·ŭr* O
steady *staadh·i* O

VI. *Th* becomes *f*.

Thursday *feor·zdŭ*, and in no other word, both O and S, but some old O people use simple *t* in this word.

Ch initial becomes *sh* in Sd. only, and not in Or., though the latter is much closer to Cs. D 40, where, as we have seen, p. 160, the change takes place.

Kn- and *gn-* retain *k* and *g* in both.

The intonation is distinctly not L., and, as far as I could judge from Miss Malcolmson's reading of Shetland, much more like English.

D 41 = s.IL. = southern Insular Lowland = the Orkneys.

On the principal island, Pomona, and those s. of it, the dialect is nearly extinct, and book-English seems to have ousted it. But in the Northern Isles the dialect still remains. Mr. Walter Traill Dennison, who lives in the northern Island of Sanday, has attempted to preserve it in his "Orcadian Sketchbook," Kirkwall, Pomona, Or., 1880. In August, 1884, and again in June, 1888, when he was in London, I had the advantage of an interview with him, in which he helped me over the few difficulties and ambiguities left in his unusually good dialectal orthography. From this I obtained the materials for the following general view of the characters of the pronunciation.

The chief characters relate to 'th, ch, kn, gn,' already explained, p. 162, and the use of *hid·* for 'it.' The following (EP. p. 790) are the principal vowel characters, the * pointing out those especially differing from Sd. The vowels marked short are usually of medial length.

A- generally **ee·*, *ee*, as *meed·*, *teel·*, *neem·*, made, tale, name, but occasionally *aa*, as *kwaak·*, *waad·*, *saam·*, quake, wade, same.

A′ generally (1) **ee·*, *ee* long and short, as *nee·*, *mee·n*, no, moan; (2) occ. *e·*, *e* long and short as *se·*, *lo·kyht*, so, low, and rarely (3) *aa·*, as *whaa·*, *raa·rŭn*, who, roaring.

Æ′ generally *e·*, as *le·v*, *swe·t*, leave, sweat, but occ. *au* short, as *staadh·i* steady.

E′ generally *ee·*, *ee*, as *feet·* feet.

EAL is *aa·* or *aa·l*, as *aa·l*, *aa·ld*, all, old.

EA′ is usually *ee·*, *ee*, as *deed·*, *leed·*, dead, lead metal, but occ. *e·*, as *te·rz*, tears.

EO′ is usually *ee·*, *ee*, as *tee·*, *tree*, thigh, three, but occ. *eo·*, *eo*, as *sheo·*, *yeol·*, she, yule.

Hence all the vowels to this point are usually *ee·*, *ee*.

I is possibly i^3, but I have contented myself with simple *i*; **hid* it, Sd. *hit*, on one occasion. But in "night" and such words, the guttural remains, and the *i* becomes $ei = aa^3y$, as *nei·kyht*.

O: generally *o*, but occ. varies, as *taap·*, *drip·*, *ow·sn*, top, drop, oxen.

O′ regularly *eo·*, *eo*, or possibly $ue^{\cdot 2}$, *ue*, but *look* is exceptionally lu^2k, and the labialisation is lost in *bridh·ŭr*, *fit*, brother, foot.

U is regularly u^2, and U′ is *oo·*, *oo*.

As an illustration I take the first 92 lines of 'Pacty Toral's Travellye' = Peter Toral's Noisy Tumble, which I went through with Mr. Dennison. The whole is given in my larger work.

Generally Mr. D.'s *ei*, *ou* sounded aa^3y, aa^3w, and sometimes u^2w, but I retain the unanalysed diphthongs. His *o* sounded to me rather *ao*, but I retain *o*. Whether he intended to say *ai·* or *e·* I can't be sure; but as the effect to my ear was *e·*, I retain it. The *eo·* may have been $ue^{\cdot 2}$; but as *eo·* was his own appreciation, I write it. The short *i* sounded to me rather i^3, but I use *i*; it was not short *ee*.

Peter Toral's Noisy Tumble (EP. p. 792).

Glossic.	Translation.	
hid fel· on ŭ de·, ee· teim laang· sein,	It fell on a day, one time long since,	
when bodh·i ŭn be·st wi hung·ŭr deod· pein,	When man and beast with hunger did pine,	2
i dŭ yee·r ŭ dŭ laang· snaa·,	In the year of the long snow,	
(min·i in de·r bee·r	(Many in their bier	4
le·d daat· yeol·les yee·r,	Laid that Christmasless year,	
Geod· gee· dem slee·p	God give them sleep	6
ŭn fe· wŭs kee·p	And from us keep	
sik se·r gaa·n yee·rz ŭwaa· !)	Such sore going years away !)	8
ŭt Pe·ti To·raal mog·sŭn he·m	That Peter Toral wading home	
ŭtrow· dŭ snaa·, wi hung·gri we·m,	All-through the snow, with hungry belly,	10
fe wur·kin on-kaa waar·k,	From working job work,	
was gey·li gluf·t, ŭn se·rli stun·d.	Was much frightened, and sorely astounded.	12
dŭ snaa· le· dee·p ŭpo· dŭ grun·d,	The snow lay deep upon the ground,	
dŭ lift wŭz ung·kŭ dar·k,	The sky was very dark,	14
ŭ moo·r hed faa·n aa· dŭ hee·l de·,	A snow-cover had fallen all the whole day,	
aan i dŭ fee·s o ŭ stey bre·	And in the face of a steep hill	16
steod· Pe·tiz hoo·s in dŭ lee·,	Stood Peter's house in the shelter,	
ŭn hid wŭz fe·rli moo·rd ŭnun·dŭr	And it was fairly snowed under,	18
se· dŭt tŭ find hid—ŭn nŭ wun·dŭr	So that to find it—and no wonder—	
foo se·rli paa·lt wŭz hee·.	Full sorely posed was he.	20
hee mog·zd ŭboot· ŭmaang· dŭ snaa·,	He waded about among the snow,	
wi lo·mŭs kaa·ld hiz heed· wŭd klaa·,	With hands cold his head would claw,	22
daan· wi dum·fun·dŭrd glow·ŭr.	Then with dumbfounded glower,	
hee gaan·d ŭroon·d him i ŭ stim·is,	He stared around him in a fix	24
til hee wŭz fe·rlinz in ŭ fim·is,	Till he was fairly in a fuss,	
ŭn ne·rlinz kee·ved ow·ŭr.	And nearly toppled over.	26
"Geod· i me foo·rwey bee!" ko hee·,	"God in my foreway be!" quoth he,	
"Geod· taak ŭ see·lfoo grip· o mee!	"God take a blessed grip of me!	28
"Geod· pit·i mee· ŭn mein.	"God pity me and mine.	
"dŭ dee·l deod· ne·r ŭ sin·ŭr doo·s	"The devil did ne'er a sinner gore	30
"se sik·ŭrli dŭt hee hiz hoo·s	"So severely that he his house	
"ŭn aa· ite·)d sŭd tein!	"And all into-it should lose!	32

"hoi, Jin·i laas·, oa·! deos· doo hee·r?
"oa! ar· doo dee·d? ei nee·d nŭ spee·r,
"dŭ tówkht o)t maak·s mi shaak·!
"ŭn aa· dŭ be·rnz! peo·r bits ŭ ting·z!
"leik dŭ tung· o ŭ bel· mi hir·t noo ding·z,
"ŭn seo·rli hid maan· braak."

"Hoy! Jenny lass, oh! dost thou hear?
"Oh! art thou dead! I need not ask, 34
"The thought of it makes me shake!
"And all the bairns! poor bits of things! 36
"Like the tongue of a bell my heart now dings,
"And surely it must break." 38

his e·n weif, Jin·i, whin· sheo saa· ŭroon·d dŭ hoo·s dŭ moo·rŭn snaa· aay heikyh ŭn heikyhŭr kum·,
sheo towkht dŭt hee ŭ waf wad· see·,
ŭn wip·ŭn her boot·o te· dŭ se·-tree·, sheo ree·kt hid up· dŭ lum·,

His own wife Jenny, when she saw
Around the house the covering snow 40
Ever high and higher come,
She thought that he a waving-signal would see, 42
And wrapping her head-shawl to the pail pole,
She reached it up the chimney, 44

ŭn doo·n sheo saat· i dŭ mur k hoo·s,
her be·rnz ŭroon·d, no· ver·ŭ kroo·s, her braat ŭpo· har ee·n.
"whee·st, be·rnz, whee·st! t)waad· bee· ŭ shee·m
"tŭ e·t dŭ lem·pits or· hee kum·z hee·m,
"de Bes·t ken·z whar· hee·)z gee·n."

And down she sat in the dark house,
Her bairns around, not very cheerful, 46
Her apron upon her eyes.
"Whisht, bairns, whisht! t-would be a shame 48
"To eat the limpets ere he comes home,
"The Best knows where he's gone."

noo· Pe·ti seo·rli towkht hee saa· sun·in,
hee teok· hid fur·st for dŭ lug·z o ŭ kun·in bit waaf·tŭn i dŭ wun·d,
ŭn daan· hee towkh·t it wŭz Jin·iz boo·to,
ŭn glou·ŭrd ŭnd steod·, hid· i muk·l doo·t o·,
ŭ pee·ri mii·nit stun·d,

Now Peter surely thought he saw something,
He took it first for the ears of a coney (=rabbit) 52
Slightly fluttering in the wind.
And then he thought it was Jenny's head-shawl, 54
And glowered and stood, it in much doubt of,
A little minute astounded, 56

ŭn daan· hee kraayz on hiz Me·kŭrz nee·m.
dŭ gree·t i hiz kre·g, wheil saat·te·rz fee·m
se se·r fe be·th hiz ee·n.
"O·, Jin·o, bud·o! hee·vnz leo·k on aa·!
"ŭn ar doo fe·rli smoo·rd in dŭ snaa·?
"ŭn dee·d du lii·rŭn lee·n?

And then he cries on his Maker's name,
The sob in his throat, while the salt tears stream 58
So sore from both his eyes.
"Oh, Jenny, birdie! heavens look on all! 60
"And art thou fairly smothered in the snow?
"And diedst thou quite alone? 62

"gin doo bee leev·un, roo·z dee, roo·z!
"whaat· tem·pŭd dee tŭ le·v de hoo·s?
"whaay kaam· doo hee·r tŭ dee·?
"ei)m fe·rd tŭ tuch· dee, gin dhoo)r dee·d.
"laas· gin dhoo)r leev·ŭn tur·n dhi hee·d!
"O, Jin·o, spe·k tŭ mee!

"If thou be living, rouse thee, rouse!
"What tempted thee to leave the house? 64
"Why came thou here to die?
"I am afraid to touch thee, if thou art dead. 66
"Lass, if thou'rt living, turn thy head,
"O Jenno, speak to me! 68

"Geod· bee· wi mee·, ŭz ei ting k laang."
wi daat· hee ge· ŭ muk·l spaang·,
"dhoo)r· seo·rli dee·d or dum."
daan· wi ŭ spret·, glaam·d aat dŭ tree·,
whin· doo n hid· gee·d, ŭn doo·n geed· hee·,
travel·i trou dŭ lum·.

"God be with me, as I think long."
With that he gave a great jump, 70
"Thou'rt surely dead or dumb."
Then with a spring, clutched at the pole, 72
When down it went, and down went he,
Noisy-tumble through the chimney. 74

doo·n Pe·ti kaam· wi sik ŭ rul·i,
his faa·in mee·d ŭ muk·l spul·i,
hee kaam· leik ŭ gun·shot!
wi snaa· ŭn seot· mee·st leik tŭ wur·i,
ŭn slikid hiz heed·, aa· i hiz hur·i,
doo·n i dŭ lem·pit pot,

Down Peter came with such a rush,
His falling made a great spoliation, 76
He came like a gun-shot!
With snow and soot most like to choke, 78
And stuck his head, all in his hurry,
Down in the limpet pot, 80

dhat wi ŭ e·r ŭ lem·pit breo·	That, with a little of limpet broth,
for kich·in wi reo·thi breed· tŭ deo·	For tastiness with mustard bread to do, 82
wŭz hing·ŭn i dŭ kreok.	Was hanging in the crook.
his muk·l heed· geed· sik ŭ choon·d,	His big head gave such a jolt, 84
inte· dŭ pot· wi ŭ trŭboon·d,	Into the pot with a rebound,
dŭ kreok·ŭl band hee breok·.	The hook-chain he broke, 86
se· in dŭ feir dŭ pot· fel· doon·,	So in the fire the pot fell down,
bit· kaam· no· aaf o Pe·tiz kroon·;	But came not off of Peter's crown; 88
he paat·ld i dŭ feir,	He paddled in the fire,
ŭn fur·kid i dŭ aam·ŭrz se·	And jerked in the embers so 90
daat· aa· hiz fok· bigaan· tŭ pre·,	That all his folk began to pray,
ŭn teok· him for dŭ geir.	And took him for the devil. 92

D 42 = n.IL. = northern Insular Lowland, not treated by Dr. Murray.

This contains all the Shetlands, including Foula and Fair Isle, which are said to have slight varieties, but I have not succeeded in getting any information about them. My principal authorities have been Mr. Arthur Laurenson of Leog, Lerwick, and Miss Annie B. Malcolmson, also of Lerwick, who, when in London, kindly read to me Mr. Laurenson's examples, and also read a cs. written for me by Mr. R. Cogle of Cunningsborough, Dunrossness, Mainland, Sd., already given, p. 133, No. 8. Dr. L. Edmondstone's Parable of the Sower, written for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte in the dialect of Unst, the northernmost island in Shetland, is my only other independent authority.

The principal characters respecting *th*, *dh*, *kn- gn- wr-* and *sh* have already been given, p. 162. Initial *wh* remains, and even occasionally replaces *kw*. The gutturals *kh*, *kyh* remain, and their use is determined by the preceding vowel, as in German.

The vowels are difficult, and some fine distinctions may have escaped me. The *aa* seems to tend to aa^3, which, however, I do not here distinguish in writing, and aa^3y seems to be exclusively employed, for which I use the unanalysed form *ei*. In some cases Mr. Laurenson had marked a^1; but as I heard Miss Malcolmson say *ae* or e^3, I generally write *ae*. The *ae*, *ae·* are a prominent feature, as *laem·*, *shaem·*, *naem·*, lame, shame, name, as distinct from the Or. *ee*, and hence I write *ae* in these words, and in *hae·l*, *snae·l*, hail, snail. I retain short *i* as i^2, though it seems to be rather i^3, and probably represents the Ab. i^4.

But short *ee* as *heed·* head is frequent. The *a. ɛ* is probably *ae. ae·*, but I retain the other sign. The sound of *au* is replaced by *aa·* as in NL. generally.

There are three vowels which sound as *ae. ee. ee.* or thereabouts, and I can't be sure I have kept them properly apart. Thus I hear almost *due*, *shee·*, *do. shee. good·. hee·. seed. hee.* but *speen·. meen·. speen. meen. reet·, keep·. reet. eep.* Whether these distinctions are really observed I cannot say. Perhaps it would be better to accept *ee* only as in D 41.

The diphthongs seem to be *aa'y.* which I write *ei.* and *aau, aa²u.* *u²u, ou,* as I heard at different times, but I write simply *ou.* And *eeh* occurs before a guttural, as *teekh.* tough. There are a few of the Ab. *ei* words, as in *kwein, whei, wei, teizdi,* qwean, whey, way, tuesday, see p. 151.

The general characters are (EP. p. 816) :

A- A' Æ' E- are constantly *ae, ae·*.

E' EO' are regularly *ee·*, as *green, three·*, green, three.

EAL is *aa·* or *aa·l.*

EA' is usually *i, ae,* as *grit·, daef·*, read rarely *ee,* as *deed·* dead.

O' becomes generally one of the vowels represented by *eo* above.

U is regularly *u²* (for which *u* is written), and sometimes *oe* as well as I could appreciate, as *sun, oep·*, sun, up.

U' is regularly *oo, oo·* as *noo·, toon·*, now, town.

As examples, referring to p. 133, No. 8, for the Dunrossness es., as read by Miss Malcolmson, and hence with Lerwick pron., I give the Parable of the Prodigal Son as written by Mr. Laurenson, and read by Miss Malcolmson; and Dr. L. Edmondstone's Parable of the Sower, already mentioned.

THE PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON, Luke xv. 11–32 (EP. p. 816).

11. *aa sur·tün maan· haed· twaa sun·z.*

12. *ün dü yung·üst o düm, saed· tül hiz fae·dür: fae·dür gee mü dü pe·rt o dü gued·z üt faa·z tü mee·. ün hee pe·rted hiz leev·ün ütwee·n düm.*

13. *ün noa mon·i de·z aef·tür dü yung·est sun· gaad·ürd aa· taeged·ür, ün took· dü gae·t til ü faa·r kyun·tri, ün spaent aa· de·r in baad leev·ün.*

14. *ün whin hee haed· spaen·t aa·, dür kaam· ü grit faem·in in daat· laa·nd, ün hee beegoo·d tü bee· in waan·t.*

15. *ün hee geod· ün fee·d wi ü maan· o daat· kyun·tri, ün hee pat· him oot· tü keep· swein.*

16. *ün hee wid fae·ün he felt hiz bael·i wi dü broks dü swein eot, ün nae· maan· ge· owkht tül him.*

17. *ün whin hee kaam· tül himsael· hee saed·, hou mon·i fee·d sur·vünts o mi fae·dürz he· braed· üneeö·kh ün tü spe·r, ün ei faa·nt wi hung·ür.*

18. *ei)l reiz ün gaeng· tü mi fae·dür, ün)l sae· tül him, fae·dür, ei he· sin·d ügaen·st heev·n ün dee·,*

19. *ün ei)m nae· me·r wur·di tü bee kae·d [kaa·d] dei sun·, maak· mee üz ee·n o dei fee·d sur·vünts.*

20. *ün hee rae·z ün kaam· tül hiz fae·dür. bit whin hee wüz yit ü grit wei aaf·, hiz fae·dür saa· him, ün fael· up·ün hiz naek· ün kyaes t him.*

21. *ün dü sun· saed· tül im: fae·dür, ei he· sin·d ügaen·st heev·ün ün in dei seikyh·t, ün üm nae· me·r wur·di tü bee kae·d [kaa·d] dei sun·.*

22. *bit dü fae·dür saed· tül hiz sur·vünts: bring for·t dü baes t klae·z ün püt· düm up·ün üm, ün put· ü rung· on hiz haa·nd, ün sheo·n on hiz feet·,*

23. *ün bring· hee·r dü faat·ed kaaf ün kel im, ün laat· wüz aet· ün bee mur·i,*

24. *für dus· mei sun· wüz de·d ün is leev·ün ügaen·, hee wüz los·t ün iz fon·; ün· de· beegoo·d tü bee mur·i.*

25. *noo· dü aa·ldest sun· wüz i dü fee·ld, ün aaz· hee· wüz kom·ün hae·m tel dü hoos· hee he·rd meoz·ik ün daan·sün.*

26. *ün hee kae·d [kaa·d] ee·n o dü sur·vünts, ün aak·st whaat· dus· wuz·.*

27. *ün hee saed· tül im: dei brid·ür iz kum·; ün dei fae·dür hüz kel·t dü faat·ed kaa·f, beekaz· hee hez got·n him baak· se·üf ün soon·d.*

28. *ün hee wüz tur·n* [=angry, Edm. 'tirran' cross, ill-natured, enraged] *ün wid nü gaeng· in·; se· kaam· hiz fae·dür oot ün entraet·ed him.*

29. *ün hee aan·sürün saed· tül hiz fae·dür: noo· dis mon·i yöör·z deo ei sur·v dee, naed·ür brook ei dei komaa·ndz üt on·i teim, ün yit niv·ür gae· doo mee· ü kid, it ei meikyht maak· mur·i wi mei freen·dz,*

30. *bit aaz sheo·n aaz· dus· dei sun· wüz kum, üt haez· divoo·rd dei leev·ün wi heo·rz, doo hez kel·üt für him dü faat·ed kaa·f.*

31. *ün hee saed· tül üm: sun· doo)z· aev·ür wi mee, ün aa· üt ei hae· iz dein.*

32. *it wüz reikyht daat wee sood· maak· mur·i ün bee glaed·; für dus· dei brid·ür wüz daed·, ün iz leev·ün ügaen·, ün wüz lost ün iz fon.*

PARABLE OF THE SOWER. Matt. xiii. 3–9 EP. p. 818.

Conjecturally rendered in glossic from the orthography of Dr. L Edmondstone, of Unst, with his own orthography in a paralle column.

DR. EDMONDSTONE'S SPELLING.	GLOSSIC.
(3) behold, a saar güd furt ta saa;	(3) *beeko·ld ú sah·r gued· foor·t ú sah·;*
(4) an whin he saad, some seeds fell be da rod side, an da fools cam an devoord dem up.	(4) *ún whin hee sah·d, sum see·dz fael· bee dú rod· seid, ún dú fo·lz kaam· ún deevoo·rd dúm up·*
(5) some fell upp o stany places, whar dey hedna muckle airt; an at ance dey shot up, becaas dey hed nay deepness o' airt;	(5) *sum· fael· up·ú stah·ni ple·sez whah·r de· haed·, nú muk·l e·rt; ún úl aan·s de· shot up·, beekah·s de haed· ne· deep·nús o e·rt;*
(6) an whin da sun wis up, dey wir scooderd [=scorched]; an becaas dey had nay röt, dey widderd awaa.	(6) *ún whin dú sun· wiz up·, de wúr skoo·dúrd; ún beekah·z de haed· ne· roet·, de· wid·úrd úwah·.*
(7) an some fell among torns; an da torns shot up, an shockit [=choked] dem.	(7) *ún sum· fael· úmung· tor·nz ún dú tor·nz shot up·, ún shok·i dúm.*
(8) bit udder fell intu güd grund, an broχt furt fröt, some a hunderfaald, some saxtyfaald, some tirtyfaald.	(8) *bit· ud·úr fael· in·til gued grun·d, ún brokh·t foor·t froet· sum· ú hun·dúrfah·ld, sum· saak·sti fah·ld, sum· tur·tifah·ld.*
(9) wha hes airs ta hear, let him hear.	(9) *whah· haez· e·rz tú hee·r, le húm hee·r.*

CONCLUSION.

In the preceding pages certain districts have been defined by the pronunciation of English now or till quite recently there prevalent, and specimens of these pronunciations have been given, which, though necessarily very brief, are probably sufficient to give a notion of their nature to any one who will take the trouble to understand the notation employed, and especially to lead the members of the English Dialect Society to appreciate, at least to some extent, the numerous glossaries which have been laid before them without any, or with scarcely any, phonetic explanation of their orthography. It is remarkable that although these divisions have been formed on purely phonetic considerations without entering into historical researches, and without going into minutiæ of vocabulary and grammar, the districts thus obtained correspond very fairly with those which history, grammar, and vocabulary prescribe. Of course the present pronunciation is modern, indeed in some cases very modern, but in each particular instance the modern form is a genuine organic outcome of some more ancient form. And although we are unable to assign in every case the series of changes which have been gone through, our survey has been so extensive that we have been able to find in actual existence transitional forms by which the ancient forms may have become reduced to the modern. This is particularly striking in the changes of the value of I′, U′, U from the original *ee·*, *oo·*, *uo* forms into the usual *ei*, *ou*, *u* of received speech, as shewn in the Midland and w.Northern districts. The continued reference of every pronunciation to the Wessex form materially facilitates this interesting comparison of the modern with the ancient as evinced by actual local usages.

There are many persons to whom dialectal speech is merely ludicrous, and who turn over the extensive comic literature of Southern, Western, Eastern, Midland and Northern speech — the Lowland has through the genius of Burns and Scott been com-

paratively safe from this criticism—merely to see the oddity of pronunciation at the phonetic meaning of which they can only roughly guess from the harlequin orthography adopted by various writers. But this book is presented with a very different purpose. A change in language is primarily a change of pronunciation. In order to appreciate it, we have to hear the same passage as much as possible as uttered by different speakers. The passage itself is valueless, except as being chosen so as to illustrate salient points of pronunciation, as was the case for the cs., dt., and cwl. used in this treatise, which have no attraction in themselves, but form a convenient medium for exemplifying and comparing differences. Now it would be impossible from the few fragments of illustrations, which the necessary limits of this little treatise imposed upon me, to determine with any degree of satisfaction what the relation of modern dialectal speech bears to the principal old literary form. We can see however, that if any pronunciation is bad in itself, it is the pronunciation of old and dialectal forms in accordance with the absurd rules of received speech. To read Ælfred and Cædmon (whom I have actually heard called exactly like the modern word *see'dmŭn* seedman) with the pronunciation of, say, a first-class modern London actor, who probably represents the highest or most refined system of modern pronunciation, guarded and jealously watched in all directions, is simply as bad as our English system, if it can be called a system, of uttering Latin and Greek—than which I can conceive nothing worse. But the numerous and extensive illustrations which I have happily been able, through the kindness of so many informants and the liberality of the Philological, Early English Text, and Chaucer Societies, to furnish in my larger work, have led me roughly to a number of results which I hope will be greatly extended by future and younger explorers of the data I have furnished. I have given these in a few pages at the end of my larger work (EP. pp. 821–835) and here partly summarise them as a fitting conclusion of this abridgment.

Short Vowels.

These usually remain with a pronunciation not very different from that which they had originally.

Wn. I is generally *i*, rarely rising to i^2 or sinking to i^3.

E in close syllables is almost always e^3, although in fine received speech it has become e^2. The final brief E, used in middle English for all the finals, still commonly heard in Germany, has totally disappeared. E- in open syllables follows the fortune of E′.

Æ in close syllables follows the fortunes of A.

A in S. and E. divisions, in closed syllables is fine *aa*[3], and in received speech becomes *a*. In other divisions it is *aa*. For A- in open syllables see after A′.

U remains *uo* in a zone comprising Li., Yo., Cu. and W., and south of these localities passes through *uo*[2] into *u*[2], which in refined received speech becomes *u*[1]. On the north of those localities it passes through *oe*[3] (which differs very slightly from *uo*[3], but has not been analysed), into the same *u*[2].

Y is never distinguished from I.

Long Vowels.

These have been treated in two ways. First they are shortened in pronunciation, and then are identified with the preceding short vowels, as 'tén néxt,' which become *ten nekst*, though the forms *tee·n* in *fif·tee·n*, etc., and Scotch *neesh·t* (p. 157, l. 8 from bottom) shew a regular development. Compare also *cheild childrŭn*, *weild wildŭrnes*, *heindŭr hindŭr*, where originally short vowels have become long, and the names of places, *Wik·ŭm* Wickham, *Whit·kŭm* Whitcombe, *Wig·tŭn* Wigton, *Swin·bŭrn* Swinbourne, etc., all of which had originally I′. The word 'room' was shortened to *ruom·*, still a very common pronunciation, and then lengthened to *roo·m*, the prevalent received form, for which *roum* would have been regular, as in the German 'Raum.'

The second method is to 'fracture' the vowel by breaking it up into two parts. There seems to have been a tendency towards fracturing in Ws. speech as it came over to England, shewn by the written forms EA, EA′, EO′, IE in Wessex writing. These fractures have mainly been lost and others formed partly by altering the beginning of a vowel, and partly by altering the end. Thus I′, U′, properly *ee*, *oo*, are commenced with a lower form *i*[3], *uo*[3], producing *ee*[3], *oo*[3], which are usually written *iy*, *uow*, and then the first element becomes still more lowered, and *iy* leads to *ey*, *ay*, *aay*, *ahy*, or else *uy*, *u*[2]*y*, while *uow* becomes *oaw*, *ow*, *aaw*, or else *uw*, *u*[2]*w*, and even *ew*, *aew*. These forms are commonly called 'diphthongs,' but when the last element instead of *ŭ*, *ŭŏ* becomes *ŭ*, and even *u*[2], the fracture is recognised as *aaŭ*. The final *ŭ* is then often rejected, and *aa* results for both *aay* and *aaw*. This *aa* is itself subject to further change.

A′ is seldom preserved unfractured, but in this case an entirely different vowel *ee* or *oo* is prefixed, and generally carries the stress. The Ws. án, one, is a singular example. In the North and Lowland

the prefix *ee* is preferred, and *eis* becomes *eeis*, *eeis*, the origin vowel being lost in losing the stress, but on the other hand the pref also is naturally lost its stress, and *yaw*, *yaw*, *yaw* result, th well-known Scotch sounds of the written 'aye.' In the South *oo* i preferred as a prefix, and *ooin*, *ooin*, result, from which by chang of stress the total *oowine* is produced, the only example of a fractur in received speech, and that is of recent date, as 'alone, only, atone, testify.

A-open is kept clear of A' in fracturing in the South, as *eeä* or *aiä* The former by losing the *ä* gave the *ee* sounds in GL (p. 24), and th latter apparently gave the *ai* sounds in common use. But the *ä* i *aiä* also gave rise to *i*, whence in the E. the 'vanish' *aiy* which i E. grows to *ey*, *aey*, *aay* (pp. 51, 56). The latter has quite recentl (since the writer's youth) invaded London (p. 57).

E', O' passed probably at an early period into *ee*, *oo*, and sub sequent changes are based on these. But the change was no complete, and much *ai*, *oa* remains.

The O' has been singularly treated. We find in the M. district the very unstable sound *oo*², arising from beginning to say *oo* with th mouth too open, producing an effect very like *éooo*, which seems t pass into *eo*², *ue*², generally considered as the French *eu*, *u*, in Dv., Nf and L.

ÆG, Æ'G, EG, and AW, EOW, EO'W with IW were the Anglo Saxon diphthongs. The first set remain *aay* in D 4, but this ha gradually passed, through *aey* probably, into *ae*, and thence to th modern *ai*. In some parts of Ch. however they become *ee* (p. 90) The AW after remaining *aaw* for some time lost the W and becam simple *aa*, *ah*, or *au*, for which 'aw' is now the usual orthography The other diphthongs are comparatively rare. They are represente by *ow*, *uw*, *yuw*, *yoo*, but no rule can be laid down.

Among the consonants R gives the most trouble. The reverted *r* was probably the original Ws. form, and this naturally gave rise t the untrilled r^1, which is now much in use in received speech, an this r^1 most usually falls into a simple *ä* when no vowel follows This vocalisation of *r* is particularly marked on the east coast from Ke to Nb. I have not succeeded in analysing satisfactorily the exac value of Midland r^{10}. The uvular r^5 is limited to Nb., and the fully trilled r^1 is heard chiefly in Scotland, and with minor force in Sh.

It seems probable that the whole series of so-called dental con sonants T, D, N, L, were originally reverted in Ws., or muc retracted, and they still are in D 4, at least in connection with *r* (p. 28).

In the S. division, especially in D 4 and D 11, initial 's, f' are pronounced *z*, *v* in Ws. words, but in Romance words become *s*, *f*. As regards initial 's' before vowel *z* is still said in Germany. The 'f' is pron. *v* in Welsh also, 'ff' being used for *f*, which serves to corroborate the old Ws. use of 'f' as *v*. Even *sh*, which is a developed sound, becomes *zh* in D 4. And *dh* was probably the original sound of *th* everywhere in England. In connection with *dh* the forms of the definite article 'the' should be observed. It is *dhŭ* from D 4 to D 20; *th*, without a vowel, in M. div.; but is occasionally by assimilation the suspended *t'*. In the N. div. however, at least in D 30 and D 31, it is regularly *t'*, without any reference to assimilation, and even this *t'* disappears in Holderness, the se. part of D 30. But in D 33 the full form *dhŭ* reappears, and remains through Scotland, except in D 40, Cs., where the consonant disappears and the vowel is left, producing *e* or *i*. Curiously enough, in some parts of D 9, *dh* falls into simple *d* in the words 'this, that, the, there, their, them, then, these, those, they,' which is however a comparatively recent habit, and is disappearing, while *dh*, *th* become pretty regularly *d*, *t* in D 41 and D 42 for almost all words, apparently from the influence of Norse habits.

W probably was *w*, and was thus distinguished from the *f* or *v*. On the east coast, however, from Ke. to Nf. at least, *v* is ignored and replaced by *w*, producing "the land of WEE." But there seems to be no authenticated instance of *v* being used for *w*. Whence the origin of the literary imputation that Cockneys use *v* for *w* I do not know. Dickens has it strongly, but the latest Cockney writer ("Thenks awf'lly," by A. W. Tuer) knows nothing of it.

H is an ill-treated letter. Every one, except in D 39 to 41, omits it in *it*, which historically should be *hit*. In French words, as 'hour, honest, honour, hostler,' it is, as yet, omitted, but so it used to be in 'humble, hospital, hotel,' where it has latterly been inserted. Its appearance in dialects is very uncertain, although dialect writers seldom omit it in writing, and even insert it where not pronounced. South of the Tweed I can never feel sure of an indication of its existence. In the M. div. it is quite unknown. The insertion of *h* in the wrong place is not known to me as a regular dialectal feature, although it is frequently heard, and is often due to emphasis. There are certain districts among the low German dialects of n. of Germany where *h* is omitted in the right and inserted in the wrong place. But *h* has disappeared in the Romance languages and in Greek, and is not heard in Russian. On the other hand, two forms of it are known in Arabic. In Ws. H often indicated the guttural, and so did G. This

guttural is still found generally in Scotland, and occ. in La., parts of Yo., Cu., and We. But in England it has mostly disappeared.

Miscellaneous Constructions.

'I be' is used in many parts of the S., 'I are' in Ke. and Es.

In D 30 and D 31 'I is' is regular, the general form is 'I am,' but 'we am, you am' occur in the S.

In D 4 and D 10 the periphrastic form 'I do love' is employed, and the past participle has the augment, as 'I have a-loved.'

In the M. div. the verbal plural in *-en* is much used, as 'we love-n, you ha(ve)-n.'

In the E. the plural verb is often used for the singular, as 'it do.'

In High Furness, La., 'at' is often used for 'to' as the sign of the infinitive, as 'something AT eat.'

In the Black Country, D 29 (p. 103), the *n* of the negative is often omitted after auxiliaries, as 'I doh'=I don't.

The above can only be considered as a sample of what may be learned by examination, and is besides very imperfect. The complete survey of the pronunciation of English dialects attempted in my larger work, and indicated in the present abridgment, will, I trust, ultimately lead to the formation of more accurate and trustworthy views of the inter-relations of dialects, not merely in English, but in other languages, than it was possible to form when the dialects were considered isolatedly in disconnected spots.

But the immediate object of this abridgment is to enable members of the English Dialect Society to understand the sounds to be given to the words in the numerous vocabularies that have been issued.

FOUR DIALECT WORDS.

CLEM, LAKE, NESH, AND OSS.

FOUR DIALECT WORDS.

CLEM, LAKE, NESH, AND OSS,

THEIR MODERN DIALECTAL RANGE, MEANINGS,
PRONUNCIATION, ETYMOLOGY,
AND
EARLY OR LITERARY USE.

By THOMAS HALLAM.

48

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 16, delete line 6—"As we shall see, both are derived from the Anglo-Saxon."

" 20, line 29—(Division) "I" should be "II."

" 31, line 6 from bottom—*Senyn* should be *Seuyn*.

SUMMARY OF DETAILS.

	CLEM.	LAKE.	NESH.	OSS.
I. DIALECTAL RANGE :—				
i. From Printed Books :—				
No. of Glossaries	47	35	50	39
,, Counties—				
In England	17	7	20	13
,, Wales	1		1	1
,, Ireland	2			
Also—	N. of England	N. of England Scotland	N. & W. of England	N. of England
ii. From my own Researches :*				
No. of Counties	14	2	15	8
,, Places	46	7	45	21
II. EARLY OR LITERARY USAGE :—				
Period	1362 to 1649	12th cent. to 1570	c. 1200 to 1649	1325 to c. 1400
No. of Books or Works....	7	32	35	2

* I may here explain that in recording the "Phonology of English Dialects," what is primarily required is the dialectal pronunciation of *literary* or *received English* words, in order that the varied forms of pronunciation may be compared for all English counties; this will be done in Mr. Ellis's great work on the subject now in preparation, which will form Part V. of his *Early English Pronunciation*. Hence, purely dialectal words, as *clam, nesh, oss*, &c., are not available for this general comparison, their area of usage being only *parts* of the country respectively: consequently, these have not received the same degree of attention as representative received English words, such as *father, mother, day, green, house, home, night, noon*, &c. Had special inquiries been made during my dialectal tours, the number of places at which these words are respectively current might have been much extended.

PREFACE.

§ 1. The title page indicates with almost sufficient completeness the purport and scope of this contribution to the English Dialect Society's publications. Selecting four characteristic and expressive words which are still current in our Dialects, but have long been lost to the standard language, I have endeavoured to ascertain the range of each, so far as that is discoverable from published glossaries and my own personal researches for a number of years. I have given the meaning and shades of meaning of the words as they are employed in the several localities, together with the variations in the pronunciation; the last-named being the result of actual personal hearing of the every-day use of the words by natives, noted down during my somewhat extensive phonological travels in about *twenty-five* English counties, and Denbighshire and Flintshire (detached), in Wales.

§ 2. To complete the examination, I have added examples of the use of the four words by Early and Middle English writers, as well as illustrative colloquial sentences or specimens from the glossarists; and I have ventured, with the assistance of eminent philologists (see § 6), to give the etymology of each word.

§ 3. Apart from the pronunciations which I have been able to record, the differences in which are suggestive and valuable, it will be observed that I have brought into one view information which was previously scattered over a wide area. The labour involved in such a collation has necessarily been considerable, and the result, I trust, will be of some appreciable service to students of the history of our language.

§ 4. With respect to Early and Middle English quotations, it was thought advisable in the case of CLEM, LAKE, and NESH to give a considerable number, in order fully to exemplify what we may term their "literary life."

§ 5. The dialectal range, as indicated both from the printed glossaries, and the writer's researches, shows the necessity that local glossaries should be inclusive.

§ 6. The etymological section on each word has been submitted to Professor Skeat, of Cambridge, who has most kindly and carefully checked the same, and corrected where necessary. I am also indebted to him for a special paragraph on the etymology of Oss; also, for three of the five Early English quotations for the same word.

I have also to acknowledge, with thanks, courteous communications from Dr. J. A. H. Murray and Professor Rhys, of Oxford, on the etymology of Oss.

The correspondence from the three scholars just named contained likewise several interesting and valuable suggestions. This help has been most courteously and readily granted in response to my inquiries.

My thanks are also hereby tendered to informants in various counties, for special communications on the meaning and use of the word or form LARK = a frolic, sport, &c., in the several localities. See pp. 35-37. These are all people with whom I had interviews previously, in the course of my dialectal travels, and who had willingly given me valuable information on their respective dialects.

THOMAS HALLAM.

Manchester, August, 1887.

Four Dialect Words.

CLEM.

The modern use of this word, with its variant *Clam*, is dialectal, and has a wide range. It was in literary use in Early and Middle English. I propose to treat the word as follows:—

A.—First, and chiefly, MODERN DIALECTAL RANGE, LOCALITIES, ORTHOGRAPHY, and SENSES OR ACCEPTATIONS.

I. From Glossaries.
  i. Table of Localities and Authors.
  ii. Quotations, or illustrative sentences.

II. From my own researches.
  i. Table of Localities.
  ii. Illustrative sentences.

III. Correspondence from the *Manchester City News.*

B.—Secondly, ETYMOLOGY and LITERARY USAGE IN EARLY AND MIDDLE ENGLISH.

I. Etymology.

II. Quotations from Early and Middle English.

APPENDIX: The word *starve.*

A.—MODERN DIALECTAL RANGE.

I. FROM GLOSSARIES OR PRINTED BOOKS.

i. A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES

in which the word is found. In the first column they are numbered consecutively; the second contains the localities; the third the authors' names and dates; and the fourth the orthography and reference to the two meanings or acceptations, viz.:

1 = To starve for want of food, or from having insufficient food; and,

2 = To be parched with thirst.

In giving the places or districts, I proceed in series from north to south.

A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES.

No.	District.	Author and Date.	Orthography and Acceptation.
1	North Country.....	John Ray, 1674	clem'd, clam'd ..1, 2
2	North of England ..	Rev. J. Hutton, 1781 ..	clam.....2
3	North	F. Grose, 1790.....	clamm'd, clemm'd..1
4	North Country.....	J. T. Brockett, 1825 ..	clam.....1, 2
	Yorkshire:—		
5	Cleveland	Rev. J. C. Atkinson, 1868	clam, clem 1
6	Whitby District ..	F. K. Robinson, 1875..	clemm'd 1
7	Mid-Yorkshire....	C. C. Robinson, 1876..	clam: very occasional 1; usually 2
8	Holderness	Ross, Stead, & Holderness, 1877.	clammed.....2
9	West Riding	Robert Willan, 1811 ..	clam.....1, 2
10	Craven	Rev. W. Carr, 1824....	do. 1
10A	Bradford	B. Preston, Poems, 1872	tlammin 1
11	Leeds District	Thoresby to Ray, 1703.	clem'd, clam'd 1
12	Leeds.....	C. C. Robinson, 1862..	clamm'd 2
13	Wakefield.....	W. Stott Banks, 1865..	do. 1
14	Almondbury and Huddersfield.	Rev. A. Easther & Rev. T. Lees, 1883.	clam, clem 1
15	Hallamshire (Sheffield District)	Rev. Joseph Hunter, 1829.	clam.....1
16	Cumberland.....	A. C. Gibson, 1869....	clemm'd 1
17	Ditto	R. Ferguson, 1873	clam.....1
18	Cumberland & Westmorland	Poems, Songs, and Ballads, 1839.	do. 1
	Lancashire:—		
19	Lonsdale	R. B. Peacock, in *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1867.	clam.....1, 2
20	Furness.....	J. P. Morris, 1869	clem.....1
21	South.....	J. Collier, 6 ed., 1757 ..	clemm'd 1
22	South.....	J. H. Nodal and G. Milner, Part I., 1875.	clem.....1
	E., Mid., & N.....	Ditto	clam.....1
23	Cheshire	R. Wilbraham, 2 ed., 1826; orig. in *Archæologia*, Vol. XIX.	clem.....1
24	Ditto	Col. Egerton Leigh, 1877	clam or clem 1
25	Ditto	Robt. Holland, 1884 ..	clem, clam 1
26	Derbyshire (Bakewell District)	J. Sleigh, in *Reliquary* for January, 1865.	clam or clem 1
27	Shropshire	Miss Jackson, 1879....	clem; clam on the Hereford border..
28	Ditto	T. Wright, 1880	clem.....
29	Staffordshire	R. Nares, 1822.....	clamm'd .....
30	Ditto	C. H. Poole, 1880	clam or clem .....
31	Leicestershire	A. B. Evans, D.D., and his son S. Evans, LL.D., 1881.	clamm, clam, clem..
32	Lincolnshire.....	J. E. Brogden, 1866 ..	clam.....
33	Ditto (Manley & Corringham)	Edward Peacock, 1877.	clammed.....

A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES—(*continued*).

No.	District.	Author and Date.	Orthography and Acceptation.
34	Northamptonshire ..	Clare, Poems on Rural Life and Scenery, *circ.* 1818.	clamm'd [birds] 1
35	Ditto ..	T. Sternberg, 1851	clam'd 1
36	Ditto ..	Miss Baker, 1854.....	clamm'd: applied to cattle which do not thrive for want of better pasture; but it more frequently denotes parched with thirst.
37	Warwickshire	W. Holloway, 1839....	clam..... 1
38	Herefordshire	G. Cornwall Lewis, 1839	do. 1
39	Worcestershire, West	Mrs. Chamberlain, 1882	clem..... 1
40	Ditto Upton-on-Severn.	Rev. Canon Lawson. 1884.	clam..... 1
41	East Anglia (Norfolk and Suffolk)	Rev. R. Forby, 1830 ..	clam..... 1
42	Suffolk	Edward Moor, 1823 ..	clammd 1
43	East	T. Wright, 1880	clam..... 1
44	Ditto	J. O. Halliwell, ed. 1874.	clam, clem 1
45	Cornwall, West	Miss M. A. Courtney, 1880.	clem..... 2
46	Wales (Radnorshire).	Rev. W. E. T. Morgan, 1881.	do. 1
47	Ireland (Antrim and Down)	W. H. Patterson, 1880.	clemmed to death = perished with wet and cold.

Note.—Five works in the foregoing list are General Dictionaries of Archaic or of Provincial English, or both, viz.:—

3. F. Grose's Provincial Glossary.

28. (43.) T. Wright's Dict. of Obsolete and Provincial English.

29. Archdeacon Nares's Glossary . . . illustrating the works of English Authors, particularly Shakspere and his contemporaries.

37. W. Holloway's General Dict. of Provincialisms.

44. J. O. Halliwell's Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words.

I may here observe that the variant *clam* has several homonyms, which have various dialectal meanings, and most of them, no doubt, are of different origin. Halliwell has *clam* with thirteen acceptations besides No. 1 before given; and T. Wright has *clam* with fourteen acceptations in addition to the two given above.

ii. QUOTATIONS, OR ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES

from a few of the foregoing glossaries, referred to by their respective numbers.

2. NORTH:

I am welly clemm'd, *i.e.*, almost starved.

4. YORKSHIRE, CLEVELAND:

Ah's fairlings *clammed* (or *clemmed*) for want o' meat.

10A. Ditto BRADFORD:

Ah wur tost like a drucken man's noddle all t' neet
Fur ah saw i' my dreeams sich a pityful seet
O haases as cowd an as empty as t'street,
We little things *tlammin* o' t' floar.
T' Lancashire Famine, p. 32.

13. Ditto WAKEFIELD:

Clamm'd to deeath.

22. LANCASHIRE, NORTH: 1866, Gibson (Dialect of High Furness), *Folk-Speech of Cumberland*, p. 86:

Wes' niver, I's insuer us,
Be neeàkt or *clemm'd* or cāld.

LANCASHIRE, SOUTH: 1790, Lees and Coupe, *Harland's Lancashire Ballads*, "Jone o' Grinfilt," p. 217:

Booath *clemmin*, un starvin, un never a fardin,
It ud welly drive ony man mad.

1867, Edwin Waugh, *Factory Folk during the Cotton Famine*, c. x., p. 92:

There's a brother o' mine lives wi' us; he'd a been *clemmed* into th' grave but for th' relief.

1868, Ben Brierley, *Fratchingtons*, c. iii., p. 35:

Theau fastened on me like a *clemmed* leech.

29. STAFFORDSHIRE:

I shall be *clamm'd* (for starved).

41. SUFFOLK:

I'm *clammd* ta dead amost.

[N.B.—This form prevails at Lincoln. See examples from my own researches, II. ii., below.]

43. EAST:

I would sooner *clam* than go to the workhouse.

II. DIALECTAL RANGE FROM MY OWN RESEARCHES, 1873 TO 1885.

i. TABLE OF LOCALITIES

containing: In column 1, the consecutive numbers; in column 2, the county; in column 3, the town, village, township, &c.; in column 4, the orthography, pronunciation in glossic (within square brackets), and references to acceptations, as in the first table. In giving the places I proceed as before, in series from north to south.

No.	County.	Town, Village, etc.	Orthography and Acceptation.
1	Lancashire	Garstang 1881	clammed [tlaamd]....1
2		Burnley.....1875	clam [tlaam'] 1
3		Farrington 1877	clam or clem [tlaam', tlaem'] 1
4		Leyland..... do.	clammed [tlaamd]....1
5		West Houghton ..1876	clem [tlaem'].....1
6		Stalybridge ..... do.	do. do. 1
7	Cheshire	Hollingworth 1873	do. do. 1
8		Barrow.....1884	clemmed [tlaemd]....1
9		Middlewich 1877	clem [tlaem'] 1
10		Farndon 1882	clemmed [klaemd] ..1
11	Derbyshire	Dore 1883	clam [tlaam'] 1
12		Chesterfield ..... do.	do. and clammed [tlaam', tlaamd] ..1
13		Wingerworth (Stone Edge) 1883	do. [tlaam'].....1
14		Monyash 1878	clem [tlaem'] 1
15		Ashford 1875	clam [tlaam'] 1
16		Marston Montgomery, 1878	clem [tlaem'] 1
17		South Normanton..1883	clam [tlaam'] 1
18		Alfreton..... do.	do. do. 1
19		Heanor ..... do.	do. do. 1
20		Sandiacre ..... do.	do. do. 1
21	Shropshire	Edgmond 1885	clemmed [klaemd]....1
22		Corve Dale 1882	clem [klaem'] 1
23	Staffordshire	Oakamoor.....1882	clem [tlaem'] 1
24		Stone 1883	clemmed [tlaemd] ..1
25		Burton-on-Trent..1879	clem or clam [klaem', klaam'] 1
26		Lichfield 1885	clem [?] 1
27		Willenhall 1879	clam [klaam'] 1
28	Nottinghamshire..	Bingham ..... do.	do. clammed [tlaam', tlaamd] 1
29	Lincolnshire	Lincoln 1885	clammed [tlaamd]....1
30	Northamptonshire.	Irchester ..... do.	do. do. 2

TABLE OF LOCALITIES—(*continued*).

No.	County.	Town, Village, etc.	Orthography and Acceptation.
31	Warwickshire	Coventry; not dated..	clam [? klaam' *or* tlaam'] 1
32	Herefordshire	Near Leominster..1885	clemmed [klaemd] ..1
33	Worcestershire ..	Bewdley 1881	a-clammin' [u'klaam'-i'n] 1
34	Huntingdonshire..	Great Stukeley.... do.	clemmed [klaemd] ..2
35	Oxfordshire	Witney 1884	clam [klaam'] 1
	Wales:		
36	Flintshire ..... (detached)	Hanmer (Arowry) 1882, twice.	clemmed [tlaemd] 1

ii. ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES

recorded at fifteen of the places named in the preceding table, with the pronunciation in glossic (within square brackets).

1. LANCASHIRE: GARSTANG.

Welly (nearly) clammed to deeüth mony a time=[wael·i' *tlaamd* tu') d:ee·u'th mon·i' u') t:ah·im].

3. Ditto FARRINGTON.

Dusta (dost thou) think I'm going t' *clem* 'em?=[Dùs·)tu' thingk au)m) goo..i'n t) tlaam') u'm?]

4. Ditto LEYLAND.

I'm varry near *clammed* to deeüth=[Au)m) vaar·u' neeu'r tlaamd tu') deeu'·th].

6. Ditto STALYBRIDGE.

We shanna *clem* him=[Wi') shaan·u' tlaem'·) i'm].

9. CHESHIRE: MIDDLEWICH.

Yo dunna (don't) *clem* your bally for fine clooüs (clothes)=[Yu') dùn·u' tlaem' yu'r) baal·i' fu'r) f:ah·in tl:oo·u'z [tlùoo·u'z]].

11. DERBYSHIRE: DORE.

Clam it to deeüth=[tlaam'·) i't tu') d:ee·u'th].

12. Ditto CHESTERFIELD.

Clammed to deeüth=[tlaamd tu') d:ee·u'th].

14. DERBYSHIRE: MONYASH.

Tha'll *clem* me t' deeth=[Dhaa..)l tlaem'·) mi' t) dee·th].

21. SALOP: EDGMOND.

I amna (am not) *clemmed*=[Au) aam·) nu' klaemd].

24. STAFFS.: STONE.

Clemmed to death=[tlaemd tu') daeth·].

29. LINCOLN : LINCOLN.

Clammed to deeüd=[tlaamd tu') d:ee·u'd].

30. NORTH HANTS: IRCHESTER.

I'm nearly *clammed*=[au)m) n:ee·u'rli' tlaamd].

32. HEREF.: Near LEOMINSTER.

Most (nearly) *clemmed* to death=[M:oa·st klaemd tu') daeth·].

33. WORCES.: BEWDLEY.—Referring to a lady who was not charitably inclined, my informant, Mrs. Mary Ashcroft, about ninety-five years of age, observed:

Afore her'd give it [say food] to them as bin a-clammin'=[u'f:oa·u'r uur·)d gyiv·) i't tu') dhaem·u'z) bin· u'klaam'·i'n].

36. WALES—FLINT: HANMER.

Clemmed to jeth (death)=[tlaemd tu') jaeth·].

Being a native of the Peak of Derbyshire, I know that the form *clem* [tlaem'] prevails there, signifying "to starve." I also know from long personal experience that the same form, pronunciation, and meaning are current in East Cheshire and South Lancashire, including Manchester.

The phrases "clemmed [or clammed] to death," and "nearly [or welly] clemmed [or clammed] to death," in their varied dialectal pronunciations, are used figuratively in most of the localities named, as equivalent to "very hungry;" as, for instance, when persons may have been obliged to continue at work, from urgent causes, for a longer time than usual, before partaking of food.

III. CORRESPONDENCE IN THE *MANCHESTER CITY NEWS*.

In January, 1878, there was some correspondence in this paper on "The Dialectal Range of the Words *Lake* and *Clem*." I now give the small portion relating to *clem* :—

> . . . . The word *clem* is said to be indigenous to Lancashire, and such may be the case. However, it is a word well-known amongst the poor nailmakers of South Staffordshire, and Halesowen in Worcestershire. I first became acquainted with the word in the Midland counties, and when I came to reside in Lancashire I recognized it as an old acquaintance. Ask a Sedgeley or Halesowen nailmaker how he is getting on, and the reply will in all probability be, "We'm clemming," that is, "we are starving." And in truth these poor nailmakers are being gradually starved out through the bulk of the nails being now made by machinery. H. KERR.
>
> Stacksteads, Rossendale [Lancashire].

> . . . . The word *clem* about Preston and neighbourhood was always pronounced *clam*. I never heard *clem* except in South-east Lancashire. In the glossary [then] recently edited by Messrs. Nodal and Milner, several quotations from old writers are given in which the word is used, and consequently its range both was and is much wider than the county palatine. One of these, from Massinger, spells the word *clam*, and another from Ben Jonson *clem*. CHARLES HARDWICK.
>
> Manchester.

The article written by myself on *Clem*, was inserted March 30th, 1878, occupying not more than one-fourth the space of the present article, which includes the original information very considerably extended, and in addition, the results of my own dialectal researches.

B.—ETYMOLOGY, AND EARLY OR LITERARY USAGE.

I. ETYMOLOGY.

The word *clem* is of Teutonic origin. The primary senses of words which are cognate in several Teutonic languages are, "to press, squeeze, pinch," etc.; and from these has been developed the metaphorical meaning, "to be pinched with hunger," or, "to starve."

i. I give cognate words from dictionaries in the following languages:

1. GERMAN:

a. Klemmen, v. a. and refl., to pinch, cramp, squeeze; to jam. Flügel, Lond. 1841.

b. Klemmen, v. a. to pinch, squeeze hard and closely, to press.
Beklemmen, v. a. to press, to pinch, to oppress.
Published by Cassell, London.

2. DUTCH:

a. Klemmen, to pinch, clinch.
S. H. Wilcocke, Lond. 1798.

b. Klemmen, v. a. and *n.*, to pinch, clinch, oppress.
Klemmen, v. n. to be benumbed with cold.
Published by Otto Holtz, Leipsic, 1878.

3. ANGLO-SAXON:

Dr. Bosworth has no corresponding verb. He has the two following nouns, which have the kindred senses of *binding, holding*, or *restraint*.

1. *Clam.* 3. A bandage; what holds or retains, as a net, fold, prison.

2. *Clom* [Frisian, *Klem*]. A band, bond, clasp, bandage, chain, prison.

4. ICELANDIC:

Klembra [Germ[an], *Klemmen*], to jam or pinch in a smith's vice.

Klömbr [*sb*] [akin to a well-known root-word common to all Teut[onic] languages; cp. Germ. *Klam, Klemmen*], a smith's vice.
Cleasby and Vigfusson, Oxford, 1874.

[N.B.—The root-word referred to is probably "Kramp." See Prof. Skeat's Etymol. Eng. Dict., *s.v. clamp*.]

5. DANISH:

Klemme, v.t. to pinch, squeeze, jam.
Ferrall and Repps, Kjobenhavn, 1861.

6. SWEDISH:

Klämma [*sb*], f. press. sitta i klämma=to be in great straits.

Klämma, v. a. to squeeze, to oppress, to pinch, to wring.
Tauchnitz edit., Leipsic, 1883.

ii. From Dr. Stratmann's Dict. of Old English, and three Glossaries:

1. Dr. STRATMANN:

Clemmen, O.L.Germ. (ant-,bi-)klemmian, O.H.Germ. (bi)-chlemmen, from clam=clem, artare. Comp. for-clemmed (part.), Early Eng. Allit. Poems, 3, 395.

2. R. B. PEACOCK's Lonsdale (N. Lanc.) Glossary, 1867:

Clam, v.i. to starve for want of food, to be very thirsty; Dan. *klemme*, to pinch; O.N. *Klemma*, to contract; Goth. *Klammen*, to pinch.

3. Rev. J. C. ATKINSON's Cleveland Gloss., 1868:

Clam, v. a. (1) To pinch, compress, force together. (2) To castrate by aid of compression. (3) *v. n.* and *p.* To suffer from the pinching effects of hunger, to starve. O.N [orse], *Klemma*, co-arctare; S[uio]-G[othic], *Klaemma*, primere, stringere; Sw. Dial. *Klämma*; Dan. *Klemme*; Mid. Germ. *Klimmen*. Rietz observes that "in all probability there must have once been extant in O. English a strong vb. *climan, clam, clemmen*, or *clummen*." Possibly our existing vb., generally current in one or more of its senses throughout the North, is the only vb. ever in use, no instance of its occurrence being quoted as a South English word; although the A.S. sb. *clam, clom*, bondage or bonds, constraint, exists.

Clem, v. n. and *p.* To suffer from the effects of hunger. Another form of *clam* (which see).

4. NODAL and MILNER's Lancashire Glossary, Pt. I., 1875:

Clem (S. Lanc.); *clam* (E., Mid., and N. Lanc.): *v.* to starve from want of food. Du. *Klemmen*, to pinch; O.L. Ger. (bi-)*Klemman*; O.H. Ger. (bi-)*chlemmen*, to clam; Du. *Kleumen*, to be benumbed with cold.

N.B.—It is necessary particularly to note the etymological difference between *clam* the synonym of *clem*, "to be pinched with hunger," and *clam*, "to stick or adhere to;" the latter is derived from the Anglo-Sax. *clam*, "a bandage, chain."—BOSWORTH.* ATKINSON, in his *Cleveland Glossary*, clearly distinguishes the two words. See also SKEAT's *Etymol. Dict. vv.* Clam, Clamp, Clump, Cram, and Cramp.

II. QUOTATIONS FROM THE 14TH TO THE 17TH CENTURY.

1362. *Piers Ploughman*, p. 276:

Et this whan the hungreth
Or whan thow clomsest for-cold
Or clyngest for-drye.
So quoted by T. Wright, edit. 1856.

Gloss. No. 4, Rev. J. Atkinson has the variants, *thou; for cold;* and *for drie*.

*Bosworth confuses *clam* or *clamm*, a bandage, chain, with *clám*, mud, clay. They are quite distinct.—W. W. S

1360. *Early English Allit. Poems*, c. i., 392:

Ne best bite on no brom, ne no bent nauþer,
Passe to pasture, ne pike non erbes,
Ne non ox to no hay, ne no horse to water;
Al schal crye for-*clemmed*.
Quoted by Gloss. No. 22, Nodal and Milner.

Dr. Stratmann gives *forclemmed* (part.), from the same, 3, 395.

1598. BEN JONSON, *Every Man out of his Humour*, iii. 6:

Hard is the choise when the valiant must eate their armes, or *clem*. Edit. Lond. 1640.

The quotations in the following Glossaries must have been made from other editions, as there are *various readings* in each.

(1) NARES, 1822:

Hard is the choice, when the valient must eat their arms or *clem*.

(2) TOONE, 1832—as Nares—except the insertion of *either* after *must*.

(3) NODAL and MILNER, 1875:

Hard is the choice
When valient men must eat their arms or *clem*.

1602. BEN JONSON, *Poetaster*, i. 2:

I cannot eat stones and turfs, say. What,
will he *clem* me, and my followers? Aske
him, an' he will *clem* me: doe, goe. Edit. Lond. 1640.

I cannot eat stones and turfs, say, What,
will he *clem* me and my followers? Ask him
an he will *clem* me; do, go. Quoted by Nares.

What! will he *clem* me and my followers?
Quoted by Toone.

1602. JOHN MARSTON, *Antonio and Mellida*, Part II., iii. 3:

Now barkes the wolfe against the fulle cheekt moon;
Now lyons half-*clamd* entrals roare for food.
Now croakes the toad, and night crowes screech aloud,
Fluttering 'bout casements of departed soules;
Now gapes the graves, and through their yawnes let loose
Imprison'd spirits to revisit earth.
Ed, J. O. Halliwell, 1856.

1620. PHILIP MASSENGER, *Roman Actor*, ii. 2:

(1) —And yet I
Sollicitous to increase it, when my intrails
Were *clamm'd* with keeping a perpetual fast, &c.
Quoted by Nares, 1822.

(2) BROCKETT, 1825, quotes from the word "when;" but has "entrails" instead of "intrails."

(3) NODAL and MILNER, 1875, quote from the word "my."

(4) In the edition of MASSINGER by Gifford, 1845, the passage stands:

And yet I
Solicitous to increase it, when my entrails
Were *clemm'd* with keeping a perpetual fast.

(Ante)
1649. BP. PERCY'S *Folio MS.*, i. p. 225 (*Scotish Feilde*):

there company was *clemmed*: & much cold did suffer;
water was a worthy drinke: win it who might.
Quoted by Atkinson, Gloss. No. 4.

APPENDIX.

THE WORD *STARVE*.

This word is used in both literary and dialectal senses.

I. 1. The following LITERARY SENSES are given by most modern English dictionaries:

a. Intransitive.—

To die or perish (1) of or with *hunger*; and
(2) of or with *cold*.

b. Transitive.—

To kill (1) by or with *hunger*; and
(2) by or with *cold*.

Webster states that in the United States both the *intrans.* and *trans.* verbs are applied to death consequent on *hunger* only, and not in consequence of *cold*.

2. *a*. The DIALECTAL SENSE in which the word is generally used is—

To suffer more or less from *cold*, but only temporarily, not fatally.

b. This dialectal sense of "to starve" is the correl. to that of the verb "to clem," viz.—

(1) To *starve*, as resulting from *cold*; and
(2) To *clem*, as resulting from *hunger*.

c. It should be particularly noted that this usage of *starve* most probably prevails at all places where *clem* or *clam* signifies "to be pinched with hunger." This is the case in the Peak of Derbyshire, and in several counties, as ascertained during my dialectal researches. At various places where my informants gave me the word *clem* or *clam* as belonging to the respective dialects, they then immediately and voluntarily added that *starve* had the correl. sense above given.

d. In the case of death resulting from cold, as in a snowstorm or keen frost, the phrase "starved to death" would be used. Indeed, this phrase is often used metaphorically, when the "starving" is only temporary.

II. From SIXTEEN GLOSSARIES I now give the senses in which *starve* and its derivatives are used.

1. VARIOUS DIALECTS: J. O. Halliwell, ed. 1874.

Starved, excessively cold.

2. Ditto T. Wright, 1880.

Starved, *adj*. very cold.

3. YORKSHIRE, CLEVELAND: Rev. J. Atkinson, 1868.

Starvatious, *adj*. cold, chilling, inclement, fit to starve one with cold.

Starve, *v. a*. to cause to suffer from extreme cold; of frequent use in the passive, as well as in the participle present.

4. Ditto WHITBY DISTRICT: F. K. Robinson, 1875.

Starvatious, *adj*. bleak, barren.

Starving, *adj*. keenly cold: "*starving* weather."

Black-starved, *adj*. blue with cold, like the nose and fingers in winter.

5. YORKSHIRE, MID: C. C. Robinson, 1876.

Starvatious, adj. chilly.

6. Ditto WAKEFIELD: W. S. Banks, 1865.

Starv'd, cold. "Ahm ommost starv'd stiff;" also, pined.

7. LANCASHIRE, LONSDALE: R. B. Peacock, 1867.

Starved, adj. excessively cold.

8. CHESHIRE: Col. Egerton Leigh, 1877.

Starved, adj. used as a synonym for cold.

9. Ditto Robert Holland, 1885.

Starved, part. perished with cold; but *not* used in Cheshire for perished with hunger. Land is also said to be *starved* when it is cold for want of drainage.

10. DERBYSHIRE, BAKEWELL DISTRICT: J. Sleigh, 1865.

Starve, to clem or famish.

11. SHROPSHIRE: Miss Jackson, 1879.

Clem [klem·], *v. a.* to pinch with hunger; to famish. Common. *Starve* is never used in this sense; it is applied to cold only.

12. STAFFORDSHIRE: C. H. Poole, 1880.

Starve, to be deprived of warmth. To avoid ambiguity, so as not to confuse the meaning of this word, the old writers used the term—"hunger starved."

"We have been very much affected with the cries and wants of the poor this hard season, especially those about the town, who are ready to *starve* for want of coal."

Sir E. Turner, temp. Charles II.

13. LEICESTERSHIRE: A. B. Evans, D.D., and his son, 1881.

Starve, v. n. to be chilled through; perished with cold: never used for perishing of hunger.

14. LINCOLNSHIRE, MANLEY and CORRINGHAM: Edward Peacock, 1877.

Starve, v. to chill. "It was so cowd I was omust *starved* to dead."

15. NORTHAMPTONSHIRE: T. Sternberg, 1851.

Starved, cold. "I be so *starved*." "It's a *starvin* wind."

16. WORCESTERSHIRE, WEST: Mrs. Chamberlain, 1882.

> *Starve*, *v.* to be cold.
>
> *Starven*, *adj.* pinched with cold. "Alice is such a nesh little thing! W'en 'er's plaayin' with th' others in an evenin', 'er'll run into the 'ouse, an' 'er'll say, 'Oh, mammy, do pŭt I on a jacket, I be so *starven!*'"

III. ETYMOLOGY.—Starve is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *steorfan*, to starve, die, perish; Du. *sterven*, *v. n.* to die; Ger. *sterben*, *v. n.* to die; to die away; to cease, perish, become extinct. Cf. Icel. *starf*, a trouble, labour; and *starfa*, to work, labour.

In conclusion, I have the pleasure to cite Prof. Skeat's article on this word from his Etymological English Dictionary.

> STARVE, to die of hunger or cold, to kill with hunger or cold. Orig[inally] intransitive, and used in the *general* sense of "to die," without reference to the means. M[iddle] E[nglish] *steruen* (with *u*=*v*), strong verb; pt. t. *starf*, Chaucer, C[ant.] T[ales], 935, pp. *storuen*, or *i-storuen*, id. 2016.—[=directly derived from] A.S. *steorfan*, to die, pt. t. *stearf*, pp. *storfen*; "*stearf* of hungor"=died of hunger, A[ng].-S[ax]. Chron. an. 1124, last line. Hence was formed the trans. verb *sterfan*, to kill, weak verb; appearing in *astærfed*, pp., Matt. xv. 13 (Rushworth gloss). The mod[ern] E. has confused the two forms, making them both weak. + [=not derived from, but cognate with] Du. *sterven*, pt. t. *stierf*, *storf*, pp. *gestorven*. + [not derived from, but cognate with] G[erm]. *sterben*, pt. t. *starb*, pp. *gestorben*. All from Teut[onic] base STARB, according to Fick, iii. 347; he also cites Icel. *starf*, labour, toil, *starfa*, to toil, as belonging to the same root.

LAKE = TO PLAY.

The modern use of this word, with its commonest variant LAIK, and scarce variants LAIKE and LEAK, is dialectal. In Early and Middle English it stood side by side with the word *play* as a literary word, and was used quite as extensively. As we shall see, both are derived from the Anglo-Saxon. But, while "to play" and its derivatives have kept their stand as literary English to the present day, "to lake" and its derivatives have long since become dialectal, and confined chiefly to the northern counties. The dialectal range of *lake* is much less than that of *clem*.

A.—MODERN DIALECTAL RANGE.

I. FROM GLOSSARIES OR PRINTED BOOKS.

i. A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES in which the verb TO LAKE and its derivatives are found.

No.	DISTRICT.	AUTHOR AND DATE.	WORDS AND PARTS OF SPEECH.
1	North Country ..	John Ray, 1674	lake, *v.*
2	Ditto ..	N. Bailey, 1749	do. *v.*
3	Ditto ..	J. T. Brockett, 1825 ..	do. *v.*; laking, *sb.*
4	North of England.	Rev. J. Hutton, 1781 ..	do. *v.*
5	North.....	Grose and Pegge, 1839.	leak, *v.*
	Not stated.....	Ditto	lake, *v.*
6	North.....	W. Holloway, 1839....	do. *v.*
7	Ditto.....	J. O. Halliwell, ed. 1874.	do. *v.*; lake, laker, lakin, *sbb.*
8	Ditto.....	T. Wright, 1880	do. *sb.*
	Not stated.....	Ditto	laike, lake, *vv.*
9	Cumberland.....	Rev. Josiah Relph. Poems and Glossary, 1798.	lake, *v.*
10	Ditto	Jollie's Manners and Customs, 1811.	laiker, *sb.*
11	Ditto	A. C. Gibson, 1869....	laik, laikins, *sbb.*
12	Ditto	R. Ferguson, 1873	laik, *v.*
13	Central and S.W.	W. Dickinson, 1878 ..	lake, *sb.*
	Central	Ditto ..	lakin, *sb.*
	North	Ditto ..	leayk, *sb.*
14	Cumberland and Westmorland.	Poems, Songs, and Ballads, 1839.	laik or lake, *v.*; laiker, *sb.*
15	Westmorland	Rev. Wm. Hutton (Wm. de Worfat), "A Bran New Wark," 1785.	laaking, *part.*
16	Durham (Teesdale)	Dinsdale, 1839	lake, *v.*; lakes, lakin, babby-lakin, *sbb.*

A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES—(*continued*).

No.	District.	Author and Date.	Words and Parts of Speech.
	Yorkshire:—		
17	Cleveland	Rev. J. C. Atkinson, 1868	lake, laik, *v.*; laker, laking-brass, lakins, laikins, *sbb.*
18	Whitby District.	F. K. Robinson, 1875..	lake, *v.*; lake or lairk, lakes, lakers, lakin, lakin-house, laking-brass, lakin-kist, *sbb.*; lakesome or lakish, *adj*; laked, lakin, *partt.*
19	Swaledale	Capt. J. Harland, 1873.	lake, *v.*; laking, babby-laking, *sbb.*
20	Mid-Yorkshire..	C. C. Robinson, 1876..	laik, *v.*; laikins, laikin-brass, *sbb.*
21	West Riding	Dr. Willan, 1811.....	lake, *v.*; laking, *sb.*
22	Craven	Rev. W. Carr, 1824 ..	do. *v.*; lacons, lakins, *sbb.*
23	East Yorkshire..	W. H. Marshall, 1788..	laik, *v.*
24	Holderness	Ross, Stead, and Holderness, 1877.	lake, *v.*
25	Leeds District ..	Thoresby to Ray, 1703.	do. *v.*
26	Leeds.....	C. C. Robinson, 1862..	laik, *v.*; lakins, *sb.*
27	Halifax	Append. II. to Hunter's Hallamshire Glossary, 1829.	lake, *v.*
28	Almondbury and Huddersfield.	Rev. A. Easther and Rev. T. Lees, 1883.	do. *v.*; lake, lakins, *sbb.*
29	Hallamshire (Sheffield Dis.)	Rev. Joseph Hunter, 1829.	do. *v.*; lakin, *sb.*
	Lancashire:—		
30	Lonsdale	R. B. Peacock, in *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1867.	laik, lake, *v.*; lake, laker, laking, *sbb.*
31	Furness.....	J. P. Morris, 1869	laik, *sb.*; lakin', *part.*
32	Ditto	Nodal and Milner, Part II., 1882.	lake, *v.*
33	Lincolnshire.....	J. E. Brogden, 1866 ..	laking-about.
34	Gloucestershire (Cotswold)	Rev. R. W. Huntley ..	laiking, *part.*
35	Scotland	Dr. Jamieson, ed. 1879-82.	laik, laike, *sb.*

ii. DEFINITIONS OR SENSES.

A considerable variety of words, phrases, and sentences is used in these definitions. The numbers appended to these refer to the glossaries in the foregoing table in which each such word, phrase, and sentence is found.

a. VERB.

Lake: To play—1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32.
To sport—17. To perform—18.
To engage in a game—24.
To trifle or act with levity—24. To be idle—28.
When men are out of work they are said "to *lake*"—28.

Laik: To play—12, 14, 20, 26, 30.
To amuse oneself—12.
To play, as children; or at cards, or other game—23.

Laike: To play—8.

Leake: To play like children—5.

b. SUBSTANTIVES.

Lacons: Playthings, toys—22.

Lake: A Play—7, 30. A player, or actor—8.
Play—13. A game—18, 20, 30.

Laker: A player or actor—7.
A player, or rather one who plays—17.
One who plays—30.

Lakers: Players—18.

Lakes: Sports, games—16.
Entertainments—18.

Lakin: A plaything—7, 8, 29.
A toy—7, 8, 18. A child's toy—13.
A child's plaything—16.

Lakins: Things to be played with, toys at large—17.
Trifles—18. Playthings—22, 26, 28.
Toys—22, 28. Games—28.

Laking: A plaything—3, 9, 21.

Lakin-house: A gaming house; the children's playroom; a theatre—18.

Lakin-kist: A box of toys—18.

Babby-lakin: A child's plaything—16.

Laking-brass: Money given to a child to spend on its own amusement; in toys, &c., as it may be—17.
The stakes on the gaming-table termed "the bank"; pocket money for enjoyment—18.

Babby-laking: A plaything—19.

Laik: (1) A play—11, 31.
(2) A term used by boys to denote their stake at play—35.
(3) Used metaphorically to denote the strife of battle—35.

Laike: See *laik* (2), (3).

Laiker: A person engaged in sport—10, 14.

Laikins: Playthings—11, 20. Toys—11. Things to be played with, toys at large—17.

Laikin-brass: Pocket money—20.

Lairk: A game—18.

Leayk: Play—13.

c. ADJECTIVE.

Lakesome or *lakish*: Frolicsome—18.

d. PARTICIPLES.

Laked: Played or performed—18.

Lakin: Playing or sporting in all senses—18.

Lakin': Playing [infin. "to play" is wrong]—31.

Laking: When a mill has stopped running temporarily, the hands are said to be "laking."—26.

A toy—30.

Laking-about: Idling, wasting time—33.

Laaking: Amusing himself—15.

Laiking: Idling, playing truant: *Quasi*, lacking service, masterless—34.

iii. QUOTATIONS OR ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES.

from a few of the foregoing glossaries, referred to by their respective numbers.

11. CUMBERLAND:

But *laiks* at wate-not-whats within
O' Sunday efterneun.
Relph. *Afte 4 race.*

Here's babby-*laikins*—rowth o' spice,
On sto's an' stands extended.
Stagg. *Rosley Fair.*

15. WESTMORLAND:

But hah! wha is this that fancy marks, shooting dawn the braw of *Stavely*, and *laaking* on the banks of *Windermere*? *A Bran New Wark*, ll. 49–51.

18. YORKSHIRE, WHITBY DISTRICT:

Lake, or *lairk*, *sb.* "He's full of his *lake*," his fun.

Lake, *v.* "That caard weant *lake* at that bat," that game will not play at that rate, or that affair will not succeed in the manner it is carried on.

Lakes, *sb.* "All maks o' *lakes*," all kinds of entertainments.

Lakin, *part.* "I call it a *laking* do," a gambling affair.

26. YORKSHIRE, LEEDS:

"Awāay wi' yuh out an' *lūak* a bit—goa a *lūaking* i' Tommy's cloise till I fetch yuh."

"When we've *lūaked* wal te-a-time we'll come home mother!"

28. Ditto ALMONDBURY and HUDDERSFIELD:

An ancient dame who lived at Sharp Lane end, being of an economical turn of mind, was fond of knitting, and said one evening at the conclusion of her labours, "Au ha' burnt a hopenny cannle, and addled a fardin—it's better nor *lakin*."

31. LANCASHIRE, FURNESS:

Mr. J. P. Morris cites the two quotations following from *Cumberland Ballads*; of course thus implying that the dialectal forms in these instances are identical with those of Furness—

Nae mair he cracks the leave o'th' green,
The cleverest far abuin;
But *lakes* at wait-not-whats within,
Aw Sunday efter-nuin.
Relph. *Cumb. Ball.*, p. 7.

May luiky dreams *lake* round my head this night,
And show my true-luive to my longing sight.
Ewan Clark. *Cumb. Ball.*, p. 162.

33. Ditto FURNESS:

A lot of us lads wer' *lakin* down èt t' lā end o' Brou'ton. J. P. Morris. *Seige o' Brou'ton*, p. 3.

I. DIALECTAL RANGE FROM MY OWN RESEARCHES, 1876 TO 1879.

As only a small portion of the area in which "Lake = to play" prevails, lies within the area investigated by myself, the instances of its use which I have recorded are comparatively few.

1. LANCASHIRE, BURNLEY, August, 1876:

a. This word is indigenous or in regular use here—

(1) In the active sense of playing at games, and ordinary children's play.

(2) In what may be termed the passive sense of cessation from labour, (*a*) through the stoppage of mills and other works, or (*b*) in other cases.

b. My principal informant was Mr. James Fielding, an intelligent mill operative [then] thirty years of age, and a native. He dictated to me the Burnley version of Mr. Ellis's "Comparative Specimen," and on the word in question gave me the following examples—

Question.—How lung arta (art thou) *lakin'* for? [a'ŭŭ lùng u'rt'u) lai·ki'n f:au·r?] *Reply.*—We're brokken down (at the mill) for all th' afternoon [wi')r brok·'n d:a'·ŭŭn fu'r) au·l th) aaf·t'u'rnouŏŏn].

Taw-lakin' [tau·-lai·ki'n] = playing at marbles. N.B.—Taws [tau·z] = marbles.

c. Mrs. Fielding said to some one—

[We'n] bin *lakin'* this week [wee)n bin lai·ki'n dhis w:ee·k'] ; the mill being stopped.

d. Boy, playing with others at cricket, in reply to a question put by myself—

W'en we're *lakin'* at cricket [waen wi')r lai·ki'n u't) krik·i't].

e. Mill operatives speaking of a man who was temporarily doing a job of work which was inferior to that of his own occupation, one of them observed—

He'd better do that than (or tin) *lakin'* [i')d baet''u'r d:oo· dhaat dhu'n [*or* ti'n] lai·ki'n].

2. LANCASHIRE, COLNE, December, 1879:

Heard *lakin'* = playing, spoken by three persons, and pronounced as follows--

a. Youth—[lai·ki'n].

b. Man to another—[lai·ki'n].

c. Woman—[l:e·yki'n].

3. YORKSHIRE, MARSDEN nr. HUDDERSFIELD, April, 1878:

a. Boys playing at "pig and stick"—

Used *lake* [lai·k] = to play, several times; also, *a laker* [u') lai·ku'r] = a player, who was wanted to make up the number on one side.

b. Eight or nine girls, say 15 to 17 years of age, playing at ball—

Used *lake* [lai·k] = to play.

III. CORRESPONDENCE IN THE *MANCHESTER CITY NEWS.*

In January, February, and March, 1878, there was some correspondence in this paper on "The Dialectal Range of the Words *Lake* and *Clem.*" I now give a selection from the portion relating to *lake*:—

(1) Mr. Hardwick, in his note on Boggart Ho' Clough, remarks that he never remembers hearing the "Yorkshire word *lake* (to play) used in Lancashire, except at Clitheroe, on the Yorkshire border."

Yet the word has a much wider range in Lancashire than supposes. "Lake" is in common use for play from Rochd down Whitworth Valley, Rossendale Valley, and round by H lingden and Ramsbottom. In Rossendale at the present ti [Jan. 1878], "laking" is a word in too many mouths, owing the cotton mills running short time. . . . . H. KERR
Stacksteads, Rossendale [Lancashire].

(2) Referring to the Yorkshire word "lake" (to play) in my previ communication, I merely observed that I had myself only he it spoken indigenously in the neighbourhood of Clitheroe on Yorkshire border; but of course I implied the probability of location in places similarly situated. I never heard it in neighbourhood of Manchester, except as a professed importati and I have met with no one that ever did. . . . .
CHARLES HARDWICK

(3) . . . . I was born in the ancient village of Clough-fold Rossendale, and spent the first twenty years of my existence its immediate neighbourhood, and during that period the wo "lake" and "lakin" were in daily use, and in the mouths of villagers were veritable "household words." J. C. T
Heaton Chapel [Lancashire].

(4) Many years ago, at a magistrates' meeting in Lincolnshire country fellow who had eloped with another's wife was char with felony in reference to some articles which she took with h The defence was that it was merely a "May-lek," or May ga which the people of that class indulged in at that season, a that in this case it had taken the form of a thoughtless jaunt t neighbouring large town. The word is of Scandinavian orig In Stockholm museum one of the paintings is described as "B der som *leka* blindbock" (peasants who play blindman's bu and another, a boy, "som *leker med* kort" (who *plays with* card The svensk, like our English word, evidently only means m sport, for where any game of skill is intended "spela" is used, "A gentleman and two ladies," "som spela kort" (who *play* card "Ossian and the young Alpin," "lyssna till Malvina's harpsp (listen to Malvina's harp play). There seems yet another disti tion between the skill of mind indicated by the verb "spel and of hand denoted by the noun "slojd" (pronounced nea as "sloight"), and which seems to remain in use with us only the term "sleight of hand." In Sweden it signifies any han craft skill, and there are "slojd" schools for teaching such. T Danes have for nouns "leg" and "spil." We seem to prese the "spela" and "spil" almost identically in our "spell" enumerate the letters of a word, a charm, to trace out, to ta one's turn at work, &c.); and though our meanings have g more confined to particulars, the essence of the word—the men skill—is common to both. The words "lek" and "clam"* have heard in use in the wapentake of Corringham, Lincolnshi of the provincialisms of which I observe the English Dial Society has published a glossary. Is not to "lark" a variati of "lek" or "lake"? H. J. P.

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* *Clammed, pp.* parched with thirst. E. Peacock's *Lincolnsh.* (*Manley and Corringh.* Glossary.

(5) I hope it will not be forgotten, even by the prejudiced, that the old A.S. equivalent for "play" is not so dead a horse as is imagined. The word "lark"—not alauda—is common to all dialects, and it is only làc with a slight burr. So all systematizers of the English language, from Latham onward, take care to make known. Much so-called slang is only good old English which has taken a Bohemian turn, and I confess to a weakness for your genuine Bohemian. . . . . HITTITE.

(6) I have read with interest the various contributions of your correspondents anent this word, but have not seen mention by any of them of its use in the part of Yorkshire to which I belong It is in general use, and has been during my recollection—over forty years—in the large district which lies between and adjacent to the towns of Halifax and Huddersfield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire; including the townships and villages of Sowerby Bridge, Elland, Greetland Norland, Soyland, Barkisland, Stainland, Ripponden, Rishworth, and many others. The pronunciation of the word varies in the different localities, but all the places named above use it in one or the other of the forms as at the head; for instance, in Stainland "lake" is the form adopted, while in Barkisland, only a mile distant, "laik" is the version. The word is used to express either games of amusement or skill, or as a cessation from labour; thus they say, "ahr (our) lads are off laikin at fooitball;" or, "yon lot are laikin at cairds" (card-playing); and in summer or droughty weather, when the water in the brook runs low, and in consequence the mills stop working, the hands, when questioned as to their absence from work, reply, "we're laikin for water," *i.e.*, playing, or not working for want of water. OLD BEN.

(7) The expression "taw-laikin"=playing at marbles, which occurs in the comments on the above subject by your learned correspondent Mr. Hallam, brings to my recollection a reminiscence of my boyhood, which had all but escaped it. When playing at marbles each of us put one or more into the ring to be played for, and they were called our "lakers," the one we played with our "pitcher." This occurred north of the Grampians over fifty years ago, but I have never noticed the expression "lake" in this neighbourhood applied either to marbles or any other juvenile games. A. J.

The article by the writer was in two sections, which were respectively inserted March 2nd and 16th, 1878; but the space occupied was only equal to about four pages of the present article. In the area or dialectal range, the number of glossaries enumerated was twenty-four, but now thirty-five. In the section on the early usage of *lake* and *play*, references to early works and *forms only* of the two words were given; I have now added quotations from a number of Early and Middle English works, exemplifying the uses of these words. See B II.

B.—ETYMOLOGY, AND EARLY OR LITERARY USAGE.

I. ETYMOLOGY.

i. The word *lake* or *laik* is derived from Icelandic. I therefore give the *verb* and *substantive*, with their meanings, from Vigfusson; and cognate words and definitions from other Teutonic languages.

1. ICELANDIC:

Leika, [*vb.*] pres. *leik*; pret. *lék*, *léku*; part. *leikinn*; [Ulf[ilas. *laikan* = σκιρτᾶν; A. S. *lácan*; mid. H. G. *leiche*; Dan *lege*; Swed. *leka*; North E. *to lake*]:—to play, sport. 2. to delude, play a trick on.

Leikr, [sb.] *m.*, mod. dat. *leik*, acc. *leiki*; [Ulf [ilas], *laiks*= χορός, Luke xv. 25; A. S. *lâc*; North E. *laik*; O. H. G. *leik*; Dan. *leg*; Swed. *lek*]:—a game, play, sport, including athletics. 2. metaph. a game, sport.

Leikari, a, *m.* [North E [nglish] *laker*], a player, esp [ecially] a fiddler, jester.

Cleasby & Vigfusson, Oxford, 1874.

2. SWEDISH:

Leka, *v. a.* and *n.* To play, to sport, to toy.

Lek, *sb.* m. Sport, play, fun, game.

Tauchnitz, Edit., Leipsic, 1883.

3. DANISH:

Lege, *v.i.* & *a.* to play.

Leg, [*sb*], game, play; *julc-leg*, Christmas-game.

Ferrall & Repps, Kjöbenhavn, 1861.

4. ANGLO-SAXON:

Lácan, [*vb.*]: (p. *leólc*, *léc*, we *lécon*; pp. *lácen*), 1. To offer, present, sacrifice. 2. To celebrate religiously, to dance, play.

Lác, *gelác* [*sb.*]. 1. A gift, offering, sacrifice. 2. Play, sport. Dr. Bosworth's *Compen. Ang.-Sax. Dict.*; corrected by Ettmüller. Lond., 1852.

5. MŒSO-GOTHIC:

a. Laikan, *vb.* (pt. t. *lailaik*, pp. *laikans*), to skip or leap for joy, Lu. 1. 41, 44; 6. 23. [O.E. *laik*, to play.]

Laiks, *str. sb. m.* (pl. *laikos*), a sport, a dance, a dancing. Lu. 15. 25. [*cf.* E. 'a lark,' i.e. a sport, frolic.]

Rev. [now Prof.] W. W. Skeat, Lond. & Berlin, 1868.

b. Dr. Lorenz Diefenbach, in his excellent *Gothic Glossary* (*Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gothischen Sprache*), Franckfort-on-the-Main, 1851,—written in German—has the following, vol. ii, p. 124:—*Laikan*, [*vb.*], redpl. *lailaik*, *lailaikun*, *laikans*, springen,[1] hüpfen,[2] ἀκιρτᾶ.[3] *Laiks*, [*sb.*] m. (pl. *laikos*),tanz, [4] χορός,[5] Luc. 15. 25.

N.B.—He also gives the cognate forms in about *twenty* languages, ancient and modern.

c. I give the passages referred to from the Gothic version by Wulfila or Ulfilas, A.D. 360:—

Luke i. 41.—"Yah warþ, swe hausida Aileisabaiþ golein Mariins, *lailaik* barn in qiþau īzos;"="And it came to pass, that, when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe *leaped* in her womb."

ib. i. 44.—"Sai! allis sunsei warþ stibna goleinais þeinaizos īn ausam meinaim, *lailaik* þata barn īn swigniþai īn wambai meinai;"="For, lo, as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in mine ears, the babe *leaped* in my womb for joy."

ib. vi. 23.—"Faginod īn yainamma daga, yah *laikid*;"="Rejoice ye in that day, and *leap for joy*."

ib. xv. 25.—"Wasuþ-þan sunus īs sa alþiza ana akra; yah qimands, atīddya newh razn, yah gahausida saggwins yah *laikins*;"="Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard musick and dancing."

ii. REV. J. C. ATKINSON'S *Cleveland Gloss.*, 1868:

Lake, *laik*, *v. n.* To play, to sport.

In addition to the forms of the verb from Anglo-Saxon, Mœso-Gothic, Old Norse (Icelandic), Danish, and Swedish, as given above, he also has—Old Swedish *leka*; Swedish dialects *laika*, *läka*; N. Frisian *leechen*, *leege*; and Mid. Germ. *leichen*.

II. EARLY OR LITERARY USAGE: BEING (i.) FORMS, AND (ii.) QUOTATIONS, FROM THE 12TH TO THE 16TH CENTURY.

i. FORMS.

The numbers 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 refer to the centuries respectively.

SUBSTANTIVE.

Singular and plural.—12 lakess, larke, leȝkes, leȝȝkess, loac, loc; 12-13 lac, lakes; 12-14 laik, laike; 13 lak, lok, lokes; 13-14 lake, leik, leyk; 14 layk, laykeȝ, layking; 14-15 laikes, laykes; 15 laiching, lakan, lakayns, laykin', laykyng; 15-16 layke; 16 laykin. *No date:* lakynes, lakys, layks.

---

1. To spring, leap, jump. 2. To hop, skip, jump. 3. To skip, leap, bound wantonly. 4. A dance; fight, brawl, sport. 5. A dance, assembly of people singing and dancing; a chorus.

VERB.

Present tense.—14 laykeȝ; 14, 15, layke; 15 lake, lakys.

Past t.—12 laiket, lakeden (pl.), lakedenn (pl.); 12, 14 laiked; 13 leikeden (sing.), leykeden (sing.); 14 laikid, layked, layked him, laykeden (pl.); 15 laiked him, laykede hime.

Imperative.—12 lakys (pl.).

Infinitive.—12 lake, laken, lakenn, leȝken, leȝȝkenn 13 layke, leike, leyke, leyken; 14 laike, layke, layky hem.

Part. pres.—14 layking.

N.B.—I find Dr. Stratmann, in some of his examples, has *i* where the originals have *y*.

ii. QUOTATIONS.

Orthog. of 12th cent. *Fragment of Elfric's Grammar, Elfric's Glossary, and a Poem on the Soul and Body*, in the orthography of the 12th century, but originally written ante 1000; ed. T. Phillips, 1838.

sb. lôc, "munus," 4, 56, (Stratmann).

1154-89. *Destruction of Troy*: an *Alliterative Romance*, ed. Panton & Donaldson, for E.E.T.S., vols. 39, 56.

vb. (1) to do, to act:—

And euyn *laiked* as hom list, lettid hom noght. l. 7046

(2) to fight:—

Thus þai *laiket* o þe laund the long day ouer. l. 9997

(3) to say, to express:—

Lakys now, ledys, what you lefe think,
And what ye deme to be done at this du tyme. l. 9807

sb. a play; hence a fight, danger, struggle:—

Laike— ll. 7811, 9658, 9847

Laik—

þe day wex dym, droupit þe sun.
þe lyght wex lasse, and þe *laik* endit. l. 10408.

Larke, conflict, battle:—

Gret slaght in þe slade, & slyngyng to ground,
And mony lost hade þe lyfte, or þe *larke* endit!
l. 7694

Ante) 1200 *A Moral Ode*, in *Old English Homilies*, 2nd series; ed. Dr. R. Morris, E.E.T.S., 1873.

sb. Lac, offering, gift.
Litel *lac* is gode lief þe comeð of gode wille. l. 203

c. 1200. Legend of *Katharine of Alexandria*, ed. Morton 1841.

sb. dat. brôhten tô lâke. 63 (Stratmann.)

c. 1200. *The Ormulum* [Lincolnshire], ed. White, 1852.

vb. Lakenn (*laken*), to make offerings.
To þeowwtenn Godd ȝ *lakenn*. l. 973.

Leȝȝkenn (*leȝken*) :—
Alls iff he wollde *leȝȝkenn*. l. 12044.

Lakesst, 2 p. sing:—
þa *lakesst* tu Drihhtin wiþþ shep
gastlike i þine þæwess. l. 1172

Lakedenn (*lakeden*), pa. t. plur:
þa þre kingess *lakedenn* Crist. l. 7430.

sb. Lac, offering, gift.
Off þatt Judisskenn follkess *lac*. l. 964.

ȝ bi þatt allterr wass þe *lac*
O fele wise ȝarrkedd. l. 1062.

Lac, plur :—
Her habbe icc shæwedd þrinne *lac*
forr þrinne kinne leode. l. 1144.

Lakess, *leȝȝkess* (*leȝkess*), plur. :—
þa þre kingess lakedenn Crist
Wiþþ þrinne kinne *lakess*,
Wiþþ recless, ȝ wiþþ gold, ȝ ec
Wiþþ myrra, an dere sallfe. l. 7431.

I skemmtinng ȝ inn idelleȝȝe
Inn ægæde ȝ i *leȝȝkess*. l. 2166.

Wedlac=wedlock. l. 2499.

1205. LAYAMON'S *Brut* [Worcestershire], ed. Madden, 1847.

sb. Lâc—Heo nómen þat lâc. l. 17748.

Lâke (dat.) l. 31953.
(Stratmann).

c. 1230. *Ancren Riwle* [Dorsetshire], ed. Morton, 1853.

sb. Lokes= gifts—
Hit nis nout for nout iwriten iðe holie gospelle of þe þreo kinges þet comen uorto offren Jesu Crist þeo deorwurðe þreo *lokes*. p. 152, l. 10.

Lakes, in MS. Titus D. xviii., Cott. lib. Brit. Museum with the same meaning.

1230. *Liflade of St. Juliana*, ed. Cockayne, for E.E.T.S., vol. 51, 1872.

sb. Brudlac [= bridelaik], nuptials—

Elewsius *þat* luuede hire þuhte sw[i]ze longe þat ha neren to *brudlac* ȝ to bed ibrohte.	To Eleusius, *þat* loved her, it seemed very long, that she were not to bridal and to bed brought. p. 7.

c. 1250. Story of *Genesis and Exodus* [Norfolk and Suffolk], an Early English Song, ed. R. Morris, for E.E.T.S., 7, 1865.

sb. Loac = gift, present—
And iacob sente fer bi-foren
hi*m* riche *loac*, and sundri boren,
And iordan he dede ouer waden,
Orf & men, wiðˇ welðe laden. l. 1798.

c. 1280. The Lay of HAVELOCK THE DANE [Lincolnshire], ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., ex. ser. 4, 1868.

vb. Layke, leyke, leyken, to play; *Leykeden*, pa. t. pl. played.—
Bigunnen þe[r] for to *layke*:
þider komen bothe stronge and wayke. l. 1011.
Al-so he wolde with hem *leyke*
þat weren for hunger grene and bleike. l. 469.
It ne was non so litel knaue,
For to *leyken*, ne forto plawe. l. 950.
Of him he deden al he[r] wille,
And with him *leykeden* here fille. l. 954.

sb. Leyk, game—
þat he ne kam þider, þe *leyk* to se. l. 1021.
Wrastling with laddes, putting of ston,
Harping and piping, ful god won,
Leyk of mine, of hasard ok,
Romanz reding on þe bok. l. 2326.

In the edition by Sir F. Madden, for the Roxburgh Club, 1828, *th* is used for þ.

Stratmann quotes—*leike* for *leyke*, *leikeden* for *leykeden*, and *leik* for *leyk*.

c. 1300. *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints*, ed. Furnivall, 1862.

sb. lutel lôc (lâc) is gode lêf. VIII. 37.
þreo kinges . . . . lôk him brôȝte. XIX. 128.
(Stratmann.)

1320. (1) *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt*, ed. Sir F. Madden, Lond., 1839.

vb. Layke, to play, to sport:
& þat yow lyst forto *layke*, lef hit me þynkes. l. 1111.
þer *layke*ȝ þis lorde by lynde wodeȝ eueȝ,
& G. þe god mon, i[n] gay bed lygeȝ. l. 1178.
þay laȝed & *layked* longe,
At þe last scho con hy[m] kysse. l. 1554.

sb. Layk, [*laike, lake*] = sport, game:
þe joye of sayn Joneȝ day watȝ gentyle to here,
& watȝ last of þe *layk*, lendes þer þoȝten. l. 1023.

To bed ȝet er þay ȝede,
Recorded couenanteȝ ofte;
þe olde lorde of þat leude,[1]
Couþe wel halde *layk* a-lofte. l. 1125.

c. 1320-30. (2) *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, ed. R. Morris, for E.E.T.S., 4, 1864.

This edition contains all the previous quotations, and the *two* following:

sb. *Laykeȝ* = sports; *laykyng* = sport, playing.—
Preue for to play wyth in oþer pure *laykeȝ*; [*i.e.*,
He seeks the most valiant that he may prove him.]
l. 262

Wel by-commes such craft vpon cristmasse,
Laykyng of enterludeȝ, to laȝe & to syng.
l. 472.

N.B.—Dr. Murray gives the date as *c.* 1325, and Prof. Skeat as *c.* 1360.

14th Cent. (c. 1300, Dr. Murray). *English Metrical Homilies*, ed. Small, 1862.

vb. *Laikid*, 71.

sb. Sinful *laik*, 58. (Stratmann.)

1340-50. *Alexander and Dindimus*, ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. 31, 1878.

sb. *Laik* = play, game—
We ne louen in our land · no *laik* nor no mirthe.
l. 465.

c. 1350. *William of Palerne* (otherwise *William and the Werwolf*), ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. 1; 1867.

vb. *Layke*, to play; (pt. t. *layked*; pt. t. refl. *layked him*; pl. *laykeden*; pr. part. *layking*):

& to hete here þan to *layke* · here likyng þat time.
l. 1021.

& *layked* þere at lyking · al þe long daye.
l. 1026.

(Stratmann has *laiked* in error.)

& *layked him*[2] long while· to lesten þat merþe. l. 31.

& as þei *laykeden* in here laike· þei lokede a-boute.
l. 3110.

so louely lay· þat ladi & ich· *layking* to-gaderes. l. 699.

sb.—*Layk*, *laike* = a "lark," a game, play;—

ak so liked him his *layk* · wiþ þe ladi to pleie.
(Stratmann has *laik* in error.) l. 678.

And see *laike* in line 3110 above.

---

1 lede? 2 amused himself, played about.

c. 1350. *Joseph of Arimathie*, or the *Holy Grail*, ed. Skeat E.E.T.S., 44, 1871.

sb.—*Leyk*, play, game:—

> þus þei ladden þe lyf· and lengede longe,
> þat luyte liked his *leyk* · þer as he lengede.
> (Stratmann has *leik* in error.) l. 1

1352. MINOT, *poems of*; in *Political Poems and Song* relating to Eng. History, vol. i.; ed. T. Wrigh (Rolls' Series), 1859.

sb.—*Laykes*, sports, games:—

> At Hamton, als I understand,
> Come the gaylayes vnto land,
> And ful fast thai slogh and brend,
> Bot noght so mekille als sum men wend.
> For or thai wened war thai mett
> With men that sone thaire *laykes* lett.
>
> Edw. III's Expedition to Brabant, 1339. l. 6

N.B.—(1) In *Specimens of Early English*, Part II., ed. Morris and Skeat þ is used instead of *th*.

(2) Stratm. quotes *laikes* from Ritson's edit. p. 10, (1825.)

c. 1360. *Early English Alliterative Poems* [West Midland] ed. Morris; E.E.T.S., 1, 1864.

vb.—*Layke*, to play:—

> & *layke*ȝ wyth hem as yow lyst & leteȝ my gestes one.
> (Stratm. has *laike*ȝ in error.) B. l. 872

sb.—(1) *Layke*, sport, play, amusement:—

> & alle þe *layke*ȝ þat a lorde aȝt in londe schewe.
> B. l. 122
>
> & if he louyes clene *layk* þat is oure lordc ryche.
> B. l. 1053

(2) *Layke*, device:—

> þat for her lodlych *layke*ȝ alosed þay were. B. l. 274

God is merciful.

> & if we leuen þe *layk* of oure layth synnes,
> & stylle steppen in þe styȝe he styȝtles hym seluen,
> He wyl wende of his wodschip, & his wrath leue,
> & forgif vus þis gult ȝif we hym god leuen. B. l. 401.

c. 1377 (1) W. LANGLAND (or Langley.)—*The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*; ed. W. W. Skeat; Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1874.

vb.—*Laike*, to play, sport:—

> And ȝif him list for to *laike*· þenne loke we mowen,
> And peren in his presence· þer-while hym plaie liketh.
> Prol. l. 172.

c. 1380 (2) W. LANGLAND (or Langley.)—*The Vision and Creed of Piers Ploughman*; ed. T. Wright, 1856.

sb.—*Layk*, play :—

And poverte nys but a petit thyng,
Apereth noght to his navele;
And lovely *layk* was it nevere
Betwene the longe and the shorte. p. 287, l. 9388.

c. 1380. *Sir Ferumbras*, in English Charlemayne Romances, ed. S. J. Herrtage; E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. 34; 1879.

vb. Layky hem.

The French make merry.

For of vitailes þai hadden þo plentee! & burdes briȝe
To ete & drynke & murie bee! & to *layky hem* wan
þay wolde. p. 106, l. 3356.

c. 1400. (1) *Anturs of Arthur*, in Early English Metr. Romances [Lancashire]; ed. Robson (for Camden Soc.), 1842.

sb. Laikes, XLII. 5. (Stratmann.)

c. 1400. (2) *Awntyrs of Arthure*, in Ancient Romance-Poems; ed. Sir F. Madden, 1839.

sb. Laike, strife of battle:—

Lordes and ladies of þat *laike* likes
And þonked God fele sithe for Gawayn̄[1] the gode.
[1] n̄ = ne. XLII. 5.

c. 1400. *Golagros and Gawane*, in Ancient Romance-Poems; ed. Sir F. Madden, 1839.

sb. Lake = strife of battle:—

Thus may ye lippin on the *lake*, throu lair þt I leir.
l. 832.

1415. *The Crowned King;* ed. W. W. Skeat, E.E.T.S., 54, 1873.

sb. Laykes, games :—

The condicion of a kyng·shuld comfort his peple;
For suche *laykes* ben to love·þere leedes laghen alle.
l. 134;

which means—"Those games are most liked in which all the people who join can laugh."

c. 1420. *The Senyn Sages*, in vol. iii. of *Metrical Rowances*; ed. Weber, 1810.

vb.—*Lake* = please :—

(A! how wimmen conne hit make,
Whan thai wil ani man *lake!*)
Tale iv., *Ypocras and his neveu*. l. 1212.

Laiked him = pleased him:—
Thare the erl dwelled at nyght,
And *laiked him* with his lady bright.

Tale xiv., *The Two Dreams*, l 3310.

c. 1420-24. WYNTOUN, *Cronykil of Scotland.*

sb. Laikyng, laykvng, play; applied to *justing*—
—— Ramsay til hym coyn in hy,
And gert hym entre. swne than he
Sayd, "God mot at yhoure *laykyng* be!"
Syne savd he, "Lordis. on qwhat manere
"Will yhe ryn at this justvng here?"
viii. 35, 76.—Quoted in Dr. Jamieson's Scottish Dict., *s.vv. Laikyng, laykyng.*

c. 1440. *Gesta Romanorum*, English version of; ed. S. J. Herrtage, E.E.T.S., ex. ser. 33, 1879.

sb. Lakayns, toys, playthings:—

He putt vp in his bosom þes iij. *lakayns*. p. 123.

I give the paragraph which describes the three *lakayns*—also designated *cautils*:—

. . . . what dude he but yede, and purveyde him of iij. cautils; *scil.* [1] of | an honest Garlonde of Rede Rosys; . . [2] the secounde | cautille of a silkyn gyrdil, sotilly I-made; . . | . . [3] the thirde of a sotyl purse made of silke, | honourid with precious stones, and in this purs was a balle of iij. | colowris, and hit had a superscripcion, þat saide thus, *Qui mecum* | *ludit, nunquam de meo ludo saciabitur*, þis is to seye, he that *pleithe* | with me, shalle neuer have I-nowhe of my pley. he putt vp in his | bosom þes iij. *lakayns*. . . . . And when thes wordes wer borne to þe Emperour, he comaundid his dowter to Rinne with him.

Halliwell quotes from some other edition:—

He putt up in his bosome thes iij. *laykayns*. p. 105.

c. 1440. *Morte Arthure*; ed. from Rob. Thornton's M.S. by G. G. Perry; E.E.T.S., vol. 8, 1865.

sb. Layke, sport, game:—

Arthur promises rewards.

Thay salle noghte lesse, one þis *layke*, ȝif me lyfe happene,
þat þus are lamede for my lufe be þis lythe strandez.

l. 1599.

c. 1440. *Sir Perceval of Galles* [Yorkshire], in Thornton Romances; ed. J. O. Halliwell; Camden Soc. vol. 30, 1844.

sb. Laykes, sports, games, a glossarial note says:—

This term is constantly applied by the romance writers to combats. War was called swerd-layke.

Than his swerde drawes he,
Strykes at Percevelle the fre,
The childe hadd no powsté
His *laykes* to lett ·

The stede was his awnne wille,
Saw the swerde come hym tille
Leppe up over an hille
Fyve stryde mett. l. 1704.

(Stratmann has *laikes.*)

c. 1440. *Promptorium Parvulorum;* ed. Albert Way, for Camden Soc., 1843.

sb. Laykin' or thynge þat chyldryñ' pley wythe. *Ludibile.*

c. 1440. *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse;* ed. from R. Thornton's M.S. by G. G. Perry; E.E.T.S., v. 26, 1867.

sb. Layke, a play, game :—

Bot þare es | many thynges *þat* ere cause of swylke wrechede twynnynge, als | mete, drynke, reste, clay-thynge, *layke*, discorde, thoghte, laboure, | hethynge. p. 38, l. 21.

c. 1450. *Towneley Mysteries* [Yorkshire], in Eng. Miracle
or Plays or Mysteries; ed. W. Marriott, 1838.
c. 1460.

vb. I shalle do a lyttlle, sir, and emang ever *lake*,
For yit lay my soper never on my stomake
In feyldys.
p. 114, l. 4 [*Pastores*].

Now are we at the Monte of Calvarye,
Have done, folows, and let now se
How we can with hym *lake*.
p. 139, l. 32 [*Crucifixio*].

sb. Mak applies the word *lakan* = play-thing to his children—

Bot so
Etys as fast as she can,
And ilk yere that commys to man,
She brynges furthe a *lakan*,
And som yeres two.
p. 117, l. 8 [*Pastores*].

1570. PETER LEVINS, *Manipulus Vocabulorum :* A Rhyming Dictionary of the English Language; ed. H. B. Wheatley, for Camden Soc., vol. xcv., 1867.

vb. to Layke, play, ludere. col. 198, l. 18.

sb. A Láykin, babie, crepundia, orum. col. 134, l. 5.

A Layke, play, ludus, i. col. 198, l. 15.

In Carlisle Cathedral: Behind the choir-stalls of this Cathedral is a series of ancient paintings illustrating the legends of St. Anthony, St. Cuthbert, and St. Augustine. On the first part relating to St. Cuthbert is this inscription:

Her Cuthbert was forbid *layks* and plays,
As S. Bede i' hys story says.

Quoted in the *Almondbury and Huddersfield Glossary*, but no date given.

APPENDIX.

LARK = A FROLIC, SPORT, FUN.

This word forms an appropriate Appendix to *lake* or *laik* = to play, as it is derived from the same source, but has *r* inserted. It is a slang word in modern English. In Southern English, as Professor Skeat observes [*Etym. Eng. Dict. s.v. Lark* (2)], "the *r* simply denotes the lengthening of the vowel, which is like the *a* in father." There is reason to believe that the word is now used throughout England. In most parts of the Midland district the *r* is sounded.

I. AREA OF USAGE.

i. I note in the first place :—

a. Prof. Skeat (1) calls the *sb*. "Southern English." *Etymol. Eng. Dict. s.v.* Knowledge.

(2) calls the *vb*. "Modern South-English." Note in *Holderness Glossary*, E.D.S., *s.v. Lake, vb.*

b. J. K. Robinson, in the *Whitby Glossary*, E.D.S., *s.v. Lake, v.* to play, says—"Cf. A. S. *lácan*, to play, and the *London English, to lark.*"

ii. I now give the counties in which I have information that the word is used.

YORKSHIRE, ALMONDBURY and HUDDERSFIELD:

The E. D. S. Glossary for this district, *s.v.* Lake. *sb.* says—"It is the origin of the word *lark*, which is sometimes also used here."

LANCASHIRE, MANCHESTER:

The *sb.* was current when the writer came to reside here forty-one years ago.

DERBYSHIRE, CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH DISTRICT:

At the time I left here for Manchester, forty-one years ago, *lark* = a frolic, etc., was not used. I learned recently from a native of Peak Forest, seventy-three years of age, who has resided at Chapel-en-le-Frith a number of years, that the word has come into use in the district within the last thirty years.

I have recently ascertained by correspondence that the word is current at the following places: each place, of course, represents the centre of a district. I give the definitions or meanings in the words of the respective correspondents.

DERBYSHIRE, BAKEWELL and ASHFORD:

"We might in conversation *lark* or joke with words; or we might *lark* or joke in play, or in any in- or out-door exercise."

CHESHIRE, EAST or NORTH EAST; BOLLINGTON, three miles N.E. of MACCLESFIELD:

The general meaning of a frolic, sport, fun, from vivâ voce information.

Ditto WEST; TARPORLEY:

"The word *lark* as used here is to play a mischievous trick to any one with no bad intent."

Ditto SOUTH; BICKLEY, three miles E.N.E. of MALPAS:

Mr. Darlington, author of the *Folk-Speech of South Cheshire*, says: "As to *lark*, as used in this district, I should define it as a 'frolicsome prank.' There is a connotation of mild mischief about the word."

SHROPSHIRE, SOUTH; MUCH WENLOCK:

"The meaning of *lark* about here is, a lot going to have a game, or a spree, or amusement."

STAFFORDSHIRE, NORTH; FLASH, seven miles N.N.E. (
LEEK:

"The word *lark* . . . it is very common her
in this district."

Ditto SOUTH; WILLENHALL:

"*Lark* is a very common expression here for fu
though I think it is more particularly meant [for
or applied to, fun which has mischief in it, or fu
at the expense of some one else."

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, WORKSOP:

"*Lark* is commonly used in this neighbourho
for flirting—lark with a girl; a party of m
drinking [or] carousing, are often described
larking; in fact, frolic, fun, joke, game, are
commonly described as *larking;* so is telling
friend a falsehood, and making him believe it [
be] the truth, often described as having a *lark* wi
him."

Ditto MANSFIELD:

"The word *lark* is often used in conjunction wi
people having enjoyed themselves, or participat
in any kind of fun or mischief; [they] wou
say—'What a *lark* we had last night.'"

LEICESTERSHIRE, MARKET BOSWORTH:

"The word *lark* is generally used in this county f
fun or games; and sometimes *larkin'* [larking.

WARWICKSHIRE, SOUTH; TYSOE:

Mrs. Francis, of Tysoe vicarage, author of t
E.D.S. Glossary of S. Warwickshire, says:—"T
word 'lark' is very commonly used here in t
sense you give it, of a joke or a prank;—but
always considered it as only a *slang* word, as
is used by educated and uneducated alike."

HEREFORDSHIRE, THE BACHE, three and a half mil
E.N.E. of LEOMINSTER:

"Respecting the word *lark*, I may say it is ve
frequently used in this county . . . vi
[as] a frolic or joke, sometimes at some on
expense. It is often said of a practical joke
'he has been up to another *lark*,' or 'he has h
another *spree*.' If a person, during a drinking f
commits any slight acts of depredation in fu
they say—'he has been *larking*.'"

OXFORDSHIRE, HANDBOROUGH and DISTRICT, W. and N.W. of OXFORD:

Mrs. Parker, of Oxford, author of the E. D. S Glossary of this part of the county, says:—"The word *lark* is, I believe, *well known* at Handborough and neighbourhood, both as a substantive and verb; but I don't think it is much used amongst the people who speak dialect—*spree* is the usual word. . . . I should think *lark* is known all over the country."

II. ETYMOLOGY.

It is sufficient to cite Prof. Skeat's article on this word from his Etymol. Eng. Dictionary.

LARK (2), a game, sport, fun. (E[nglish]). Spelt *lark* in modern E[nglish], and now a slang term. But the *r* is intrusive, and the word is an old one; it should be *laak* or *lahk*, where *aa* has the sound of *a* in *father*. M[iddle] E[nglish] *lak*. *lok*; also *laik*, which is a Scand. form. See Will. of Palerne, 678; P. Plowman, B. xiv. 243; Ormulum, 1157, 2166; Ancren Riwle, p. 152, note *b*; etc. (Stratmann). — [=derived from] A. S. *lâc*, play, contest, prey, gift, offering; Grein, ii. 148. + [=cognate with] Icel. *leikr*, a game, play, sport. + [=cognate with] Swed. *lek*, sport. + [=cognate with] Dan. *leg*, sport. + [= cognate with] Goth. *laiks*, a sport, dance. β All from a Teut. base, LAIK, to dance, skip for joy, play; cf. Goth. *laikan*, to skip for joy, Luke i. 41, 44, A. S. *lâcan*, Icel. *leika*, to play; Fick iii. 259.

There is one early quotation in which the form *larke* occurs, viz.—1154-89, *Destruction of Troy*, l. 7694. See p. 26, *supra*.

NESH.

This word, with its commonest variant NASH, and scarce variants NAISH and NISH, has a wide area of modern *dialectal* usage. Its use as a *literary* word was continuous both in Early and Middle English.

A.—MODERN DIALECTAL RANGE.

I. FROM GLOSSARIES OR PRINTED BOOKS.

i. A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES in which the Word is found.

No.	Date.	District.	Author.	Orthography.
1 (1)	1674	North Country ..	John Ray, [and E.D.S. Repr. 1874]	Nash or Nesh
2	1749	Country Word ..	N. Bailey (Eng. Dict.)	Neshe
3	1781	North of England.	Rev. J. Hutton [and E.D.S. Repr. 1873]	Nash
4	1790	North and South..	Francis Grose [also Grose & Pegge, 1839]	Nesh or Nash
5	1822	Provincial Word..,	Robt. Nares (Gloss. to Shakspere and his Contemporaries)	Nesh
6	1825 / 1839	North Country ..	J. T. Brockett: Newcastle, 1825, and London, 1839	Nash, nesh, naish
7	1839	North, or Country Word	W. Holloway	Nash, nesh
8	,,	Various parts of England	C. Richardson (Eng. Dict.)	Nesh
9	1863	North	From Morton's Cyclop. of Agriculture; E.D.S., 1880	do.
10 (1)	1874	Ditto	J. O. Halliwell (*Dict. Arch.* and Provincial Words)	do.
11	1879-82	Provincial English	Prof. W. W. Skeat (Etym. Eng. Dict.)	do.
12 (1)	1880	Ditto	T. Wright (Dict. Obsol. and Prov. Engl.)	Nesh, Nesse
13	1868	Yorkshire:— Cleveland.....	Rev. J. C. Atkinson	Nesh

A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES—(*continued*).

No.	Date.	District.	Author.	Orthography.
14	1811	West Riding ..	Dr. Willan, in *Archæologia*, & E.D.S. Repr., 1873	Nash
15	1828	Craven	Rev. W. Carr, 2nd edit.	Nash, Nesh
16	1862	Leeds	C. C. Robinson	Nesh
17	1883	Almondbury and Huddersfield..	Rev. A. Easther, ed. by Rev. T. Lees, E.D.S.	do.
18	1829	Hallamshire (Sheffield Dist.)	Rev. Joseph Hunter	do.
19	1839	Sheffield	Abel Bywater	do.
20	1873	Cumberland	Rob. Ferguson	Nash, Nesh
21	1878	Ditto Central and S.W.	Wm. Dickinson; E.D.S.	Nash, Nashy
		Ditto North	Ditto	Nesh
22	1839	Cumberland and Westmorland	Poems, Songs, and Ballads, with Glossary	Nash
		Lancashire:—		
23	1757 1775	South	J. Collier (Tim Bobbin)	Nesh
24	1865	Ditto	J. A. Picton; Notes on S. Lanc. Dialect	do.
25	1867	Lonsdale	R. B. Peacock, in *Phil. Soc. Trans.*	do.
26	1869	Furness	J. P. Morris.....	do.
27	1875-82	General	J. H. Nodal and G. Milner; E.D.S.	do.
28	1877	Cheshire	Col. Egerton Leigh	do.
29	1884-86	Ditto	Robert Holland; E.D.S.	do.
30	1887	Ditto South ..	Thomas Darlington; E.D.S.	do.
31	1865-66	Derbyshire (Bakewell District)	J. Sleigh, in *Reliquary* for January, 1865	Nesh
32	1879-81	Shropshire	Miss G. F. Jackson..	do.
33	1880	Staffordshire	C. H. Poole.....	do.
34	1881	Leicestershire....	A. B. Evans, D.D., enlarged by his son, S. Evans, LL.D.; E.D.S.	Nesh, Naish, Nash
35	1877	Linoolnshire (Manley and Corringham)	Edward Peacock; E.D.S.	Nesh
36	1851	Northamptonshire	T. Sternberg	Naish, Nash
37	1854	Ditto	Miss A. E. Baker ..	Nesh, Nash
1 (2)	1674	Warwickshire....	John Ray (quotes Somner, 1659)	Nash, or Nesh

A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES—(*continued*).

No.	Date.	District.	Author.	Orthography.
38	1804	Herefordshire	From Duncumb's Herefordsh.; E.D.S. Repr., 1874	Neshe
39	1839	Ditto	G. Cornewall Lewis	Nesh
40	"	Ditto and some adjoining counties	Published by John Murray, London	do.
1 (3)	1674	Worcestershire ..	John Ray (quotes Skinner, 1671)	Nash, or Nesh
41	1882	Ditto West	Mrs. E. L. Chamberlain; E.D.S.	Nesh
42	1884	Ditto Upton-on-Severn	Rev. R. Lawson; E.D.S.	do.
43	1789	Gloucester, Vale of	From Marshall's Rural Economy, E.D.S. Repr. 1873	do.
10 (2)	1874	Suffolk	J. O. Halliwell	do.
12 (2)	1880	Ditto	Thos. Wright	do,
44	1883	Hampshire	Rev. Sir W. H. Cope, Bart.; E.D.S.	Nash, Nesh
45	1825	Wiltshire	From Britton's Beauties of Wiltshire; E.D.S. Repr., 1879	Nash, or Nesh
46	1842	Ditto	J. Yonge Akerman ..	do. do.
12 (3)	1857 / 1880	Ditto	Thomas Wright	Nash
10 (3)	1874	Ditto	J. O. Halliwell	do.
47	1848	Dorsetshire	Rev. Wm. Barnes, 2nd edit.	Nesh
48	1853	West of England ..	G. P. R. Pulman ..	Nish
49	1880	Cornwall, West ..	Miss M. A. Courtney; E.D.S.	Nash
50	1881	Wales, (Radnorshire)	Rev. W. E. T. Morgan; E.D.S.	Nesh

ii. DEFINITIONS OR SENSES.

These include a considerable variety of words, phrases, and sentences. The numbers appended to them refer to the glossaries in the foregoing table in which each such word, phrase, and sentence is found.

Tender, is found in 44 glossaries out of 50; the exceptions are Nos. 14, 18, 19, 22, 31, and 49.

Delicate, 8, 10 (1), 12 (1), 13, 17, 20, 25, 27—29, 31—37, 39—42, 50 = 22 glossaries.

Soft, 5, 6, 8, 10 (1), 11, 12 (1), 13, 15, 25, 26, 27, 47 = 12 gloss.

Weak, 1 (1, 2, 3), 5, 6, 7, 10 (1), 12 (1), 13, 25, 27 = 9 gloss.

Puling, 1 (1, 2, 3).
Nice, 2, 17.
Fragile, 6, 14, 21.
Hungry, 10 (2), 12 (2).
Susceptible to cold, 16.
Washy, 1 (1, 2, 3), 7, 43.
Brittle, 3, 15, 20, 21, 22.
Poor-spirited, 10 (1), 19, 32.
Chilly, 10 (3), 12 (3), 44, 45, 46.
Sensitive to cold, 17.
Easily distressed with cold; much affected by cold; fond of *croodling* over the fire, 18.
Effeminate, 28, 31.
Sensitive, 30.
Unable to withstand physical pain, 29.
Easily susceptible of cold, 31.
Lacking energy, 32.
Susceptible of cold, 33, 41, 49.
Scrupulous (Metaph.) 33.
Dainty, 34, 36, 39, 40.
Susceptible, 34.
Coddling; fearful of cold, 35.
Flimsy, 37.
Pale; debilitated, 49.

iii. QUOTATIONS OR ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES,

from thirteen of the foregoing glossaries, referred to by their respective numbers. In several cases it is also stated to which of the following categories the word is applied: (1) man; (2) beasts; (3) inanimate objects.

16. YORKSHIRE, LEEDS; C. C. Robinson:

Nesh, tender, susceptible; as one is to cold, who declares himself "varry nesh."

18. Ditto HALLAMSHIRE (Sheffield Dist.); Rev. J. Hunter:

Nesh, easily distressed with cold; much affected by it; fond of *croodling* over the fire. This, I believe, is its peculiar signification, and it is now applied solely to man. It bears a near relation to *tender* and *delicate*, but there is a shade of difference which rendered this a genuine Saxon word well worth preserving. A. S. *nesc*. Something of censure is implied in the application of it.

19. Ditto SHEFFIELD; A. Bywater:

To *dee* [die] *nesh*, to give up an enterprize dispirited.

27. LANCASHIRE; Nodal and Milner:

Nesh.—A very expressive adjective (of which the current word "nice," in the sense of "dainty," has only half the force) is *nesh*, meaning weak and tender, not able to bear pain; in Anglo-Saxon, "nesc" [correctly *hnesce*]. [Sir] Thomas Wilson, in his *Art of Rhetoric* [Retorique, 1553], perhaps the earliest writer on any such subject in the language, uses the Lancashire noun, and writes, "To be born of woman declares weakness of spirit, *neshnese* of body, and fickleness of mind."

1854, Rev. W. Gaskell, *Lect. Lanc. Dialect*, p. 20.

Oh, he's too *nesh* for owt; they'n browt him up that way. 1881, *Colloquial Use*.

28. CHESHIRE ; Col. Egerton Leigh :

Nesh, adj.—Tender, delicate, effeminate. Appli
man, woman, child, or beast.

30. CHESHIRE, SOUTH ; T. Darlington :

Nesh [nesh] *adj.* tender, sensitive. I've gotten
'ands [ahy)v got·n nesh aan·z.] Yŭ *nesh* ki
[Yŭ nesh ky'it·lin !]. I do sŭ sweet (sweat)
night, maiz (makes) me *nesh* [ahy dóo sŭ swee
ŭ neyt, mai·z mi nesh].
Plants may, I think, also be spoken of as
(sensitive).

32. SHROPSHIRE ; Miss G. F. Jackson :

(1) *Nesh* [nesh·] *adj.* delicate, tender; said of the he
or physical constitution. Common. (1) 'It wu
likely as a poor little *nesh* child like 'er could
it ŏŏd tak' a strung girld i' that place.' (2) '
lads be off out o' doors, an' nod rook round
fire—yo'n be as *nesh* as a noud ŏŏman.'
(2) *adj.* Poor-spirited ; lacking energy.—V
[North Shrop.] ''Er's a *nesh* piece, 'er dunn
above 'afe a day's work, an' 'er's no use a
under a cow [milking a cow].'

34. LEICESTERSHIRE ; Dr. A. B. Evans, and his Son
Nesh, Naish, Nash, adj. delicate, susceptible, dai
tender: often applied to the constitution of
and beast.
'The meer's [mare's] a *naish* feeder.'

35. LINCOLNSHIRE, MANLEY & CORRINGHAM ; Ed
Peacock :

Nesh, adj. delicate, tender, coddling, fearful
cold. 'She's strange an' *nesh* aboot her
nivver so much as goes to th' ash-hole wi'out
bonnet on.'

37. NORTHAMPTONSHIRE ; Miss A. E. Baker :

Nash, or more commonly *Nesh*. Tender, flir
delicate. A good old word now rarely use
have heard it said of a sickly child, "It's f
is so *nesh*, I don't think it will live."

43. GLOUCESTER, VALE OF ; From Marshall's *R*
Economy :

Nesh, adj. the common term for tender or *w*
as spoken of a cow or horse.

44. HAMPSHIRE ; Rev. Sir W. H. Cope, Bart. :

Nash, Nesh [nash, nesh], *adj.* Tender, chill
Akerman. Said of grass in the New Forest.—V

47. DORSETSHIRE; Rev. Wm. Barnes:

Nēsh. Tender; soft. "This meat is nēsh." "Da veel nēsh."

The *nesh* tops
Of the young hazel,
1788, Crowe's *Lewesdon Hill*, ver. 30.

iv. I now give EXAMPLES OF VERBS from six of the foregoing Glossaries, and of an ADVERB from J. K. Robinson's Whitby Glossary.

10. Halliwell:

Neshin, v. To make tender. *Cheshire.*

12. T. Wright:

Neshin, v. To make tender. *Cheshire.*

28. CHESHIRE; Col. Egerton Leigh:

Neshin, v. To make tender, to coddle.
Prompt. Parv. and Wilbraham.

29. Ditto. R. Holland:

Neshin, v. to make tender. W[ilbraham], who gives it as an old word; it was, therefore, probably obsolete in his day.

30. CHESHIRE, SOUTH; T. Darlington:

Nesh it [nesh it] = [naesh it], *v.n.* to be afraid, shrink from doing anything. "W'en it cum to gettin' up at five o'clock ov a cowd winter's mornin', hoo *nesht it*" [Wen it kùm tŭ gy'et·in ùp ŭt fahyv ŭklok·ŭv ŭ kuwd win·tŭrz mau·rnin, ó̞o nesht (=naesht) it].

34. LEICESTERSHIRE:

The word is also sometimes used as a verb impersonal. 'Shay's a gooin' to be married, an' it een't o' noo use 'er *neshin' it*,' *i.e.* being coy or reluctant.

YORKSHIRE; WHITBY DISTRICT:

Neshly, adv. noiselessly.

II. DIALECTAL RANGE FROM MY OWN RESEARCHES.

1875 TO 1887.

This word is constantly used in the dialects of Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire. It is, therefore, necessary to explain why it has not been recorded oftener during my visits.

In recording the phonology of English dialects, what is primarily required is the dialectal pronunciation of *literary* or *received English* words, in order that the varied forms of pronunciation may be compared for all English counties; hence, purely dialectal words, as *clem*, *nesh*, *oss*, &c., are not available for this general comparison, their area of usage being only parts of the country respectively: consequently, these have not received the same degree of attention as representative received English words, such as *father*, *mother*, *day*, *green*, *house*, *home*, *night*, *noon*, &c., &c.

i. TABLE OF LOCALITIES.

No. of Place.	County.	Town, Village, etc., and Date.	Orthography.
1	Yorkshire	Marsden, April, 1878..	Nesh.
2		Ripponden, do. ..	do.
3		Thorne, 9 miles N.E. of Doncaster, April, 1887	do.
4		Barnsley, April, 1887..	do.
5	Lancashire	Higher Walton (near Walton - le - Dale), May, 1875	do.
6		Warrington, June, 1875	do.
7		Ormskirk, Jan., 1876..	do.
8	Cheshire	Farndon, Dec., 1882 ..	do.
9	Derbyshire	Ashover, Dec., 1876 ..	do.
10		Chesterfield, May, 1883	do.
11		Alfreton, Aug. & Dec., 1883	do.
12		Sandiacre, Dec., 1883..	do.
13		Church Greasley, Dec., 1886	do.
14	Shropshire	Much Wenlock, Sept., 1880	do.
15		Newport, May, 1885 ..	do.
16	Staffordshire	West Bromwich, Oct., 1877	do.
17		Willenhall, Aug., 1879.	Nash.
18		Burton-on-Trent, Sept., 1879	Nesh.
19		Leek, May, 1880.....	do.
20		Middle Hills, N. of Leek, May, 1880	do.
21		Oakamoor, April, 1882.	do.
22		Denstone, ditto	do.
23		Lichfield, May, 1885..	do.
24		Codsall, Dec., 1886 ..	Nash and Nesh.

TABLE OF LOCALITIES—(*continued*).

No. of Place.	County.	Town, Village, etc., and Date.	Orthography.
25	Nottinghamshire ..	Retford, April, 1879 ..	Nesh.
26		Mansfield, June, 1879..	do.
27		Worksop, ditto ..	do.
28		Bingham, Sept., 1879..	do.
29		Bawtry, Aug., 1886 ..	do.
30		Finningley, Aug., 1886.	do.
31	Leicestershire	Loughborough, Aug., 1878	do.
32		Upton, 4 miles S.E. of Market Bosworth, Dec., 1886	do.
33	Lincolnshire	Trent Side, N. of Gainsborough, April, 1887	do.
34	Warwickshire	Nuneaton, Oct., 1880..	do.
35		Knowle, Dec., 1886 ..	Nash.
36	Herefordshire	Much Cowarne, Aug., 1881	Nesh.
37	Worcestershire ..	Abberley, Oct., 1880 ..	Nash.
38		Bewdley, ditto ..	do.
39		Kidderminster, Sept., 1882	do.
40	Gloucestershire ..	Tewkesbury, April, 1885	do.
41		Cranham, 5 miles S.E. of Gloucester, Sept., 1885	Nesh.
42		Stonehouse, Sept., 1885	do.
	Wales:—		
43	Flintshire (detached)	Bettisfield, June, 1882..	do.
44		Hanmer (Arowry), June, 1882	do.
45	Denbighshire ..	Wrexham, Dec., 1882..	do.

NOTE.—The pronunciation of the form *Nesh* is [naesh] at all the respective places, except at No. 14, Much Wenlock, Salop, where I recorded [naesh *or* nesh]. The form *Nash* was pronounced [naash] at all the respective places.

ii. DEFINITIONS OR SENSES.

The numbers appended to them refer to the respective *places* in the foregoing table. The form "Tender, &c." was

recorded at several places; I have analysed this as, "Tender, delicate."

Tender—was recorded at 41 places out of 45; the exceptions are Nos. 9, 11, 28, and 41.
Delicate, 1, 5—8, 14, 16—20, 25—27, 29, 31, 34, 36, 38, 43—45 = 22 places.
Delicate in health, &c., 9.
Sensitive to cold, 10, 11, 24.
Chilly, 28.
Cold, 41.
Susceptible of cold, 42.

iii. ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES.

10. DERBYSHIRE; CHESTERFIELD:

Tha'r so *nesh* [Dhaa)r sŭ naesh] = tender, or sensitive to cold.

24. STAFFORDSHIRE; CODSALL:

Her was *nash* I reckon [Uur wŭz naash au raek·n] = tender, or sensitive to cold.

28. NOTTINGHAMSHIRE; BINGHAM:

I feel *nesh* = chilly.

30. Ditto FINNINGLEY:

When young plants which have grown very quickly are cut down by the frost, they are said to be *nesh*.

35. WARWICKSHIRE; KNOWLE:

How *nash* you are! [Aaw naash yŏŏ :aar!].

38. WORCESTERSHIRE; BEWDLEY:

You be *nash* [Yŏŏ bĕĕ naash].

39. Ditto KIDDERMINSTER:

Some on (of) us be *nash* [Sùm on ŭz b:ee naash].

NOTE.—I recorded the following sentence containing a VERB at FARNDON, CHESHIRE, in Dec., 1882:—

Yo're *neshin'* it [yoa)ŭr naesh·In It] = shrinking from it, giving it up.

B.—ETYMOLOGY, AND EARLY OR LITERARY USAGE.

I. ETYMOLOGY.

The word *Nesh* is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *hnæsce*, *hnesce*, soft; with which the Gothic *hnaskwus*, soft, tender, delicate, is cognate. See Professor Skeat's *Etymol. Engl. Dict. s.v.* NESH; also *s.v.* NESH in *Errata*.

1. ANGLO-SAXON:

Dr. Bosworth's *compend. Ang.-Sax. Dict.*, 1852—

Hnesc (*hnæsc*, *nesc*), erroneously for *Hnesce* (*hnæsce*, *nesce*), Tender, soft, *nesh*.

Anglo-Saxon Gospels, A.D. 995; ed. by Dr. Bosworth and E. Waring, Esq., 1865—

Matt. xi. 8.—"Oððe hwí eode ge út geseon? mann *hnescum* gyrlum gescrýdne? Nú! ða ðe syn *hnescum* gyrlum gescrýdde synt on cyninga húsum;" = "But what went ye out for to see? A man clothed in *soft* raiment? behold, they that wear *soft* clothing are in kings' houses."

Matt. xxiv. 32.—"Ðonne hys twíg byþ *hnesce*;" = "When his (the fig tree's) branch is yet *tender*."

Luke vii. 25.—"ðone man mid *hnescum* reafum gescrýdne?" = "A man clothed in *soft* raiment [*plur.* clothes]."

2. GOTHIC:

Rev. [now Prof.] Skeat's *Mœso-Gothic Glossary*, 1868—

Hnaskwus, *adj.* soft, tender, delicate, Mat. xi. 8; Lu. vii. 25 [O. E. nesh.].

Gothic Gospels, A.D. 360; ed. Bosworth and Waring, 1865—

Matt. xi. 8.—"mannan *hnasqyaim* wastyom gawasidana? Sai! þaiei *hnasqyaim* wasidai sind ïn gardim þiudane sind;" = "A man clothed in *soft* raiment? behold, they that wear *soft* [clothing *understood*] are in kings' houses."

Lu. vii. 25.—"mannan ïn *hnasqyaim* wastyom gawasidana?" = "A man clothed in *soft* raiment?"

II. EARLY OR LITERARY USAGE: BEING (i.) FORMS, AND (ii.) QUOTATIONS, FROM THE 12TH TO THE 17TH CENTURY.

i. FORMS.

The numbers 12 to 17 refer to the centuries respectively.

ADJECTIVE.

12, 14, 15 nesshe; 13 neys; 13—15 nesche, nessche; 13—17 nesh; 14 neische, nesssse; 14—17 nesbe; 15 neisshe.

SUBSTANTIVE.

14 neischede, nesse, nesshede; 15 neisshe; 16 neshenes.

VERB.

Pres. tense.—12 neshen, nesshesst; 14 nasshe, nhesseþ; 15 nesche.

Part. pres.—15 neschyn̄'.

Part. past.—12 nesshedd; 13 nesched.

ADVERB.

13 nessche, nesselyche.

ADVERBIAL PHRASES: these signify—entirely, altogether, on every point, in every way, under all circumstances. See Glossary to *Sir Ferumbras.*

13 nessche and hard; 14 nesch oþer harde, nesche and hard, for nesch or hard, in hard & in nesche, to harde & to nesche, at nessche & hard, at hard & neychs; 15 for hard ne nessche.

ii. QUOTATIONS.

c. 1200. *The Ormulum* [Lincolnshire], in Spec. E. Eng., ed. Morris.

adj.—ȝiff þin herte iss arefull,
ȝ milde, ȝ soffte, ȝ *nesshe.*
Pt. I., p. 55, l. 1461.

v. 2 pres.—þær þurrh þatt tu brekesst wel þin corn,
ȝ grindesst itt ȝ *nesshesst.*
ib. p. 58, l. 1549.

Part. pa.—wiþþ laf þatt iss wiþþ elesæw
all smeredd wel ȝ *nesshedd.*
ib. p. 55, l. 1471.

Ditto ed. R. M. White, 1852.

vb.—Neshen.
l. 15909 (Stratmann).

c. 1210. *The Wohunge of ure Lauerd*, in Spec. E. Eng., ed. Morris.

adj.—for thenne iþi burð tid in al þe burh of
belleem ne fant tu hus lewe þer þine *nesche*
childes limes inne mihte reste.
Pt. I. p. 124, l. 5.

c. 1225. *Owl and Nightingale* [? Dorsetshire], ed. Stratmann, 1868.

adj.—*Nesche* and softe. l. 1546.

c. 1270. *Old English Miscellany*, E.E.T.S., vol. 49. In Glossary—*Nessche*, *adv.* softly.

Then Paul saw men and women with much meat lying before them, which they were not able to eat.

Aftur þis . he sayȝ at ene
Men . and . wy*m*men, moni and lene;
Lene þei weore., wiþ-outen flesche,
Þei soffred harde . and noþing *nessche;*
Much lay bi-foren hem . of Mete
Þat hem deynet not . of to ete.
Append. II., The XI. Pains of Hell, p. 227, l. 166.

c. 1280. The *Lay* of HAVELOK THE DANE [Lincolnshire], ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. 4, 1868.

adj.—Godrich rises, and wounds Havelok in the shoulder:
And woundede hi*m* rith i*n* þe flesh,
Þat tendre was, and swiþe *nesh*.
p. 79, l. 2743.

c. 1298. ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER'S *Chronicle*, ed. T. Hearne, 2 vols., Oxford, 1724; (and repr. 1810).

adv.—*Nesselyche*, nicely.—
(Index—Mold the good Queen, K. Henry the first's wife, . . . daughter of Malcolm King of Scotland):
Þo caste þys gode Mold ýre mantel of anon,
And gurde aboute ýre mýddel a naýre lýnne ssete,
And wess þe mýsseles vet echone, ar heo lete,
And wýpede ýs *nesselyche*, & custe ýs wel suete.
p. 435, l. 9.

bef. 1300. *Anglo-Saxon and Early English Psalter* [Northumberland], ed. Stevenson, 1843.

Past. part.—*Nesched.* 54, 22 (Stratmann).

c. 1300. *English Metrical Homilies*, ed. Small. 1862.

adj.—Fleys es brokel als wax and *neys*.
p. 154; quoted in Cath. Anglicum.

c. 1300. *King Alisaunder* in Metrical Romances, ed. Weber, 3 vols., Edinb. 1810.

adv. phr.—Names of planetis they beon [1]y-note,
Some beon cold, and some beon hote,
By heom mon hath theo [2]sayging on
To lond, to water, to wyn, to corn;
And alle chaunce, *nessche and hard*,
Knoweth by heom [3]wol Y [4]gred. B 1, l. 63.

[1]Noted, called. [2]Signs, *i.e.* predictions. [3]Well. [4]Declare.

adj.—Theo sunne ariseth, and fallith the dewyng;
Theo *nessche* clay hit makith clyng. B 1, l. 915.

c. 1320. *Arthur and Merlin*, Edinb. 1838.

sb. Nesse = good fortune—
In *nesse*, in hard, y pray the nowe,
In al stedes thou him avowe. p. 110 (Halliwell).

1325. *Early English Allit. Poems* [West Midland], ed. Morris, E.E.T.S., vol. I.

adv. phr.—Nesch oþer harde—
Queþer-so-euer he dele *nesch* oþer harde,
He lauez hys gystez[1] as water of dyche.
[1]gyttes (?). The Pearl, l. 605.

c. 1330. Will. de Shoreham, *Religious Poems* [Kent], ed. Wright, 1849.

adj.—Nesche. 146 (Stratmann).

1330. Robert de Brunne, *Chronicle.*

adv. phr.—Thorge mountayn and more, the Bascles ge ther weie
Our *nesche and hard* thei fore and did the Walsch men deie.
Quoted in Carr's Craven Glossary, 2nd edit. 1228.

A letter this fol toke; bad him, *for nesch or hard*,
Thereon suld no man loke, but only Sir Edward.
p. 220; quoted in Miss Baker's Northants Glossary.

1340. Dan Michel of Northgate, *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, or, *Remorse of Conscience* [Kent], ed. R. Morris, E.E.T.S., vol. 23, 1866.

v. pres.—Nhesseþ = makes soft—
þerne gardyn zette þe greate gardyner | þet is god þe uader | huanne he *nhesseþ* þe herte | and makeþ zuete | and tretable | ase wex ymered. p. 94.

adj.—Nesssse = soft—
Riȝhuolnesse is propre liche | þet me deþ be dome riȝtuol and trewe | ne to *nesssse* ne to hard. p. 153.

sb.—Nesshede = delicacy, softness—
and of alle zofthede | and *nesshede* | cloþinge habbeþ an. p. 267.

c. 1340. R. Rolle de Hampole, *Prick of Conscience* [Yorkshire], ed. R. Morris, 1863.

adj.—þe saule es mare tender and *nesshe*
þan es þe body with þe flesshe.
l. 3110; quoted in Catholicon Anglicum.

c. 1350. *William of Palerne* (otherwise *William and the Werwolf*), ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. vol. 1, 1867.

adv. phr.—nis he holly at my hest · *in hard & in nesche ?* l. 495

I wol here-after witerly[1] · wiþ-oute more striue,
wirche holly mi hertes wille · *to harde & to nesche.*
[1]plainly, certainly, &c. l. 534.

1366. SIR JOHN MAUNDEVILE, *Voiage and Travaile* [Midland], ed. from edit. of 1725, by J. O. Halliwell, 1839.

adj.—*Nesche* is quoted by Stratmann, from p. 303; but this should probably be *nessche*, as quoted in *Prompt. Parv.* from some edition, p. 368—

And the hard erthe and the rocke abyden mountaynes, whan the soft erthe, and tendre, wax *nessche* throghe the water, and felle, and becamen valeyes.

? 1370. *Castle off Loue*, ed. R. F. Weymouth, for Philol. Soc.

adj.—*Nesh.* l. 1092 (Stratmann).

c. 1380. *Sir Ferumbras*, in English Charlemagne Romances, ed. S. J. Herrtage, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. 34, 1879.

adv. phr.—alle þanne assentede *at nessche & hard.* l. 3500.

By þat were Saraȝyns stoȝen[1] vp all frechs[2], And were come inward *at hard & neychs.*
[1]climbed. [2]fresh, new, l. 5188.

c. 1382—1388. WYCLIF, *The Holy Bible in the Earliest English Versions*, ed. Rev. J. Forshall and Sir F. Madden, 4 vols., Oxford, 1850 (with a Glossary).

Glossary.—*neische, neshe, nesshe, adj.* soft, delicate.
E = Earlier Version. L = Later Version.
E.—*Neshe* wax and liȝt, &c. L.—*Neische* wax, &c.
Prefatory Epistles, cap. iii., p. 63.

L.—God hath maad *neische* myn herte. Job. xxiii. 16.

E.—A *nesshe* answere breketh wrathe. Prov. xv. 1.

1387. JOHN OF TREVISA, tr. of *Higden's Polychronicon* (Rolls Series).

adj.—Describes Ireland as—"*nesche*, reyny, and wyndy" [mollis, pluviosa, ventosa].
l. 333; quoted in *Cath. Ang.*

sb.—Also quoted without reference *ibid.*—"Mars schal take algate þe *neischede* and þe softnes of saturne."

Way in *Prompt. Parv.* quotes from TREVISA'S *Version o Vegecius*, Roy. MS. 8 A. xii.:—

v.—*nasshe* = to make effeminate—"*nasshe* the hartes of warriours to lustes, thenne hardenne theim to fighte."

1393. GOWER'S *Confessio Amantis.*

adj.—He was to *nesshe*, and she to harde.
Bk. v.; quoted in Miss Baker's Northants Glossary.

15th cent. *Court of Love;* a late poem (not by Chaucer) first printed with Chaucer's works, 1561 (compiled by Jhon Lidgate).

adj.—It semeth for loue his harte is tender *nesshe*.
Fol. ccccliiij., col. 1.

In the *Aldine edit.* of Chaucer's works, 6 vols. 8vo., London, W. Pickering, 1845, the line reads—

It seemeth for love his herte is tender and *neshe*.
vol. vi., p. 165, l. 1092.

15th cent. *Latin and English Vocab.*, No. xv. Wright's Vocabs., 2nd edit., 1874.

adj.—Mollis, an^ce *neshe*. col. 596, l. 29.

Tener, [an^ce tendere or *neshe*]. col. 615, l. 40.

c. 1420. *The Seuyn Sages*, in *Metrical Romances;* ed. Weber, 1810.

adj.—The child was keped tendre, and *nessche* [= soft].
vol. iii., ver. 732.

1440. *Promptorium Parvulorum*, ed. Albert Way, Camd. Soc., 1843, 1853, and 1865.

Neschyn' or make *nesche*.[4] Mollifico.

[4]Molliculus, *neisshe*, or softe. Mollicia, softenesse, or *neisshe*. Molleo, to be *nesshe*.

c. 1440. *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse*, ed. from R. Thornton's MS. by G. G. Perry, E.E.T.S., v. 26, 1867.

Neuche, *vb.* to melt, soften, grow soft:—

Now es na herte sa̅ herde þat it na moghte *nesche* and lufe swylke a Godd with all his myghte. p. 31.

c. 1450 or c. 1460. *Towneley Mysteries* [Yorkshire], in Eng. Miracle Plays or Mysteries, ed. W. Marriott, 1838.

adj.—*Nesh.* (? p.) 128 (Stratmann).

There is a quotation in the Almondbury and Huddersfield Glossary containing the word in the same spelling.

1463–83. *Queene Elizabethes Achademy* (by Sir Humphrey Gilbert), E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. 8.

adv. phr.—For-gete not þe towell, noþer for *hard ne nessche.*
Section or Tract ix., l. 241.

Ante
1500. *The Babees Book:* Manners and Meals in Olden Time, E.E.T.S., vol. 32.

White herrings fresh—

adj.—looke he be white by þe boon̄ | þe [1]rough*e* white & [2]*nesch*e. p. 161, l. 644.

[1]roe. [2]tender.

After a bath—

þen lett hym̄ go to bed | but looke it be soote & [1]*nesch*e.
[1]soft. p. 183, l. 986.

1553. SIR THOMAS WILSON, *Art of Retorique.*

sb.—To be born of woman declares weakness of spirit, *neshenes* of body, and fickleness of mind.
Rev. W. Gaskell, *Lect. Lanc. Dialect,* April, 1854, p. 20.

1585. *Choise of Change,* in *Cens. Lit.* ix.

adj.—Of cheese,—he saith it is too hard; he saith it is too *nesh.*
(? p.) 436; quoted by Nares; and T. Wright, *Dict. Obs. and Prov. English.*

1597. J. BOSSEWELL, *Works of Armorie;* London, printed by Henrie Ballard dwelling without Templebarre the signe of the Beare.

adj.—And although a droppe [of water] be most *neshe,* yet by oft falling it pierceth that thing, that is right hard.
The Armorie of Honor, B. 2, fol. 89/1.

1606–16. BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER, *Works.*

adj.— . . . , This but sweats thee
Like a *nesh* nag.

Bonduca; quoted in Miss Baker's Northants Glossary, without further reference.

Ante
1649. Bp. Percy's *Folio MS.*, vol. i., p. 141, ed. Hales and Furnivall.

adj.—"God save the Queene of England," he said,
"for her blood is verry *neshe*,
as neere vnto her I am
as a colloppe shorne from the flesh."
King James and Browne, l. 119; quoted by Miss Jackson, Shropshire Word-book.

OSS OR AWSE.

This word, in English, seems to be almost wholly confined to modern dialectal speech. Like *clem*, it has a wide range or area of usage.

A.—MODERN DIALECTAL RANGE.

I. FROM GLOSSARIES OR PRINTED BOOKS.

i. A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES

in which the verb and its derivatives are found.

No.	District.	Author and Date.	Words and Parts of Speech.
1	Various dialects ..	T. Wright, 1857	Ause and oss, *v.*
2	North of England.	Rev. J. Hutton, 1781..	Oss, *v.*
3	North Country ..	John Ray, 1674	Osse, *v.*
4	Ditto ..	Grose and Pegge, 1839.	Oss, *v.*
	Yorkshire:—		
5	Craven	Rev. W. Carr, 1828 ..	Osse, *v.*
6	Leeds	C. C. Robinson, 1862..	Oss, *v.*
7	Almondbury and Huddersfield..	Rev. A. Easther, ed. by Rev. T. Lees, 1883	do. *v.*
8	Hallamshire (Sheffield Dist.)	Rev. Joseph Hunter, 1829	do. *v.*
9	Cumberland and Westmorland	Poems, Songs, and Ballads, 1839	do. *v.*
10	Cumberland	Robert Ferguson, 1873	do. *v.*
11	Lancashire	Rev. R. Garnett, *Philol. Essays*, p. 166, 1859..	do. *v.*
12	Ditto	Nodal and Milner, 1875	Awse and Oss, *v.*
13	Ditto (Lonsdale)	R. B. Peacock, in *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1867	Oss, *v.*
14	Ditto (South) ..	J. Collier, 6th ed., 1757.	do. *v.*; Ossing, *part.*
15	Ditto (do.) ..	Sam. Bamford, 1854 ..	Awse, *v.*; Awsin, *part.*
16	Ditto (do.) ..	J. A. Picton: *Notes on S. Lanc. Dialect*, 1865	do. or Oss, *v.*
17	Cheshire	N. Bailey, 1749	Osse, *v.*
18	Ditto	John Ash (quotes Bailey), 1775	do. *v.*
19	Ditto	R. Wilbraham, 2nd ed., 1826	Oss or Osse, *v.*
20	Ditto	Holloway (quotes Bailey), 1839	do. Osse, *v.*

A TABLE OR LIST OF THE GLOSSARIES—(*continued*).

No.	District.	Author and Date.	Words and Parts of Speech.
21	Cheshire	T. Wright, 1857	Ossing, *verbal n.*
22	Ditto	H. Wedgwood, 1872 ..	Oss, *v.*
23	Ditto	J. O. Halliwell, ed. 1874	do. *v.*
24	Ditto	Col. Egerton Leigh, 1877	do. *v.*
25	Ditto	Robert Holland, 1886..	do. *v.*
	Derbyshire:—		
26	High Peak Dist.	The Writer (T. Hallam), *in MS.*	do. *v.*
27	Bakewell Dist...	J. Sleigh, in *Reliquary* for January, 1865	"oss *vel* hoss" [*h* is not used]
28	Shropshire	T. Wright, 1857	Oss, *v.*
29	Ditto	Hereford. and Shrop. Provincialisms in *Wellington Journal*, Feb. 5, 1876	do. *v.*
30	Ditto	Miss G. F. Jackson, 1881	Ause and Oss, *v.*; Ossment, *sb.*
31	Staffordshire	C. H. Poole, 1880	Oss, *v.*
32	Leicestershire	T. Wright, 1857	Aust, ost, *v.*
33	Ditto	A. B. Evans, D.D., and his son S. Evans, LL.D., 1881	do. *v.*
34	Northamptonshire	T. Sternberg, 1851	Ost, *v.*
35	Warwickshire	T. Wright, 1857	Aust, *v.*
36	Worcestershire ..	Mrs. E. L. Chamberlain, 1882	Oss, *v.*
37	Herefordshire	G. Cornewall Lewis, 1839	To oss at, *v.*
38	Ditto	Hereford. and Shrop. Provincialisms in *Wellington Journal*, Feb. 5, 1876	Oss, *v.*
39	Radnorshire	Rev. W. E. T. Morgan, 1881	do. *v.*

ii. DEFINITIONS OR SENSES, AND ILLUSTRATIVE SENTENCES.

I give these in nine sub-divisions. A considerable variety of words, phrases, and sentences is used in these definitions. The numbers appended to definitions, or prefixed to illustrative sentences, refer to the glossaries in the foregoing table in which each such definition and sentence is found.

a. To try, 1, 4, 9, 10, 13, 16, 25, 26; to attempt, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39; to endeavour, 4; to essay, 9, 10;

to aim at, 3, 17, 20, 22; to offer, 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 23, 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 38; to offer to do, 3, 17, 18, 20, 22; to offer to do a thing, 25; to set about, 25; to set about anything, 9, 13, 19, 23; to set about a thing, 10; to set about doing, 37; to be setting out, 19, 23; to show a sign of doing, 37, applied to inanimate as well as animate objects.

5. "I'll neer *osse* to doot;" *i.e.* I will never attempt it.

6. "He nivver *osses* to du owt 'at *I* sehr him tul—nivver."

7. "Au sall ne'er *oss*" = I shall never attempt.

On the occasion when Sir John Ramsden came of age, he gave several public dinners, and on passing between Longley Hall and Huddersfield, he encountered some mill hands, lads and lasses. A lad taps a lass on the shoulder, and she says, 'Drop it, lad, Au want none o thi bother.' The lad, 'Au'm noan baan to mell on thee.' 'Well, but tha were *ossin*.' Sir John was much exercised with this, and took it up at the dinner, where he found plenty of his guests able to restore the dialogue to its beauty, and explain its meaning.

8. "He *ossed* but failed."

12. (1) *s.v.* Awse:—

A mon 'at plays a fiddle weel,
Should never *awse* to dee.

Waugh, *Lanc. Songs*: *Eawr Folk*, 1859.

Come, owd dog, *awse* to shap.

ib. *Besom Ben*, c. iv. p. 42; 1865.

See also *Sense f*.

Aw shakert un' waytud till ten,
Bu' Meary ne'er *awst* to com eawt.

Harland's *Lancashire Lyrics*, p. 187.

(2) *s.v.* Oss:—

His scrunt wig fell off, on when he *os* t'don it, on unlucky karron gan it o poo.

Collier, *Works*, p. 52; 1750.

I'r ot heawse in o crack, on leet o' th' owd mon i' th' fowd, *ossin* t' get o' tit-back.

ibid, p. 57; 1750.

See also *Sense b*.

They'd gether reawnd some choilt wi'mayt,
An' every bit it *ost* to tak
Their little meawths ud oppen too.

Ramsbottom, *Lanc. Rhymes*, p. 67; 1864.

13. "He nivver *osses*" = He never makes the attempt.

16. "Theaw doesn't *oss* furt' do it."

24. "It *osses* to rain." "A covey *ossing* for the turmits," means a covey making for the turnips.

25. "He's owed me ten pound for ever so long, and he ne'er *osses* pay me."

26. Tha dusna *oss* t' do it = try [Dhaa dùz·nu' oss t' dóo it.]

27. "He none *osses* at it."

30. 'Er'll never *oss* to pŭt anythin' in its place as lung as 'er can get through 'em.

36. 'E *ossed* to jump the bruck, but 'e couldna do't; t'warn't likely! Seldom used but when the attempt is unsuccessful.

b. To be about to do, *i.e.*, immediately.

12. I'r ot heawse in o crack, on leet o' th' owd mon i' th' fowd, *ossin'* t' get o' tit-back.

Collier, *Works*, p. 52; 1750.

25. The following conversation actually took place in Rainow Sunday-school:—"*Teacher:* 'Why did Noah go into the ark?' *Scholar:* 'Please, teacher, because God was *ossin* for t' drown th' world.'"

26. Aw'm *ossin* t' goo t' Buxton [Au)m *os·si'n* t) gù t) Bùk·stu'n] = I'm about to go to Buxton immediately.

Aw'm *ossin* t'ate my dinner [Au)m *os·si'n* t')ai·t mi' din·u'r] = I'm about to eat my dinner at once.

c. The manner of "shaping" or "framing" at anything: either—(1), at a particular act or job of work; or (2), at the duties of a new situation or calling.

24. He *osses* well; said of a new servant who promises fairly.

25. "He *osses* badly" would be said of a man who began a job in a clumsy manner.

26. 'Ow does 'e *oss* at it? [Aaw dùz i' oss aat i't?]. 'Ow does th' new sarvant mon *oss?* [Aaw dùs th) ni'w saar·vu'nt m:aun oss?].

28. A new servant is said to *oss* (promise) well.

30. *vb.* I think the chap knows his work, he *osses* pretty well.

sb. I doubt 'e'll never do no good—I dunna like 'is *ossment*.

d. To design, 2; to intend, 2; to intend to do, 3, 17, 20, 22.

e. To dare, 3, 32, 33, 35, 37; to venture, 11.

37. He does not *oss* [= dare] to do it.

f. To begin, 1, 13, 14, 19, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 38—in this sense, I think, the word is generally in the imperative; to begin to do, 37.

12. Come, owd dog, *awse* to shap.
Waugh, *Besom Ben*, c. iv. p. 42; 1865.

26. Now, *oss!* [Naaw, oss].

27. *Oss* at it, mon, *i.e.* begin.

g. To make free with:—3, 5, 21, 23, 24, 30, have the Cheshire proverb, "*Ossing* comes to bossing;" 3, 5, 23, and 30, simply quote the words without comment; 21, T. Wright, has under *oss* (2)—"To make free with. There is a Cheshire proverb, *ossing* comes to bossing (*i.e.*, kissing)." 24, Colonel Egerton Leigh, has—"'*Ossing* comes to bossing;' an old Cheshire proverb, means courting is soon followed by kissing."

h. To recommend a person to assist you, 19, 23.

i. To direct. See note below.

NOTE.—Mr. T. Darlington, in his *Folk-Speech of South Cheshire*, now passing through the press, has senses *a*, *c*, and *i*:—

Oss [os·] *v.n.* and *a*:

a = To attempt: "Ah never *ost* (ossed) at it" [Ah nev·ŭr ost aat· it].

c = To shape: "Ye dunna *oss* to do it" = You don't shape. This is not exactly the same as "to attempt," though a shade of the same meaning.

i = To direct: "Ah'll *oss* yŏ to a good heifer" [Ah)l os· yŭ tŭ ŭ gùd ef·ŭr].

II. DIALECTAL RANGE FROM MY OWN RESEARCHES, 1877 TO 1883.

This word is constantly used in the dialects of Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire. See the first two paragraphs in NESH *A*. II. pp. 43, 44, DIALECTAL RANGE FROM MY OWN RESEARCHES.

N.B.—The letters *a*, *b*, *c*, &c., prefixed to the meanings, or illustrative sentences, refer to the respective Senses before given, in I. ii.

YORKSHIRE: MARSDEN, April, 1878:

a. *Oss* [oss], to try.

LANCASHIRE: GOOSNARGH, June, 1883:

a. Now, John, *oss* likely [Naaw, J:aun, *oss* lahy·kli'] = apply yourself to the task in a workmanlike manner.

Ditto ECCLES, June, 1883:

b. Eh, Mary, w'ereta for? O'm *ossin'* t' goo t' Eccles = [Ai·, Mae·ri', weertu' f:aur? O)m *ossi'n* t)goo t) Ek·lz].

CHESHIRE: FARNDON, Dec., 1882:

a. Yō dunna *oss* t'go at it [yoa dùn·u' *oss* t) goa aat·) i't].

DERBYSHIRE: ASHFORD, April, 1875:

c. 'Ae dun they *oss?* [Ae· dùn dhai *oss*] = How do they *shape?*
'Ae dus that chap *oss* at 'is work [Ae· dùz dhaat chaap *oss* u't i'z wuurk?] *i.e.* frame to work skilfully or unskilfully.

Ditto DORE, March, 1883:

a. Aw sh'l ne'er *oss* [au shl n:ee·ŭr *oss*].

Ditto CHESTERFIELD, May, 1883:

a. Tha doesn't *oss* to do it [Dhaa dùznt *oss* tu' dóo i't].

Ditto SPITE WINTER, in ASHOVER parish, May, 1883:

a. *Oss* [oss] = to try.

Ditto ASHOVER, May, 1883:

a. or *c.* 'Aa tha *osses!* [Aa dhaa oss·u'z!] = How thou *osses!*

Ditto ALFRETON, Dec., 1883:

a. or *c.* *Oss* as yu mean to do it [*Oss* u'z yu' mee·n tu' dóo i't].

SHROPSHIRE, WELLINGTON, Dec., 1881:

a. *Oss* [oss], to try.
Yŭ wunna *oss* to do it [yu' wùn·u' *oss* tu' dŏŏ i't.].

Ditto UPTON MAGNA, Jan., 1882:

a. *Oss* [oss], to try.
b. To recommend a person to a place—I *ossed* 'er to a place [Uy ost u'r tŏŏ u' pl:ai·ss].

Ditto MUCH WENLOCK, Sept., 1880:

a. *Oss* [oss], to try.

STAFFORDSHIRE: MIDDLE HILLS, north of LEEK, May 1880:

a. *Oss* [oss] = to try.

STAFFORDSHIRE: FROGHALL, Oct., 1877:

a. *Oss* [oss] = to try.

Ditto OAKAMOOR, April, 1882:

a. *Oss* [oss] = to try.

Ditto LONGPORT, Oct., 1877:

a. Tha doesner *oss* for do it [Dhaa dùz·nu'r *oss* fu'r dóo [*or* di'ðð] i't].

WORCESTERSHIRE: BEWDLEY, Oct., 1880:

a. You dunna *oss* to do it [yoo dùn·u' *oss* tu' doo i't].

Ditto TENBURY, Oct., 1880:

a. *Oss* [oss] = to try.
Oss for bed [*oss* fu'r b:aed] = set about going to bed.

FLINTSHIRE (detached): BETTISFIELD, June, 1882:

a. Yo dunna *oss* to do it [yoa dùn·u' oss tu' dóo it.]

Ditto HANMER, Aug., 1882:

h. I *ossed* (or *osst*) 'im to that place [Uy *ost* i'm tu' dhaat plai·ss], *i.e.* *recommended* him to it.

B.—ETYMOLOGY.

i. Some years ago it was thought by various writers that *oss* or *awse* was derived from the Welsh *osio*, to offer to do, to essay.

1. Rev. (now Prof.) Skeat, in Ray's *North Country Words*, E.D.S. Repr. Gloss. 1874. Note added in brackets s.v. *osse*—"Welsh *osio*, to offer to do, to essay, to dare."

2. Rev. Richard Garnett's *Philological Essays*, collected and reprinted 1859, p. 166—"[From] Welsh *osi*, to attempt, venture; - - - - - - *oss*, Lancash."

3. R. B. Peacock's *Lancash.* [*Lonsdale*] *Glossary*, Philol. Soc. Trans. Suppt., 1867—"*oss*, v.i. and t., to try, begin, attempt, or set about anything. W[elsh] *osi*, to offer to do, to attempt."

4. J. A. [now Sir J. A.] Picton's *Notes on the South Lancashire Dialect*, 1865, p. 10: "*Awse*, or *oss*, to try, to attempt. W[elsh] *osi*"

ii. It is now, however, considered as undoubted by various eminent philologists that Welsh *osio* was derived from English *oss*, instead of vice versâ.

1. The following paragraph was courteously written for this article by Professor Skeat, June 15, 1887:—"I have now no doubt that W. *osio* was merely borrowed from Middle-English, and that the Middle-English word was merely borrowed from the French *oser*, to dare, which occurs as early as the eleventh century in the Chanson de Roland, l. 1782. This French *oser* (like the Span. *osar*, Ital. *osare*) corresponds to a theoretical Low Latin verb *ausare*, regularly formed from the stem *aus-* which appears in *ausus*, pp. of Lat. *audere*, to dare. This explanation is given by Littré and Scheler, and universally accepted by French philologists. It is highly important to observe that Old French not only possessed the verb *oser*, but the adjective *os*, signifying 'audacious,' which is nothing but a French spelling of the Latin *ausus*. This adjective *os* also occurs in the Chanson de Roland, l. 2292. We can thus formally establish a connection with the English word; for this very same adjective *os* occurs in Anglo-French also, with the same sense of 'audacious,' in the Life of Edward the Confessor, ed. Luard, l. 4199, a poem of the twelfth century. We thus learn that the word was already known in England in the twelfth century, and we cannot doubt that it was borrowed by English from this Anglo-French source. I believe that numerous words of this sort drifted into Welsh chiefly in the fourteenth century, subsequently to the conquest of Wales by Edward I."

2. I also insert a short paragraph kindly written by Prof. Rhys, of Oxford, August 9, 1887:—"It [Welsh *osio*] may be derived so far as phonology goes either from French or from English, but not from Latin. I formerly thought it must be from French, but that was because, probably, I was not aware that it existed as an English word. I should now presume it was from English; in any case there is no Welsh word to explain it, as I cannot regard Welsh *os* 'if' as offering any explanation of the meaning."

NOTE.—My original article on this word was printed in the *Manchester City News*, December 31, 1881; the space occupied being about *three-eighths* that of the present article. Early in January, 1882, I sent copies to a number of members of the English Dialect Society, and likewise to other correspondents; and, in response, received about twenty-seven courteous and appreciative acknowledgments.

3. One of these was from Dr. J. A. H. Murray. dated January 11, 1882,* in which he stated that the evidence, so far as known to him, tends to show that Welsh *osio* was adopted from English *oss*, and not vice versâ.

4. I conclude by quoting part of Hensleigh Wedgwood's paragraph from his *Dict. of English Etymology*, 2nd edit., 1872:—To Oss. To offer to do, to aim at, to intend to do. B[ailey], Fr[ench] *oser*, to dare, adventure, be so bold as to do a thing; Prov[ençal] *ausar*, It[alian] *ausare*, *osare*. Venet[ian] *ossare*, from Lat. *audere*, *ausum*, to dare. The difficulty in this derivation is that *oss* belongs so completely to the popular part of the language that it is very unlikely to have had a Fr. derivation. W[elsh] *osio*, to offer to do, is undoubtedly the same word, but we are unable to say whether it is borrowed from E. *oss* or vice versâ.

C.—EARLY OR LITERARY USAGE.

i. I have only been able to obtain *five* Early English quotations containing forms of *oss*, viz.: three *verbal forms* and two *substantives*, which are given below. I came across the *first* in Early Eng. Allit. Poems some time ago; and the *third*—"Quat and has thou *ossed*, &c."—was quoted in the Glossary to this volume, *s.v. Ossed;* but as from "King Alexander" instead of "Alexander" simply.

Prof. Skeat has recently edited this latter work for the E.E.T.S., and has called it the "Wars of Alexander," to distinguish it from *three* other Poems ALL called "Alexander." He obligingly sent me the *four* quotations from this, with his annotations, August 3, 1887; and added—

> "*Oss* [in these quotations] means to offer, proffer, put forward, &c.; and secondarily, to show, to prophesy. It's all one in spite of great change in sense."

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* This letter has unfortunately got mislaid or lost.

ii. QUOTATIONS.

1325. *Early English Allit. Poems* [West Midland], ed. Morris, E.E.T.S., vol. 1.

v. past. t.—*Ossed* = showed—

Jonah—

All this mischief is caused by me, therefore cast me overboard.

'Alle þis meschef for me is made at þys tyme,
For I haf greued my god & gulty am fouⁿden;
Forþy bereȝ me to þe borde, and baþeþes[1] me þer-oute,
Er gete ȝe no happe, I hope for soþe.'

He proves to them that he was guilty.

He *ossed* hym by vnnynges þat þay vnder-nomen,
þat he watȝ flawen fro þe face of frelych dryȝtyn.
l. 213.

[1] baþe.

c 1400. *Wars of Alexander*, ed. Skeat, E.E.T.S., Extra Series, No. 47, 1886.

Alexander consults the oracle of Apollo, who returns an answer; after which we read—

(1) *vb.*—line 2263:

"Thus answars thaim thaire ald gode, and *osses* on this wyse;"

Where the word *osses* seems to mean shows or prophesies.

(2) *vb.*—l. 2307:

"Quat, and has thou *ossed* to Alexander this ayndain wirdes?"

i.e. What, and hast thou shown to Alexander these favourable (?) destinies?

(3) *sb.*—l. 868:

"I did bot my deuire to drepe him, me thinke,
For it awe him noght sa openly slike *ossing* to make;"

i.e. I only did my duty to kill him, methinks,
For he ought not so openly to make such an attempt.

(4) *sb.*—l. 732:

"Vnbehalde the wele on ilk halfe, and have a gud eȝe,
Les on thine ane here-efterward thine *ossingis* liȝt;"

i.e. Look round thee well on every side, and take good care,
Lest on thyself alone, hereafter, thy prophecies (or thy attempts) alight.

ADDENDA.

DIALECTAL RANGE FROM MY OWN RESEARCHES, 1887.

CLEM.

YORKSHIRE, BARNSLEY, April, 1887:

Clammed to deeäth [klaam:d tu' d:eeŭtl].

Ditto KEIGHLEY, May, 1887:

Clam to deeäth [tlaam tu' d:eeŭth].

N.B.—The older form is said to be *pine*.

Starved to deeäth [st:aavd tu' d:eeŭth] = very cold.

Ditto HAWORTH, May, 1887:

Clammed to deeäth [tlaamd tu' d:eeŭth].

DERBYSHIRE, CHURCH GREASLEY, Dec., 1886:

He's *clammed* to death [aey)z tlaamd tu daeth].

STAFFORDSHIRE, CODSALL, Dec., 1886:

Clemmed to death [klaemd tu' daeth].

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, FINNINGLEY, Aug., 1886:

Nearly *clammed* to death [neeŭ·rli' tlaamd tu' daeth]; some say—*Clammed* to deeäd [tlaamd tu' deeŭd].

Ditto BAWTRY, Aug., 1886:

Clam [tlaam'].

LEICESTERSHIRE, ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH, Dec., 1886:

Half *clammed* [:aif tlaamd].

Ditto UPTON, 3½ miles S.W. of MARKET BOSWORTH, Dec., 1886:

He's welly (nearly) *clammed* [ey)z wael·i' tlaamd].

WARWICKSHIRE, ATHERSTONE, Dec., 1886:

Clammed to death [tlaamd tu' daeth],